THE HISTORY

OF THE

MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN SPAIN.

VOL. II.

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OF

THE MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN SPAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

As'háb (companions)—*Tábi's* (followers)—Al-muneydhir—Hansh—Ibn Rabáh—'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd—Hayyán—Al-mugheyrah—Hayát Ibn Rejá—'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah—Spoils found at the time of the conquest—Misappropriated by the conquerors—Zoreyk—Zeyd Ibn Kássed—Abú Zor'ah—Mohammed Ibn Aus—'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah—Bekr Ibn Sawádah—'Abdullah Ibnu-l-mugheyrah—Mansúr Ibn Khozámah—Abú-l-hasan Ibn 'Othmán.

Having in the preceding Book given a short account of the conquest of Andalus by the Moslems, we propose saying a few words in the present about those illustrious Moslems who came in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, and by whose undaunted valour and fervent piety that mighty deed was achieved. And first we shall speak about the *as'háb*[1] (companions) and *tábi's* (followers of the companions) of the Prophet (may God favour and preserve him!) who are supposed either to have visited Andalus or to have settled in that country at the time of its invasion by the Moslems.

It is doubtful whether any of the *as'háb* (companions) of our holy Prophet were ever in Andalus. Indeed, there are not wanting Eastern writers who even deny that any of the *tábi's* ever set foot in that country. Andalusian authors, on the contrary, positively assert that one of the lesser *as'háb* resided for some time among them, and also that a considerable number of the *tábi's* entered with Músa Ibn Nosseyr at the time of the conquest, and settled in various parts of Andalus. Ibn Habíb,[2] for instance, assures us, that Al-muneydhir, one of the lesser *as'háb*, resided in Andalus. The same writer, who counts Músa Ibn Nosseyr himself in the number of the *tábi's*, gives the names of three other *tábi's*,—'Alí Ibn Rabáh Al-lakhmí, Hayát Ibn Rejá At-temímí, and Hansh Ibn 'Abdillah As-san'ání, all of whom are said to have left Syria in company with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, when he went to take possession of his government of Eastern Africa, and to have followed that

As'háb (companions).

general to the conquest of Andalus. Other writers substitute for Músa a theologian named Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán 'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd Al-jobelí[3] Al-ansárí. Others again make their number amount to five by adding Hayyán Ibn Abí Hoblah,[4] a *mauli* (member by incorporation) of the Bení 'Abdi-d-dár,[5] who, they say, was originally attached to the settling army of Misr, and was afterwards dispatched to Africa by the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, together with other learned theologians, that they might instruct the natives of that country in the duties of the Mohammedan religion, which they had embraced.

Tábi's (followers).

Besides the before-mentioned *tábi's*, the historian Ibnu Sa'íd gives the names of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí, a *mauli* of the tribe of Koraysh, who was governor of Andalus from the year 110 to 115; Mohammed Ibn Aus Ibn Thákib[6] Al-ansárí; Zeyd Ibn Kássed As-seksekí; Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Burdah Al-Kenání; 'Abdullah Ibn Al-mugheyrah Al-Kenání; 'Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Auf; Mansúr Ibn Abí Khozaymah, and 'Ala Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khattáb.

Ibnu Bashkúwál, as well as Al-hijárí in his *Mas'hab*, makes their number amount to eighteen; other writers to twenty. As to the particular place of their residence whilst they inhabited Andalus, very little is known with certainty; as those writers who have preserved us their names and patronymics content themselves with telling us that they entered Andalus at the time of the invasion, and resided for some time in that country; but of this more will be said when we come to treat separately of each of these holy men.

Al-muneydhir.

The first in rank among the illustrious Moslems who were present at the conquest of Andalus was undoubtedly Al-muneydhir, who is reported to have been both the companion and the counsellor of the Prophet (God favour and preserve him!). Ibnu-l-abbár in his *Tekmílah*[7] speaks of this Al-muneydhir, whom he calls Al-ifríkí (the African), and whom he counts in the number of the *as'háb* or companions of our holy Prophet. He says, also, that Al-muneydhir inhabited Africa proper until the time of the conquest of Andalus, when he entered that country in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. This latter fact he asserts on the authority of Mohammed Ar-rushátti (from Rosetta), who held it from the illustrious theologian and traditionist 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb; but it must also be stated that he (Ibnu-l-abbár) could adduce no other proof in favour of his proposition than the accounts of the two authors above mentioned. He adds, that Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jobelí delivered traditions which he held from the mouth of this Al-muneydhir. Great obscurity hangs, likewise, over the places of birth and residence of this illustrious individual. Ibnu-l-abbár thinks that he was either born in Eastern Africa, or had resided most of his life in that country. Of the same opinion is Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr,[8] who in his *Isti'áb*, or

biography of the companions of the Prophet, calls him Al-muneydhir Al-ifríkí. Others entertain a contrary opinion, and make him a native of Yemen; whether from Mad'haj, or some other district, is not stated. Of this opinion is the historian Al-hijárí, who likewise asserts the fact of his having entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. Ibnu Bashkúwál, quoting the historian Ar-rází, says that he was named Al-muneydhir, that is, the little counsellor, because he was one of the youngest companions of the Prophet, and that Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr had preserved a traditional saying (which we hope is a true one) coming in a direct line from this Al-muneydhir, who held it from the very mouth of the Prophet. The same fact is recorded by Abú 'Alí Ibn As-saken in his work on the companions, as well as by Ibn Náfi' in his biographical dictionary of the companions, and by Al-bokhárí in his larger historical work. We shall quote the words of the last-mentioned writer. "Abú Al-muneydhir, the companion of the Messenger of God (may He favour and "preserve him!), lived in Africa proper. He delivered many traditional sayings "which he held from the Prophet himself, and of which the following is one: "'Whoever is content to have Allah for his master, Islám for a religion, and "Mohammed for a prophet, I will be a warrant to him that I will lead him by "the hand into Paradise.'" Such are the words of Al-bokhárí, who, it must be remarked, calls him *Abú Al-muneydhir* instead of Al-muneydhir. The person, however, from whom Al-bokhárí held this tradition could quote no other preserved by that illustrious individual. Lastly, Abú Ja'far Ibn Rashíd, who not only preserved this tradition, but has mentioned its author in his work entitled *Masnadu-s-sihábah* (traditional sayings preserved by the companions of the Prophet), calls him *Al-mundhir*, and gives him the patronymic *Al-yemení;* although he does not state of what part of Yemen he was a native or a resident.

Hansh As-san'ání.—Ibnu Bashkúwál, quoting Ibn Wadhdháh,[9] says that *Hansh* was only a by-name, and that the real name of this *tábi'* was Huseyn Ibn 'Abdillah, and his appellative "Abú 'Alí;" others say "Abú Rashideyn." "Hansh," continues Ibnu Bashkúwál, "was born in Syria, and, according to Abú Sa'íd Ibn Yúnas[10] in "his biography of eminent Moslems natives of Africa, Egypt, or Andalus, at a town "called San'á; he followed the fortunes of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, to whose party he "was addicted; fought in Africa under Ruwayki' Ibn Thábit, and, lastly, entered "Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr." He is likewise counted in the number of those Arabs who assisted the son of Zubeyr in his rebellion against the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán; for, after the murder of 'Alí, whose friend and partisan he was, he retired into Egypt and joined the insurgents; thence he went to Arabia and fought under the banners of Ibn Zubeyr, until he was taken prisoner and brought before that Sultán, who caused him to be cast into a dungeon and loaded Hansh.

with irons: he at last obtained his pardon and was set at liberty. Hansh passes likewise for the first man who ever filled the office of tax-collector in Africa. He died in that country, or, according to others, at Saragossa, in the year 100. Ibn Habíb, who mentions this *tábi'* in the number of those who entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, asserts that he was the same man who, on the discovery of Cordova from the top of the mountain-pass called *Feju-l-meydah* [11] (the pass of the table), began to call the soldiers to prayer, although it was not then prayer-time: being asked by his companions why he summoned them at so unseasonable an hour, he answered, "Because prayers to the Almighty shall be heard in yonder plain until "the hour of the last judgment has arrived." Time, however, has shown that this good man's prophecy was not to be fulfilled, although this tradition has been handed down by a considerable number of writers. God only knows whether it rests on a solid foundation or not. It is mentioned by Ibn 'Asákir, who, in his history of the companions of the Prophet, has treated extensively of this Hansh. The same writer (Ibn 'Asákir) agrees in making Hansh a native of San'á, a small town of Syria, which, he observes, is not to be confounded with the large city of that name in Yemen. Ibnu-l-faradhí says that he inhabited Saragossa, where he laid the foundations [12] of the great mosque; that he died in that city and was buried close to the gate of the Jews in the western part of the city;[13] and that the people of Saragossa were in the habit of saying that "the honour of preserving among them "the mortal remains of Hansh was sufficient for them:" to which may be added what Ibnu Bashkúwál says of this individual, namely, that he arranged the *kiblah* of the mosque of Elvira, and took also the level of that of the great mosque at Cordova, which we have fully described elsewhere as one of the wonders of the world.

Others pretend that as Hansh is not quoted by Syrian traditionists, but only by people who inhabited Cairo, this would imply that he lived in Egypt, not in the former country. Be this as it may, it appears certain that Hansh preserved traditions from the mouth of 'Abdullah son of 'Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet: the following is one. Hansh had a sword with a gold hilt to it: he happened once to meet 'Abdullah, who, seeing him with it, said to him, "If thou wishest to be acceptable "to thy Lord, let the hilt of thy sword be made of iron, and of no other material;" which advice Hansh instantly followed. They say that when 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán invaded Africa with Mu'áwiyah Ibn Khodeyj in the year 50, he lodged at the house of Hansh, who repeated to him the above words of 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbás, and that 'Abdu-l-malek was so pleased, that when after the rebellion of Ibn Zubeyr, Hansh fell into his hands, as we have elsewhere related, he remembered him and granted his complete pardon. Ibn 'Asákir calls him simply Hansh,

without stating, like Ibn Wadhdháh and the rest of the authors we have quoted, that his name was Huseyn, and that Hansh was a by-name. He may be right for aught we know, but God only is all-knowing!

Ibn Yúnas has preserved us some account of the habits and mode of life of this illustrious *tábi'*, which he held in a straight line from him: he says that "Whenever "Hansh, after partaking of his evening meal and finishing his daily occupation, "wished to say his nightly prayers, he used to light his lamp, and place a Korán "by the side of his couch, and a tub of water to perform his ablutions. He would "then rise to say his prayers in the middle of the night; and if he felt himself "overcome by sleep, he would sniff up water in order to rouse himself. If in "reciting from his Korán he made any mistake, he would take up the book, and "refer to the passage: lastly, if a beggar came up to him and asked him for food, "he would not cease calling to his servants to give him what he wanted until he "saw that he was satisfied."

Abú Abdillah ['Alí] Ibn Rabáh Al-lakhmí.—Of this *tábi'*, Ibn Yúnas in his history of Egypt says that he was born in the year 15 of the Hijra (beginning Feb. 20, A.D. 733), better known as the year of Yarmúk;[14] that he was blind of one eye, which he lost at the naval battle of Dhátu-s-sawárí,[15] wherein he fought under the orders of 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd in the year 34 of the Hijra, and that at a subsequent period he joined in the insurrection of the tribes of Yemen, who had settled in Egypt, against the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán. After this, Ibn Rabáh became a great favourite with 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, so that when Ummu-l-baneyn, daughter of that prince, was to be married to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, it was he who was charged by the father to conduct the bride to the bridegroom's dwelling.[16] However, 'Abdu-l-'azíz being in the sequel displeased with him, he was banished the capital and ordered to join the army of Africa, where he remained until the time of the invasion of Andalus, when Músa took him into his suite. It is generally admitted that Ibn Rabáh died in the first-mentioned country in the year 114 (beginning March 2, A.D. 732), or thereabouts. Ibnu Bashkúwál, citing Ibn Mu'ayn, says that the Egyptians used to pronounce the name of this *tábi'* 'Ala or 'Alí, with a *fataha* on the *'ayn;* whilst the people of 'Irák always called him *'Ola,* making his name a noun of the form *fo'la;* and that in confirmation of the above opinion they (the Egyptians) were in the habit of quoting the following words of his son Músa: "If "any one call me Músa, son of 'Ola, making this word a diminutive of 'Ala, "I shall not consider that he alludes to me."

Ibn Rabáh.

Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán 'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd Al-ma'áferí Al-jobelí.—Ibnu Bashkúwál, treating of this *tábi'*, says that he held traditions from Abú Ayúb Al-ansárí and 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amru, both companions of the Prophet, and that he himself was

'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd.

mentioned by several eminent traditionists, who cited him as their authority. Ibn Yúnas says that he died in Eastern Africa close upon the year 100 of the Hijra (beginning August 2, A.D. 718), and that he was a virtuous and benevolent man. There are, however, some Andalusian writers, chiefly those who were natives of Cordova, who assert that Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jobelí died and was buried in that city, and that his tomb, which might be seen in the western quarter of Cordova, was very much visited, and held in great veneration by the people. Which of these two accounts is the true one, God only knows!

Hayyán. *Hayyán Ibn Abí Hoblah.*—Of this *tábi'*, Ibnu Bashkúwál says that he was a *mauli* (member by incorporation) of the illustrious tribe of Koraysh; and that his surname was Abú-n-nadhar. Of the same opinion is Abú-l-'arab Mohammed Ibn Temím,[17] who, in his history of Eastern Africa, states that he had heard Farát Ibn Mohammed say that when the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz decided upon sending to Africa some men of known piety and learning to instruct the Berbers in the duties of the Mohammedan religion, Hayyán was one of the ten theologians chosen for that mission. Hayyán used to record traditions handed down to him by 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbás, and Ibn 'Omar, (may God be propitious to them all!). According to some writers, Hayyán died in Africa in the year 122 (beginning 6th Dec. A. D. 739); according to others, in 125 (beginning 3rd Nov. A. D. 740). Not one of the above-mentioned writers says a word about the residence of this *tábi'* in Andalus; but Ibnu-l-faradhí relates that Hayyán went to that country with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, whom he accompanied in all his expeditions until he arrived at a fortress called *Karkashúnah* (Carcassonne), where he died. "I was told," continues that historian, "by Abú Mohammed Ath-"theghrí, that Carcassonne is a city distant five-and-twenty miles[18] from Barcelona, "and that when the Moslems conquered it, they found a magnificent church, called "by the Christians Santa Maria, wherein were seven pillars of massive silver; so "beautifully wrought, that no human eye ever saw the like of them; so huge were "their dimensions, that a man could hardly encompass one within his arms "extended."

Al-mugheyrah. *Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Burdah Nashítt Ibn Kenánah Al-'adhrí.*—We have no other account of this *tábi'* than that preserved by Al-hijárí in his great historical work, namely, that he held traditions from the mouth of Abú Horeyrah (may God be favourable to him!), and that he himself was cited by Málik Ibn Ans in his great collection of traditions entitled *Mowattá.* Al-mugheyrah is likewise slightly mentioned by Al-bokhárí in his larger work.[19] Ibnu Bashkúwál says that he invaded Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, although it would appear that that general dismissed him from his army.

Hayát Ibn Rejá At-temímí.—According to Ibn Habíb, this *tábi'* entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. The statement is corroborated by Ibnu Bashkúwál in a compilation of his entitled "Admonition and explanation respecting those among the *tábi's* who entered Andalus,"[20] as well as by Ibnu-l-abbár, who professes to derive his information from one Abú-l-khattáb Ibn Wájib, who held it from the mouth of that *tábi'* himself. It must, however, be observed, that he (Ibnu-l-abbár) calls him Rejá Ibn Hayát, a name totally different from that given him by Ibn Habíb. Which of the two was his true name, God only knows! Hayát Ibn Rejá.

'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah Al-fehrí.[21]—He was one of the *tábi's* most renowned for virtue and sanctity of life. He is counted by Ibn Habíb among those pious and honest Moslems, four in number, who in the partition of the spoil made at the time of the conquest of Andalus were righteous with the men, and took no more than their own legitimate share of the plunder. As the above tradition, which Ibn Habíb held from Ibn Rabi'ah, has been preserved by the historian Ibnu Bashkúwál, we shall transcribe it at length. "I was told," says Ibn Habíb, "by Ibn Rabi'ah, 'All the people who "came to the conquest of this country (Andalus) were guilty of rapine and in- "justice towards their comrades, by abstracting some portion of the spoil, and not "sharing it with them. Four men only, who belonged to the illustrious class of "the *tábi's*, are exempt from this charge: Hansh As-san'ání, Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán "Al-jobelí, Ibn Shamásah, and 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah.'" 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah.

We have treated elsewhere of the immense spoil found by the Moslems in some of the cities of Andalus, but chiefly in Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Merida, which, as before mentioned, had been at different epochs the places of residence of the Gothic kings; but, since we have touched upon this subject, we cannot pass over in silence the accounts of some trustworthy men who were present at the conquest, or who lived very near the time, and whose words have been preserved and handed down to posterity through a continuous chain of doctors. Al-leyth Ibn Sa'íd,[22] after enumerating the rich spoil of every description, and the large masses of gold and silver, which fell to the lot of some of the Arabs who accompanied Tárik and Músa to Andalus, says that it was a common thing for the lowest men in the army to find at the plunder of a city splendid robes embroidered with gold flowers, magnificent gold chains of exquisite workmanship, and long strings of matchless pearls, rubies, and emeralds. We have also read in an historical work that the plunder found by Tárik at the taking of Toledo, whether in money or jewels, was beyond calculation, and baffled all description. It is asserted that there were found among other precious objects one hundred and seventy diadems of the purest red gold, set in pearls, rubies, and every other sort of precious stone, one thousand swords for the king's own use, several measures[23] full of pearls, rubies, and other gems, besides Spoils fo[r] the time [of] conques[t]

an immense number of massive gold and silver vases. So great were in many instances the eagerness for plunder and the ignorance of some of the conquerors, especially the Berbers, that whenever two or more warriors of this latter nation fell at the same time upon an article of plunder which they could not conveniently divide, they hesitated not to cut it in pieces and share it among themselves, whatever its materials or workmanship might be. In illustration of this, it is related that at the taking of Toledo, two Berbers found a most splendid carpet; it was interwoven with gold worked in stripes, and was, besides, ornamented with chain-work of the purest gold. The ground of the carpet, moreover, was sprinkled with pearls, rubies, emeralds, and every description of costly gem. They at first carried it for a while between them; but, finding it too heavy, they soon put it down, when one of them went to fetch a hatchet, and cut the carpet in two, one taking away the one half, and the other the remainder. All this, moreover, they effected quite unperceived, as their comrades, who were very numerous upon that occasion, were busy in plundering another quarter of the city.

The same author before mentioned, and another named Yahya Ibn Sa'd, say something about the extortions and rapine of some of the officers and soldiers engaged in the conquest of Andalus. They relate that a party of men, having collected together several valuable objects which they had concealed from their comrades, seized on some vessels, and set sail, to return to their homes. Scarcely however had they lost sight of the land, when they were assailed by a most terrific storm of wind, and they heard a voice which said, "O my God, drown them all!" The culprits then took to their Koráns and began to pray, but it proved of no avail to them; for the storm continuing with unabated fury, the ships were dashed one against another, and every soul on board drowned. It is not ascertained who the sufferers on this occasion were; for the people of Egypt, on whom the calamity is said to have fallen, deny the fact altogether; and as to the Andalusians, they say that it was the conquerors of Sardinia who met with so signal a chastisement from the Almighty. God only is all-knowing!

Zoreyk Ibn Hakím.—This is another of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. It is so related by Abú-l-hasan Ibn An-na'mah, on the authority of the Abú-l-motref 'Abdu-r-rahmán [Ibn] Yúsuf Ibn Ar-rafá Al-kortobí, in whose handwriting he read the statement. According, however, to the Háfedh Abú 'Abdillah Al-kodhá'í, Zoreyk is not mentioned either by Ibnu-l-faradhí, or by other writers who have given the names of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus at the time of the conquest.

Zeyd Ibn Kássed As-sekseki[24] is likewise counted by Ibnu-l-abbár among the *tábi's* who invaded Andalus, and were present at the conquest. He was originally

from Misr, and preserved traditions delivered by 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss. He himself has been cited by several doctors, in the number of whom are 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Zeyyád Ibn An'am Al-ifríkí and Ya'kúb Ibn Sufyán: the latter attributes to him one of the traditional stories contained in the collection formed by Al-homaydí.

Abú Zor'ah Ibn Rúh Ash-shámí.—This individual is also counted by the Kádí Muhájir Ibn Theofil in the number of the *tábi's*. He left a son, named Moslemah Ibn Zor'ah, who cited him as his authority in several traditional sayings which he preserved. **Abú Zor'ah.**

Mohammed Ibn Aus Ibn Thábit Al-ansárí.—According to Ibnu-l-abbár, who read it in the handwriting of Ibn Hobeysh, this individual was also a *tábi*, and held traditions from the mouth of Abú Horeyrah, one of the companions of the Prophet. Al-homaydí speaks of him in these terms: "Mohammed Ibn Aus was an honest "and religious man, remarkable for his talents and his theological learning. He "commanded the Moslem fleet in the year 93 (beginning Oct. 18th, A. D. 711), "and was present at the conquest of Western Africa and Andalus by Músa Ibn "Nosseyr." Abú Sa'íd Ibn Yúnas, in his history of Egypt, corroborates the above statement, and gives besides the names of all those doctors who held traditions from him; as Al-hárith Ibn Yezíd and Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Thaubán. Another writer, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem, who is also the author of a history of Egypt, says that Mohammed Ibn Aus was on the sea of Túnis in the year 102 (beginning July 11th, A. D. 720), and that when Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem, governor of Eastern Africa, was put to death, he was appointed by the army to succeed him. This happened during the Khalifate of Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán. Mohammed Ibn Aus is moreover reported to have held the government of that country until the arrival of Besher Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, who, leaving his brother Handhalah to govern Egypt in his absence, took into his own hands the government of the Mohammedan provinces of Eastern Africa. **Mohammed Ibn Aus.**

Abú 'Amru 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah Ibn Dhíb Al-fehrí.—This *tábi'* held traditions from Abú Dharr, or, according to other accounts, from Abú Nadhrah, who held them from Abú Dharr: he held them also from 'Ayeshah, the widow of the Prophet, from 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss, his son 'Abdullah, Zeyd Ibn Thábit, Abú Nadhrah Al-ghaffárí, 'Okbah Ibn 'A'mir Al-johaní, 'Auf Ibn Málik Al-ashja'í, Mu'áwiyah Ibn Khodeyj, Moslemah Ibn Mokhlid, and Abú Raham. The above information is borrowed from Ibn Yúnas in his history of Egypt, as well as from Ibnu Bashkúwál, who, quoting Al-homaydí and Ibnu-l-abbár, counts him in the number of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus. Ibn Yúnas adds, that the last doctor who, in Egypt, received traditions from this *tábi'*, was Harmalah Ibn 'Amrán. **'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah.**

Bekr Ibn Sawádah Ibn Themámah Al-jodhámí.—He was surnamed Abú-th- **Bekr Ibn Sawádah.**

themámah, and was the grandson of a companion of the Prophet. He himself was a *tábi'* and an eminent theologian. He preserved traditions delivered by several of the companions of the Prophet; as 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amru Ibni-l-'áss, Kays Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Obádah, Sahl Ibn Sa'd As-sá'dí, Sufyán Ibn Wahb Al-khaulání, Hossán Ibn Samh As-sadáyí, and Hiyyán. However, the name of the last-mentioned individual, who is said to have been one of the companions of the Prophet (may God favour and preserve him!), and to have been present at the taking of Misr, is differently given by Ad-darkattání, who writes it *Hiyyán;* while Ibn Yúnas is of opinion that it should be written *Hibán* or *Habán.* Be this as it may, certain it is that this Bekr preserved traditions from several of the *as'háb* (companions of the Prophet), as Abú Núr Al-fahemí, Abú 'Omeyrah Al-mázení; and, among the *tábi's* (followers), As-sa'id Ibnu-l-musíb, 'Orwah Ibnu-z-zubeyr, Rabi'ah Ibn Kays Al-hamelí, Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jobelí, Zeyd Ibn Na'ím Al-hadhramí, Sufyán Ibn Háni Al-jeyshání, Sa'íd Ibn Semar As-sebáyí, &c.

There are various opinions respecting the country where this *tábi'* lived and died. Ibn Yúnas is of opinion that he died in Eastern Africa during the Khalifate of Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. Other writers assert that he was drowned in the straits, in crossing over to Andalus, in the year 128 of the Hijra (beginning Oct. 2, A. D. 745). Abú Bekr 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Al-kayrwání Al-málekí, in his history entitled *Riyádhu-n-nofús* (the bowers of the mind), says, that Abú-th-themámah was one of the ten theologians sent to Africa by the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, for the purpose of teaching the Berbers the duties of the Mohammedan religion. Al-homaydí counts him in the number of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus; Ibnu-l-faradhí, however, does not.

Abdullah Ibnu-l-mugheyrah.

'Abdullah Ibnu-l-mugheyrah Al-kenání.—This individual, who was bound by oath to the tribe of 'Abdu-d-dár, is mentioned by Abú Mohammed Al-assílí (from Arsilla) among the *tábi's* who entered Andalus at the time of its conquest by the Moslems; at least, such is the statement given by Ibnu Bashkúwál in his work entitled 'Admonition and Explanation,' &c., as derived from the above-mentioned author. Ibnu-l-abbár, however, declares that he never met with his name among those of the *tábi's* who settled in Andalus; and Abú Sa'íd Ibn Yúnas counts him in the number of those who visited Eastern Africa, not Andalus. He adds, that he held traditions from Sufyán Ibn Wahb Al-khaulání.

Besides the above-mentioned individuals, the historians of Andalus have preserved to us the names of three persons who lived in more modern times, but who, having lived to an extraordinary age, are supposed to have been on intimate terms with the *tábi's,* and to have conversed with them. But in this, as in many other things, we are inclined to think that the writers of that country have been led away by their

patriotism. Ibnu-l-abbár, for instance, does not hesitate to count among the Andalusian *tábi's* one 'Abdullah, who showed himself in Andalus in very late times, and who is said to have lived to a most unusual age, since he pretended to have conversed with some of the *tábi's*. Ibnu-l-abbár adds, that according to a written statement of Al-kaysí, which he had in his possession, the pretended *tábi'* communicated traditions to Abú Mohammed Ased Al-johaní.

The same observation may be applied to Ibnu Bashkúwál, who counts in the number of the *tábi's* a black man named Mansúr Ibn Khozámah,[25] who lived in Cordova towards the year 330 (beginning Sept. 25, A. D. 941). That writer pretends to have read in a collection of allegations formed by the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'A'yed the following statement of facts: **Mansúr Ibn Khozámah.**
"Among the men remarkable for their longevity who are known to have resided in "this country (Andalus), I may count Mansúr Ibn Khozámah, who arrived among "us in the year 330; so I find it asserted by Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, son "of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, Sultán of Cordova, who in one of his works, which, "written in his own hand, is preserved in the library (of this city), has the following "words,—'I received instruction from a black man from Súdán, who came to "Cordova in the year 329 (beginning 5th Oct. A. D. 740), and who styled himself "Mansúr, son of Khozámah, the freedman of Mohammed, the Lord's messenger. "He himself told me that he had lived in the time of the Khalif 'Othmán Ibn "'Affán, had been with 'Ayeshah on the 'day of the camel;'[26] had also "been present at the battle of Sefayn; and, lastly, that his father Khozámah had "been a liberated slave of the Prophet. Mansúr left Andalus the ensuing year, "330, and returned to Africa.'"

But all this statement has no foundation whatever, as the illustrious traditionist Ibn Hajar clearly proves in one of his works: (may God forgive him for writing upon this subject what I am going to transcribe!). "All this account "of Ibn Khozámah is an absurdity, and a tissue of lies from beginning to end. Of "the same stamp seems to be a tradition which I find recorded in the writings of "Andalusian authors, purporting that Abú-l-hasan Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khattáb, "better known by the surname of Abú-d-donyá, had lived to an extraordinary age, "so as to have been a friend of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, as likewise of the most illustrious "among the companions of the Prophet, of all of whom he used to converse "with the people, describing their figure, manners, and countenance; that he "also saw 'Ayeshah, the widow of the Prophet; and, lastly, that he arrived in "Cordova under the Khalifate of An-násir, and conversed with Al-hakem Al-"mustanser-billah, then the appointed heir to the throne, which he occupied after "the death of his father; that in one of these conversations he met with Abú Bekr **Abú-l-hasan Ibn 'Othmán.**

" Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who questioned him about the battles of 'Alí, and wrote down
" the information given by him on the subject."

This ridiculous and wholly unauthorized tradition may be read in the writings of Ibnu Bashkúwál and other Andalusian writers; some of whom, as Temím Ibn Mohammed At-temímí, have gone so far as to declare that when they met him he was three hundred and fifty years of age, and that they were informed that his death took place in his native city in the year 320 (beginning Jan. 12, A. D. 932).

But other writers deserving of greater credit, and endowed with more sound criticism, have not hesitated to assert that the pretended *tábi'* was nothing else than a liar and an impostor. The same judgment, we apprehend, is to be passed upon the black man who forms the subject of the preceding article: he was decidedly an impostor; and if we have done so much as to put his name among those of the honourable and illustrious followers of the companions of the Prophet, it has been merely in order to shed greater light upon this interesting subject, and to show our readers how cautious they must be in the perusal of those works by Eastern or Western writers which treat exclusively of this matter, as they are well known to abound with involuntary errors and inaccuracies like the above-mentioned. May the Almighty God keep us from listening to untruths respecting his revelations or the history of our Prophet Mohammed and his honourable companions!

CHAPTER II.

Tárik—The sons of Wittiza—Mugheyth Ar-rúmí—His adventure with a Gothic princess—Goes to the East—Returns to Andalus, and settles therein—Ayúb Ibn Habíb—'Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah—'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd—Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah—Haywah Ibn Mulábis—'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah—'Abú-s-sabáh Al-yahssobí—Abú Zor'ah Ash-shámí—Zeyád Ibn An-nábighah.

Besides the illustrious individuals named in the preceding chapter, who, the Andalusian writers assert, entered their country at the time of Músa's invasion, but with regard to most of whom strong doubts and objections have been raised by the writers of this country (the East), there were many others who, though not belonging to either of the two above distinguished classes, the *as'hábs* (companions) and the *tábi's* (followers), were, nevertheless, illustrious by their birth, renowned for their exploits against the infidels, or remarkable for their piety and learning, and who became the fathers of a numerous progeny, the heirs of their virtues and talents. Enough has been said elsewhere respecting Músa Ibn Nosseyr and his freedman Tárik, who were the two principal instruments by which God Almighty was pleased to achieve the conquest of so mighty a kingdom as that of Andalus, to make it unnecessary that we should here return to the subject. But before we proceed to mention some of the chiefs who assisted in the conquest, we must here transcribe some verses which the author of the *Mas'hab*, and Ibn Alyasa' in his *Mu'arrib*,[1] quote as having been spoken extempore by Tárik when addressing his followers, soon after his landing on the coast of Andalus. Ibnu Sa'íd, who transcribes them also in his great historical compilation, observes that he introduces them not on account of their elegance or the wit they contain, but on account of their appropriateness, and as coming from so eminent a man, who was the chief instrument of the conquest of Andalus. They are as follows: Tárik.

" We rode a caulked ship (prepared) for our crossing; yet Allah had well
" nigh bought
" Our lives, property, and families at the price of a Paradise.

"It is true there was nothing we so ardently desired;
"As it was of no importance to us how we lost our lives, when we were to
"obtain (by it) so desirable a prize."[2]

As to the sons of Ghittíshah (Wittiza), whose treason, as before mentioned, was one of the principal causes of the conquest, we are told that, wishing to have the treaty entered into with Tárik confirmed, they appeared before this general and addressed him thus: "Art thou, O Tárik! an independent prince, or dost thou acknowledge "a lord?" To which Tárik answered, "I am subject to an Amír, who himself "obeys the orders of a supreme commander." Hearing which, the Barbarians asked Tárik's permission to repair to Africa, and have an interview with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, that he might confirm the treaty made with them; to which effect they begged from him a letter explaining the whole of the affair, as well as the conditions agreed upon at the time of the invasion. Tárik did as he was desired, and the princes accordingly crossed over to Africa. They found Músa in Western Barbary, preparing for his expedition into Andalus. Having been made acquainted with the nature of their request, Músa examined and weighed each of the propositions made to them by Tárik, as well as the services they had rendered to the cause of the Moslems; but, unwilling to take upon himself to decide in their case, he sent them to the Khalif Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, then the Commander of the Faithful, holding his court at Damascus in Syria, with a letter informing him of the purport of Tárik's message, and of the illustrious birth and good services of the petitioners. Al-walíd received the Gothic princes with great kindness, and granted them many favours. He began by ratifying the treaty entered into with Tárik, and gave each of them a deed under his own signature, whereby he secured to them, their sons and posterity, the possession of all the lands specified in their agreement with Tárik. The same document provided against any spoliation on the part of the Arabian settlers. This being obtained, the Barbarian princes returned to Andalus, where, immediately after their arrival, they were put in possession of all the estates of their father, which they divided equally among themselves. Almand, who was the eldest, had for his share one thousand farms in the west of Andalus, and, in order to superintend them, took up his abode in Seville. Al-artebásh, who was the second, had an equal number of estates in the centre of Andalus, for which reason he took up his residence at Cordova; while the third and youngest of all[3] had his thousand farms in the eastern parts of Andalus, and the districts of the *Thagher*,[4] for which reason he established himself at Toledo. In this manner the three brothers enjoyed the undisturbed possession of their respective estates in the very heart of the Mohammedan dominions, until the eldest, Almand, died, leaving behind him one daughter

named Sárah, but who is better known under the appellation of *Al-kúttiyyah* (the Gothic princess), and two sons in tender age. But, to return to the subject we have in hand:

Mugheyth Ar-rúmí, the conqueror of Cordova.—Al-hijárí and Ibnu Hayyán call him Mugheyth[5] Ar-rúmí (the Greek); but the former writer adds, that he was not, properly speaking, a Greek, and that his genealogy was as follows: Mugheyth, son of Al-hárith, son of Al-howayrith, son of Jeblah Al-ghosání, son of Al-ayham. When still a boy, he was taken prisoner in an inroad which the Moslems made into the country of Rúm (Greece), and, at the partition of the spoil, fell to the lot of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who had him educated together with his own son Al-walíd, and, when arrived at the age of manhood, liberated him and gave him a command in the armies of Africa. Thence he crossed over to Andalus at the orders of Tárik, who sent him forward against Cordova, which city he took in the manner related in the fourth book of this work. After this, Mugheyth quarrelled with Tárik, and also with Músa, Tárik's master. He then accompanied them in their journey to Damascus, and returned victorious to Cordova, where he settled and became the head and founder of the noble family well known in Andalus as the sons of Mugheyth, one of whom was 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mugheyth, who afterwards filled the office of Hájib to 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, first Sultán of Andalus. Mugheyth.

The author of the *Mas'hab* places the taking of Cordova in the month of Shawwál of the year 92 (Aug. A. D. 711). He says also that the church, whither the governor and the garrison betook themselves after the taking of the city, held out for three months, and was not taken till Moharram of the year 93 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 711). No account is there given of the year of Mugheyth's birth, or that of his death. Al-hijárí says that he was brought up and educated with the sons of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán at Damascus; that he was taught the Arabic language, in which he soon became so accomplished a scholar, says Al-hijárí, that "he composed both in "prose and in verse as much as would fill this work, were I to attempt to transcribe "it." He was likewise trained to horsemanship and all manner of military exercises, and acquired so great a reputation by his courage and skill, that he was appointed to command the army destined against Cordova, and became ever after celebrated by his prudence and deep acquaintance with all the stratagems of war. We have related elsewhere how Mugheyth gained possession of that city, and made the prince who commanded in it his prisoner, this being the only Andalusian prince who fell at the time into the hands of the Moslems; some having made their peace by becoming the subjects of the Arabs, whilst others insured their safety by fleeing to Galicia.[6]

The historian Al-hijárí tells a very curious anecdote of a daughter of this captive prince. He says that when the Christian, with all his family, was brought to the presence of Mugheyth, this general saw amidst the women of his harem one who shone among them like the full moon among the stars. She was the daughter of the Christian; and Mugheyth at first sight became so deeply enamoured of her charms, that he instantly made advances to his fair captive. These she most obstinately refused; upon which Mugheyth gave her in charge to one of his followers, instructing him to threaten her with immediate punishment unless she complied with his wishes within a given time. At last the damsel feigned to give way, and, having prepared a poisoned robe,[7] granted Mugheyth the desired appointment. God, however, permitted that Mugheyth should in time be informed of her determination by one of her servants, and he therefore declined the meeting. They say that when Mugheyth was thus warned of the impending danger, he praised God for his providential escape, and exclaimed, "By Allah! had this maiden's "soul been within the body of her father, Cordova would not have been taken "by night."

It is likewise related, that when the Khalif Suleymán, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, had summoned to his presence Músa Ibn Nosseyr and Tárik Ibn Zeyád, and heard the answer of the latter to the charges brought against him by his master, he punished the former by depriving him of all his riches, and resolved upon restoring Tárik to the command of the Andalusian army. Before, however, carrying into effect this determination, Suleymán consulted Mugheyth, and asked him what he thought of Tárik's administration whilst in Andalus. "His administration was such," answered Mugheyth, "that had he ordered the Moslems to turn themselves to any other point "than the *kiblah* in their prayers, I really think that they would have obeyed his "commands without considering that they were infringing the laws of our holy "Prophet, and committing an impious act." Such was the impression which these crafty words produced upon the mind of Suleymán, that he instantly changed his purpose, and refused to give Tárik the promised government.[8] They say that as Tárik met Mugheyth some days after this occurrence, he said to him, "I wish, "O Mugheyth! thou hadst described me to the Khalif as a man whose authority "was resisted, instead of saying that the people of Andalus were so obedient "to me."—"I wish," replied Mugheyth, "thou hadst left me my captive; I "should then have left Andalus to thee;" alluding to Tárik's attempt to seize on Mugheyth's royal captive, the governor of Cordova, as elsewhere related.

According to some writers Mugheyth settled at Damascus, and remained there till he died. According to other authorities he returned to Andalus, and fixed his residence in Cordova, taking for his dwelling a magnificent building, which was

ever after known as *Balátt Mugheyth*[9] (the palace of Mugheyth). The authors who follow the former opinion allude, no doubt, to his first journey to Damascus, whither he is known to have repaired soon after his taking Cordova. But it is an ascertained fact that he afterwards returned to Andalus, with a message from Al-walíd to Músa, whom he had orders to bring back, and whom he accompanied to Damascus. Nor can there be any doubt that he visited Andalus a third time,[10] since he or a son of his became, as we have observed elsewhere, the stock of that noble and distinguished family the Bení Mugheyth, who multiplied themselves in Cordova, and who became the centre of wealth, dignities, and power in that city, their importance and consideration reaching the highest pitch. One of his descendants, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mugheyth, was appointed Hájib by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, first Sultan of Cordova. But to return. Returns to Andalus.

We have already stated that Al-hijárí, in his *Mas'hab*, says that Mugheyth was a witty poet, and that a whole volume might be filled with his verses; in proof of which he quotes one which he is reported to have uttered extempore, addressing himself to Músa and Tárik, when they took away his captive from him:

"I served you both with zeal, and yet you behaved ungratefully to me;
"The East and the West shall henceforth see me your bitterest enemy."[11]

As a further proof of Mugheyth's eloquence and readiness of speech, Al-hijárí cites the following answer which he once made to Músa. This general, after reprimanding him before a crowd of people, said to him, "Hold thy tongue, O Mugheyth!"—"I shall," replied he, "for my tongue is full of joints, and I can easily fold it "until I come to the presence of our master, Al-walíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek."

Ayúb Ibn Habíb.—Another of the illustrious individuals who entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr was (Abú) Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí. He was a nephew of that conqueror, being born of one of his sisters. He was present at all the principal engagements, and distinguished himself very much by his courage and skill. He was governor of Andalus for some time after the murder of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, whom he succeeded in his office. But, as it is our intention to treat of him when we come to speak of the governors of Andalus, we shall proceed with our narrative. Ayúb Ibn Habíb.

'Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah Al-korashí Az-zahrí.—This individual entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, who gave him the command of the left wing of his army. He settled first at Beja, and afterwards at Badajoz. He was the father of a numerous progeny, known as the Bení Zahrah, who inhabited Seville, whither they removed soon after the conquest. To this family belonged the Kádí Abú-l-hasan Az-zahrí, Abú Bekr Ibn Kheyr, and others. 'Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah.

'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd.—We cannot pass over in silence 'Abdullah, the ancestor of 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd.

the Bení Sa'íd, who, like the above-mentioned individuals, arrived in Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr. His entire name was Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Al-'ansí; he was the son of Sa'íd, son of 'Ammár, son of Yásir,[12] (may God be favourable to him!) one of the companions of the Prophet. Ibnu Hayyán, in his *Muktabis*, says that 'Abdullah was the general of the Yemení Arabs of the Damascus division, under Yúsuf Al-fehrí, and that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah landed in Andalus, this 'Abdullah was sent by him to oppose his progress. This commission 'Abdullah gladly accepted; for there existed a mortal feud between his own family and that of Umeyyah, owing to his father 'Ammár, who had been a partisan of 'Alí, having been killed at the battle of Sefayn, whilst fighting under the banners of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, against the troops of Mu'awiyah. This 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd was the ancestor of the Bení Sa'íd, Lords of Kal'ah Yahssob (Alcalá la Real), many princes, governors, generals, poets, and writers, such as the author of the *Mugh'rib*, and many others, of whom we shall treat at length in the course of this narrative.

Ibn Abí ...lah.

Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah Ibn 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí.[13]—This individual entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, whom he assisted in his conquests. He was the grandson of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', and one of the officers to whom the execution of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Músa was intrusted by the Khalif Suleymán. His son, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom he brought with him to Andalus, was the father of Yúsuf Al-fehrí, who governed that country for a considerable length of time, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, the first of the Bení Umeyyah, deprived him of power and life.

...h Ibn ...s.

Haywah Ibn Mulábis Al-hadhramí.—According to Ibnu Bashkúwál this individual entered Andalus in the suite of Músa. Ibnu Hayyán, however, postpones his arrival[14] to the year 123 (beginning Nov. 25, A. D. 740), when a considerable number of Syrians, under the command of Balj Ibn Beshr, crossed over from Africa and settled in Andalus, as we shall relate hereafter. He appears to have been the chief of the Arabian tribes of the division of Hems (Emessa), who took up their abode at Seville. He rose in arms against 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, but was defeated.

...án Ibn ...bdah.

'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah Al-korashí is another of the illustrious Moslems who accompanied Músa Ibn Nosseyr to the conquest of Andalus. He was present at the taking of Orihuela from Theodomir the Goth, who, as above related, defended his states valiantly, and obtained favourable terms by means of an ingenious stratagem which he devised.[15] 'Othmán, afterwards governor of Andalus, was killed in the year 112 (beginning March 25, A. D. 730).

...sabáh ...ssobí.

Abú-s-sabáh Ibn Yahya Al-yahssobí.—He came to Andalus either in Músa's suite, or with Balj Ibn Beshr. Some writers follow the former opinion; the

greater number, however, hold the latter. Be this as it may, it is certain that Abú-s-sabáh was the chief of the Yemení Arabs in Andalus when 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah invaded that country. He revolted against that Sultán, who took him prisoner and had him executed in the year 139 (beginning Jan. 4, A. D. 756).

Abú Zor'ah Ibn Rúh Ash-shámí[16] is counted likewise by Ibnu-l-abbár in the number of the illustrious Arabs who invaded Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr. He was an eminent theologian, and preserved many traditional sayings respecting the life of the Prophet Mohammed, which he held from his *as'háb* (companions), and which were afterwards collected into a body by his son Moslemah Ibn Zor'ah. **Abú Zor'ah Ash-shámí.**

Zeyád Ibn An-nábighah At-temímí.—He was one of the principal Arabian officers who witnessed the conquest of Andalus, having crossed the straits in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. He was at the head of the conspiracy by which 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, lost his life at Seville, and was likewise one of those who repaired to Damascus with the head of the unfortunate governor. After this he appears never to have revisited Spain. **Zeyád Ibn An-nábighah.**

CHAPTER III.

Arabian tribes settling in Andalus—'ADNA'N—Bení Háshim—Bení Umeyyah—Makhzúm—Fehr—Kenánah—Hudheyl—Teym—Dhobbah—Kays 'Aylán—Thakíf—Rabi'ah—Ayád—KAHTTA'N—Arabs of Yemen—Hostile to the Bení Modhar—Azd—Ansár—Khazrej—Aus—Gháfek—Hamdán—Mad'haj—Tayy—Morád—'Ans—Barrah—'A'milah—Khaulán—Ma'áfer—Lakhm—Jodhám—Kindah—Tojíb—Khatha'm—The sons of Himyar—Dhú-ro'ayn—Dhú-assbah—Yahssob—Hawázen—Kodhá'ah—Huseyn—Kelb—Hadhra-maut—Salmán.

Arabian tribes settling in Andalus.

KNOW, O reader! that when the island of Andalus had been finally subdued by the Moslems, and the whole of its provinces reduced under the laws of Islám,—when the news of the mighty conquest had spread over the countries inhabited by the Moslems,—great numbers of the population of Syria and other distant regions felt a strong desire to visit Andalus, and take up their abode in it. Accordingly, many individuals of the best and most illustrious among the Arabian tribes left the tents of their fathers and settled in Andalus, thereby becoming the stock of the many noble families whose luminous traces are visible throughout the annals of that country.

As several Andalusian writers have left works wherein the names and genealogy of all those Arabian tribes, branches of which settled in Andalus, are given in detail, we might be spared the trouble of repeating here any portion of their writings; but this being an interesting topic, and one which, if well treated, may prove of some assistance to the readers of this our work, we have deemed it opportune to record the names of the principal Arabian tribes which sent settlers to Andalus, either at the time of the conquest, or at a subsequent period; for which end we have borrowed our information from the most approved sources.

'ADNA'N. Bení Háshim.

The great stock of 'Adnán, from which issued the Bení Khandáf, and from these the Bení Koraysh, and from these latter the Bení Háshim, sent numerous families to Andalus, where they might be found under various denominations. Ibn Ghálib,[1] in his *Forjatu-l-anfus*, tells us that families descended from the noble stock of Háshim, of the tribe of Koraysh, were very numerous in Andalus. He adds, that they all descended from Idrís, son of 'Abdullah, son of Hasan, son of

Huseyn, son of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, from whom sprung also the Bení Hamúd, who ruled for a while over Andalus after the overthrow of the Bení Umeyyah dynasty.

As to the last-mentioned family (Bení Umeyyah), we need scarcely say that it gave several Khalifs to Andalus, whither they went to settle in great numbers. According to Ibnu Sa'íd, they were still known in his days under the patronymic of *Korashí;* for, although they at first called themselves *Umawí*, from their progenitor Umeyyah, they afterwards changed their patronymic into that of *Korashí*, from Koraysh, the lateral branch of their parent stock. And this they did because they saw that the people had taken a dislike to them, and would never forget the conduct of their ancestors towards Huseyn, the son of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib.[2] (May God show his favours to both!). Bení Umeyyah.

There was another family in Andalus who pretended to draw their origin from Umeyyah, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems: we mean the Bení Zohrah,[3] who settled at Seville, where they rose to power and distinction.

As to the Bení Makhzúm, they might be found in large numbers all over Andalus. To this tribe belonged the poet Al-makhzúmí, the blind, who obtained so great a celebrity by his writings. He was a native of Hisn Al-mudowwar (Almodovar). Members of the same tribe were the illustrious Wizír and elegant writer in prose as well as in verse, Abú Bekr Ibn Zeydún (Al-makhzúmí), and his son, Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún (Al-makhzúmí), who gained still greater renown by his writings, and filled the post of Wizír to Al-mu'tadhedh Ibn 'Abbád, Sultán of Seville. Makhzúm.

Ibn Ghálib informs us that there were individuals in Andalus who took the patronymic *Jamahí*, from Jamah; and many also who took that of *Dárí*, from 'Abdu-d-dár. He adds, that there were likewise several families with the patronymic *Fehrí*, from Moḥárib, son of Fehr; all of whom belonged to that branch of the tribe of Koraysh which genealogists have designated under the appellative *Bení Koraysh Adh-dhawáhir*.[4] To this tribe (Fehr) belonged 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, governor of Andalus, from whom descended the Bení Al-kásim,[5] princes renowned in history, and the Bení Al-jadd, a family of eminent doctors and theologians. From the same stock (Mohárib, son of Fehr,) issued Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí, governor of Andalus, in whose time 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel took possession of that country, and founded therein a powerful and extensive empire for the race of Umeyyah. This Yúsuf was of the posterity of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí, the celebrated conqueror of Africa. Ibn Hazm[6] adds, that individuals of the tribe of Fehr might be found in great numbers in various districts of Andalus, in possession of wealth and importance. Fehr.

As to families taking their patronymics from the uncles (collateral branches) of Kenánah, the same writer (Ibn Ghálib) informs us that they were very numerous in Kenánah.

Andalus, chiefly about Toledo and the districts adjoining that city. In their number were the Bení Al-waksh, of the tribe of Kenánah, a family which produced in all ages men of the greatest merit and eminence, as the Kádí Abú-l-walíd (Al-wakshí), the Wizír Abú Ja'far (Al-wakshí), and the learned theologian Huseyn Ibn Jobeyr (Al-wakshí), the author of the travels known by his name, and of whom mention has been made under the head of his native place.[7]

The sons of Hudheyl, son of Mid'rakah,[8] son of Elyás, son of An-nadhr, fixed their domicile in the vicinity of Orihuela, in the country of Tudmír (Theodomir), and took the patronymic *Hudhelí*. Ibn Ghálib informs us that the sons of Teym, son of Morrah, son of Odd, son of Tábikhah, son of Elyás, son of Modhar, were very numerous in Andalus, and that Abú-t-táhir, the author of the *Makamát Al-lazúmiyyah*,[9] was one of them.

As to the sons of Dhobbah, son of Odd, son of Tábikhah, who were a branch of the Bení Khandáf, and were issued from the great stock of the Bení 'Adnán, they were not very numerous in Andalus. Not so the sons of Kays 'Aylán, son of Elyás, son of Modhar, of the great stock of the Bení 'Adnán; for, according to Ibn Ghálib, they might be found in considerable numbers all over Andalus, being known under patronymic surnames taken from the collateral branches of their parent stock. Some, for instance, took the patronymic *Solamí*, from Solaym, son of Mansúr, son of 'Ikrimah, son of Hafssah, son of Kays 'Aylán. One of them was the celebrated theologian 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb (As-solamí), the companion and disciple of Málik Ibn Ans. (May God be favourable to him!) Another was the Kádí Abú Hafss Ibn 'Omar (As-solamí), who held the office of Kádí-l-kodá at Cordova. Others might be found under the patronymic *Hawázení*, which they took from Hawázen, son of Mansúr, son of 'Ikrimah, son of Hafssah, son of Kays. These, Ibn Ghálib informs us, were chiefly to be met with in the neighbourhood of Seville and the adjoining districts. Others, again, took their patronymic surname from Bekr, son of Hawázen, &c. They were mostly domiciled in a town three miles from the city of Valencia, in the eastern part of Andalus, although they might also be found in considerable numbers about Seville and other principal cities.

Originally from the same stock (Kays 'Aylán) were the Bení Hazm, who must not be confounded with another family of the same name, to which the celebrated traditionist Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm Adh-dháherí belonged, for these were originally from Persia.

Others took the patronymic *Sa'dí* from Sa'd, son of Bekr, son of Hawázen. In this number were the Bení Júda,[10] who fixed themselves chiefly about Granada, where, Ibn Ghálib says, they obtained the command (of their tribe). Others took

that of *Keldbí*, from Keláb, son of Rabi'ah, son of 'A'mir, son of Sa'ssa'h, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Bekr, son of Hawázen, &c.; others that of *Kusheyrí*, from Kusheyr, son of Ka'b, son of Rabi'ah, son of 'A'mir, son of Sa'ssa'h, &c. Individuals of this family, to which belonged Balj Ibn Beshr (Al-kusheyrí), governor of Andalus under the Khalifate, might be found in great numbers about Granada.

The Bení Rashík are another family issued from the stock of Kays 'Aylán, which settled in Andalus, where they were known under various patronymics; some taking that of *Fezárí*, from Fezárah, son of Dhobiyán, son of Yaghídh,[11] son of Reyth, son of Ghattfán, son of Sa'd, son of Kays 'Aylán. Others took the patronymic *Ashja'í* from Ashja', son of Reyth, son of Ghattfán, &c. Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah (Al-ashja'í), governor of Andalus, was one of their number.

Several families might also be found, which took the patronymic *Thakefí*, from Thakíf; but this is a point much contested among writers on genealogy; some making them a branch of the tribe of Kays, and therefore the sons of Thakíf, son of Kays, son of Munabbih, son of Bekr, son of Hawázen; whilst others assert that all those individuals living in Andalus, who used the patronymic Ath-thakefí, took it from Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí, governor of Andalus, who belonged to a tribe from the remnants of Thamúd.[12] The above-mentioned are the families issued from the tribe of Kays 'Aylán, and other branches of the great tribe of Modhar, which settled in Andalus. **Thakíf.**

As to the sons of Rabi'ah, son of Nezár, some called themselves *Asedí*, after Ased, son of Rabi'ah, son of Nezár; others *Mohárebí*, from Mohárib, son of 'Amru, son of Wádígah, son of Bukeyr, son of Kossay, son of Du'mma, son of Jedílah, son of Ased, son of Rabi'ah. Ibn Ghálib tells us that the former settled in the neighbourhood of Guadix, and peopled a district to the north of that city to which they gave their name; the latter settled at Granada, where they became the stock of the Bení 'Attiyah, one of the principal families of that city. Among the descendants of Ased, however, those are considered most noble who draw their origin from Jozaymah,[13] son of Mid'rakah, son of Elyás, son of Modhar. **Rabi'ah.**

Some again took the patronymic *An-namarí*, from An-namar, son of Kásett, son of Hinb, son of Akssa, son of Du'mma, son of Jedílah, son of Ased. Of this number were the Bení 'Abdi-l-barr, one of whom was the celebrated traditionist Abú 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr (An-namarí). Others, like the Bení Hamdín, a distinguished family of Cordova, took that of *Tagh'lobí*, from Tagh'lob, son of Wáyil, son of Kásett, son of Hinb.

There were also many families in Andalus who assumed the patronymic *Bekrí*, from Bekr, son of Wáyil. Of these number was the family of the *Bekriún*

(Bekrítes), Lords of Onóba and the island of Saltis, one of whom was the famous historian and geographer, Abú 'Obeyd (Al-bekrí). The preceding are, to our knowledge, the branches of the tribe of Rabi'ah which settled in Andalus.

Respecting the tribe of Ayád,[14] son of Nezár, whom others make the son of Ma'dd,—although the former opinion is the most correct,—many were the families residing in Andalus who drew their origin from it and took the patronymic *'Ayádí.* In their number were the Bení Zohr, distinguished citizens of Seville,[15] and many other families which we do not mention for fear of protracting the present narrative to too great a length.

The above are the tribes of the great family or stock of 'Adnán, which had branches or families in various parts of Andalus, all being the descendants in a straight line, and without admixture of any other lineage, from Isma'íl, (on whom be peace!).

As to the other great stock, the sons of Kahttán, genealogists are divided as to their origin. Some make them also the sons of Isma'íl; others the sons of Húd. Al-bokhárí inclines to the former opinion; other writers hold the latter. Be this as it may, it is evident that the sons of Kahttán, also called *Yemeniún* (Arabs of Yemen), settled in great numbers in Andalus, whither they carried the same hereditary hatred, and the same animosity, towards the sons of Modhar, and the other tribes of the line of 'Adnán, which characterized them so well in the East. Indeed, though inhabiting a country but partially subdued, and where the unrelenting enemy of God was continually attacking them, the tribes descended from the two rival stocks prosecuted as fiercely as ever their own private and inveterate feuds, by which the state was shaken to its foundations, and placed more than once upon the very brink of perdition,[16] as we shall presently see in the course of this narrative.

The Bení Kahttán, however, were more numerous in Andalus than their adversaries, and always obtained a greater share of power and influence in the country. They would undoubtedly in the end have gained possession of Andalus, had not the race of Umeyyah held so long the supreme power in the East, and had not the Korayshites at a subsequent period agreed to give the command over the two parties to a member of that house ('Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel). Even after this monarch had subjected the whole of Andalus to his sway, the western provinces of the empire were still cut up and divided into districts, inhabited by tribes, clans, and families,[17] who, in case of need, clung to each other for protection, and who, in times of rebellion or civil discords, were sure to stand one by another. This state of things lasted until the days of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who, as is well known, usurped the supreme power. Being a shrewed politician, his first care after his

accession was to remedy this evil by appointing to the command of the troops generals from various countries and tribes. So, for instance, the general of an army would have under his orders a portion of each tribe, and a captain would seldom command soldiers of his own tribe: by these means the wound was cauterized, civil dissensions were somewhat allayed, and peace, if not friendship, was established between the Arabian tribes inhabiting the western districts, although they not unfrequently broke out in other parts of Andalus where the same precautions had not been taken.

According to Ibn Hazm the whole of the tribes of Yemen are descended from Jodhám, son of Kahlán, or of Himyar, son of Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahttán, son of 'A'bir, son of Shálekh, son of Arfakhshad, son of Sám, son of Núh. According to other authorities they are the sons of Kahttán, son of Al-hemeysa', son of Yoktán, son of Thábit,[18] son of Isma'íl. Others again make them the sons of Kahttán, son of Húd, son of 'Abdullah, (son of Húd, son of 'Abdullah,) son of Rabáh, son of Háru, son of 'A'd, son of 'Amúss, son of Arem, son of Sám; but, as the various disputes and controversies to which the genealogy of these tribes has given rise among writers on that science are well known, we need not mention them here.

Some of the tribes issued from this great stock (Kahttán), and domiciled in Andalus, drew their origin from Kahlán, son of Sebá, son of Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahttán, and took the patronymic *Kahlání* after his name. Others took it from Azd, son of Al-ghauth, son of Thábit, son of Málik, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. The members of this tribe were very numerous in Andalus, as Mohammed Ibn Hání Al-albírí (Al-azdí), the famous poet, who belonged to the Bení Muhlib,[19] and Ahmed Ibn Ahmed (Al-azdí), an eminent historian. Others, like the Bení Mázin, son of Azd, took the patronymic *Ghosání*, from Ghosán, the name of a watering-place close to their habitation. To the latter-mentioned family belonged the Bení Al-kali'aí, who, according to Ibn Ghálib, were distinguished citizens of Granada, the greater part of whom, however, fixed their quarters at Sálehah, a town on the road between Malaga and that city. Azd.

Others, again, took the patronymic *Ansári*,[20] which they derived from the collateral branches of those two tribes which assisted the Prophet when he took refuge in Medína. These were to be found in great numbers all over Andalus, a fact which suggested to Ibnu Sa'íd the following observation: "It is really wonderful "that no traces of this lineage should be found now-a-days in Medína, when "it is notorious that they abound in most great cities in Andalus. I was told "once by a man who, while at Medína, made every inquiry about individuals "belonging to those families, that he was only referred to one old man of the Ansár.

"lineage of Khazrej, and to one old woman of Aus." Ibn Ghálib likewise bears testimony to the great number of individuals of these two tribes who settled in Andalus, where they became the progenitors of as many families scattered over the eastern and western districts of that extensive country; and, above all, at Toledo and in the neighbourhood.

The patronymic *Khazrejí*, therefore, was taken by various of these families. In their number were the sons of Sa'ad, son of 'Obádah, one of whom was Abú Bekr 'Obádah Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mái-s-samá (Al-khazrejí). The Bení Al-ahmar, Sultáns of Granada, in whose days the whole of Andalus became the prey of the enemy of God, (as we shall hereafter relate,) belonged also to that family, and took the patronymic *Khazrejí*. To one of the sovereigns of this dynasty Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb was Wizír.

Others were the descendants of Aus, brother of Khazrej, and formed their patronymic *Ausí* after his name; others took it from Gháfek, son of Ma'dd, son of 'Adnán, son of Hazzán, son of Al-azd. However, instead of Ma'dd, some say his brother, 'Akk,[21] son of 'Adnán, although the genealogists following the latter opinion are decidedly in the wrong. Ibn Ghálib informs us that most of the districts about Segura were denominated after the tribe of Gháfek, which settled in that country, and that to this family belonged 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí, the governor of Andalus, as well as the famous poet Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí-l-khissál Ash-shekúrí (Al-gháfekí).

Among the descendants of Kahlán, some took the patronymic *Hamdání*, from Hamdán, who was the son of Málik, son of Zeyd, son of Aushalah, son of Al-khiyár, son of Málik, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. Their domicile was at a town still known by their name, seven miles from Granada (Hamdán).[22] The Bení Dhaha, governors of Granada, belonged to this family.

Another branch of the descendants of Kahlán took their patronymics from Mad'haj, the name of a hill of a reddish colour in Yemen, or, according to others, that of the mother of Málik, son of Watta, son of Odad, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. Of this number were the Bení Serráj,[23] distinguished citizens of Cordova; and the Bení Tayy, who had their domicile to the south of Murcia, and took the patronymic *Táyí*.

Others, again, took the patronymic of *Morádí*, from Morád, son of Málik, son of Odad;[24] to them belonged the castle of Morád (Morente?), which stood on the road between Cordova and Seville, and which, according to Ibn Ghálib, took its name from them. Many were the individuals of this family who took the above-mentioned patronymic.

Others were the descendants of 'Ans, son of Málik, son of Odad, and denominated

themselves *'Ansí*, after him. We may count among them the Bení Sa'íd, authors of the historical work entitled *Al-mugh'rib*, and lords of a certain castle in the province of Granada, known by their name *Kala'h Bení Sa'íd* (the castle of the Bení Sa'íd). Some of the *Mad'hajís*, however, might be found, who took the patronymic *Zeydí*, from Zeyd, who, according to Ibn Ghálib, was better known under the name of Ibn Sa'd, son of Al-'ashírah, son of Málik, son of Odad.

There is still another branch of the tribe of Kahlán, who took the patronymic *Barrí*, after Barrah, son of Odad, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. Of this number **Barrah.** were the Bení Al-muntaser, learned theologians of Granada. It is thus stated by Ibn Ghálib, who adds, that a portion of them took the patronymic *'A'milí*, from 'A'milah, a woman of the tribe of Kodhá'ah, who was the mother of Hárith, son of 'Oda, son of Al-hárith, son of Morrah, son of Odad; such were the Bení As-sammák, Kádís of Granada. This point, however, is far from being settled, since there are not wanting genealogists who make 'A'milah a man, and the son of Sebá, son of **'A'milah.** Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahttán; while others, who make 'A'milah also a man, say that he was the son of Kodhá'ah.

Many were also the families sprung from the above stock who assumed the patronymic *Khauláni*, from Khaulán, son of 'Amru, son of Al-hárith, son of Morrah. **Khaulán.** The castle of Khaulán, between Seville and Algesiras,[25] took its name from them: to this number belonged the Bení 'Abdi-s-salám, principal citizens of Granada. Others took the patronymic *Ma'áferí*,[26] from Ma'áfer, son of Ya'áfer, son of Málik, **Ma'áfer.** son of Al-hárith, son of Morrah, like Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir Al-ma'áferí, ruler of Andalus, and many more that we might mention. Others, again, took that of *Lakhmí* (Al-lakhmí), from Lakhm, son of 'Amru, son of 'Oda, son of Al-hárith, son **Lakhm.** of Morrah, like Músa Ibn Nosseyr, the conqueror of Andalus, and Rabáh Al-lakhmí, and the Bení 'Abbád, Sultáns of Seville, and many more, who were all the descendants in a straight line from An-no'mán, son of Al-mundhir, King of Hírah. The Bení Al-bájí, who shone at Seville, and the Bení Wáfid, also powerful citizens of that place, may likewise be counted among the families which used in Andalus the patronymic *Lakhmí*.

Others took it from Jodhám; as, for instance, Thuábah Ibn Salámah (Al- **Jodhám.** jodhámí), governor of Andalus; the Bení Húd, who were kings of Eastern Andalus, and the ancestors of Al-mutawakkel Ibn Húd, who became the absolute rulers of that country after the Al-muwáhhedún (Almohades); and lastly the Bení Mardanísh, who were also lords of certain districts in the east of Andalus. Ibn Ghálib asserts, that a portion of the Bení Jodhám settled about Kala'h Rabáh (Calatrava), and that the name of Jodhám was 'A'mir, and the name of Lakhm, Málik, and that both were the sons of 'Oda.

Others among the descendants of Kahlán took the patronymic *Kindí*, from Kindah, who is better known by the name of Thaur, son of 'Afír, son of 'Oda, son of Morrah, son of Odad; to this number belonged Yúsuf Ibn Hárún Ar-ramádí (Al-kindí) the poet: others, again, took that of *Tojíbí*, from Tojeyb, the wife of Ashras, son of As-sekún, son of Ashras, son of Kindah; and lastly, there were not wanting in Andalus families issued from that principal stock (Kahlán) that derived their patronymic *Khatha'mí* from Khatha'm, son of Anmár, son of Arásh, son of 'Amru, son of Al-ghauth, son of Thábit, son of Málik, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. We might quote, among others, the family from which 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nesa'h (Al-khatha'mí), the governor of Andalus, was issued; however, on this point genealogists do not generally agree, for some make Anmár the son of Nadhr, son of Ma'dd, son of 'Adnán.

The preceding are all the branches of the principal stock of Kahlán which settled at various times in Andalus. We shall now proceed to enumerate those of Himyar.

Himyar was the son of Sebá, son of Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahttán. Among his descendants some took the patronymic of *Ro'ayní*, from Dhú-ro'ayn, who, according to Ibn Ghálib, was the son of 'Amru, son of Himyar; but whom others make the son of Sahl, son of 'Amru, son of Kays, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Josham, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Wáyil, son of Al-ghauth, son of Kattan, son of 'Oreyb, son of Zohayr, son of Aymen, son of Al-hemeysa', son of Himyar. Al-házemí,[27] in his genealogical treatise, pretends that Dhú-ro'ayn was the appellative of 'Ozeym, son of Zeyd, son of Sahl, &c. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that there were many Arabs in Andalus who took the patronymic *Ro'ayní;* of this number was Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-khayyátt (Ar-ro'ayní), the blind man, who was a celebrated poet.

Others took the patronymic *Assbahí*, from Dhú-assbah or Assbah, who, according to Ibn Hazm, was the son of Málik, son of Zeyd, one of the sons of Sebá the younger, son of Zeyd, son of Sahl, son of 'Amru, son of Kays, &c.; but who, in the opinion of Al-házemí, was the son of Kahlán. To this family is supposed to have belonged the famous Imám Málik Ibn Ans. However, there can be no doubt that the *Assbahiún* are descended from Himyar. Numbers of them were established at Cordova, where they enjoyed great consideration, and held high situations.

Others took the patronymic *Yahssobí*, from Yahssob, who, in the opinion of Ibn Hazm, was the brother of Dhú-assbah. They might be found in great numbers about the castle of the Bení Sa'íd, which is well known in the history of Andalus as the castle of Yasshob. Others, that of *Hawázení*, from Hawázen, son of 'Auf, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Wáyil, son of Al-ghauth: their domicile, according

to Ibn Ghálib, was to the east of Seville, and in that city, where they held high appointments.

Others, *Kodhá'í*, from Kodhá'ah, son of Málik, son of Himyar, whom some make the son of Ma'dd, son of 'Adnán, although the genealogists who follow the latter opinion are very few. Some of the Bení Kodhá'ah took also the patronymic of *Mahrí*, from Mahrah; such as the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn 'Ammár (Al-mahrí), who usurped the kingdom of Murcia. Mahrah was the son of Jeydán, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah. Kodhá'ah.

Others took that of *Huseyní*, from Huseyn, son of Namar, son of Wabrah, son of Tha'leb, son of Halwán, son of 'Amrán, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah. Others, *Tenúkhí*, from Tenúkh, who, according to Ibn Málik, was the son of Málik, son of Fehr, son of Namar, son of Wabrah, son of Tha'leb, who, as Al-házemí says, was the same as Málik, son of Fehr, son of Fahm, son of Kaymullah, son of Ased, son of Wabrah. Others, *Belawí*, from Belí, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah; as, for instance, the *Belayun* of Seville. Others, *Joheni*, from Joheynah, son of Aswad, son of Aslam, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah. These might be found in great numbers about Cordova. Huseyn.

From Kelb, son of Wabrah, son of Tha'leb, son of Halwán, many families in Andalus took the patronymic *Kelbí*. We might point out the Bení 'Obádah, of whom the Bení Jehwar, Wizírs and Kings of Cordova, formed part. Others, *'Odhrí*, from 'Odhrah, the wife of Sa'íd, son of Aswad, son of Aslam, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah; as, for example, the Bení 'Odhrah, who were chief men of Algesiras. There were, again, in Andalus families with the patronymic *Hadhramí*, from Hadhra-maut; these abounded most in Murcia, Granada, Seville, Badajoz, and Cordova. Ibn Ghálib asserts also that they were in great numbers in Andalus, and observes that great difference of opinion existed in his time among genealogists as to the ancestors of Hadhra-maut, whom some made the son of Kahttán, and others the son of Kays, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Josham, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Wáyil, son of Al-ghauth, son of Jeydán, son of Kattan, son of Al-'oreyb, son of Al-'araz, son of the daughter of the son of Aymen, son of Al-hemeysa', son of Himyar. Of the latter opinion is the celebrated genealogist Al-házemí. Kelb. Hadhra-maut.

There were also individuals in Andalus who took the patronymic *Salmání*. Of this number was the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, as we shall have further occasion to show in the course of the present work. Salmán.

CHAPTER IV.

'Abdu-l-'azíz left as governor of Andalus—Marries Roderic's widow—Is put to death—Succeeded by Ayúb—Al-horr—As-samh appointed—Is killed in battle—Succeeded by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí—Appointment of 'Anbasah—Rising of Pelayo—Death of 'Anbasah—'Odhrah is appointed by the army—Replaced by Yahya Ibn Salmah—Arrival of Hodheyfah—'Okbah appointed by the Wáli of Africa—Invades the country of the Franks—Is succeeded by 'Abdu-l-malek.

'Abdu-l-'azíz left as governor of Andalus.

In the absence of Músa, who, as before related, left Andalus in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 95 (Aug. or Sept. A.D. 714), his son, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, remained as governor of the country. 'Abdu-l-'azíz collected together the scattered forces of the Moslems, fortified the frontiers, and greatly contributed to the consolidation of the Mohammedan power, and to the extension of the limits of the conquest, by subduing several important fortresses and cities which had hitherto escaped the eyes of his father and Tárik.[1] His administration was in every respect that of an upright and wise prince. It was unfortunately of very short duration, the army having revolted against him, and put him to death towards the close of the year 97 of the Hijra[2] (beginning Sept. 4, A. D. 715), in the second year of his administration.

It is generally believed that the assassins of 'Abdu-l-'azíz had received instructions to that effect from the Khalif Suleymán, the same Sultán who, as has been related elsewhere, had behaved so unjustly towards his father, Músa. They say that Suleymán was instigated to this act of cruelty by some of his courtiers representing 'Abdu-l-'azíz as a bad Moslem and a rebellious subject. Among the various charges brought against him, one was his having married the widow of King Roderic, who was called by the Arabs *Umm -'A'ssem*.[3] This woman had at the time of the conquest obtained from the Moslems security both in her person and property on condition of paying a certain tribute; she was, therefore, living unmolested in the free use of her religion, and enjoying a considerable fortune, of which she was possessed, when

Marries Roderic's widow.

'Abdu-l-'azíz became deeply enamoured of her charms, and married her. 'Abdu-l-'azíz always showed the greatest attachment to this woman; he went, they say, so far as to reside with her in a church at Seville,[4] an act by which he raised the

indignation of every true believer. One day his wife said to him, "Why do not "thy subjects bow down in thy presence, as the Goths used to do before my late "husband, King Roderic?"—"Because," replied 'Abdu-l-'azíz, "such practices "are contrary to our religion." Umm-'A'ssem, not being satisfied with this answer, renewed her entreaties, and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who doted upon her, fearing lest the want of such ceremony, and the apparent want of respect on the part of his people, should diminish her attachment to him, caused a small door to be opened in front of the room where he generally sat to give audience, so that any Moslem entering his presence was compelled to bend himself in order to pass through it. He then made his wife believe that this was a mark of deference to him, and she seemed satisfied. This circumstance being rumoured abroad, and talked of among the soldiers, became, together with the suggestions of the agents of Suleymán, the cause of the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz (may God forgive him!). 'Abdu-l-'azíz was a brave and experienced officer; he displayed great abilities as a general, and during his government many important cities were subdued by the Moslems. He was murdered, as above stated, in the last days of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 97, after a government of two years.[5] They say that when the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz was brought to Damascus, the Khalif Suleymán summoned to his presence Músa Ibn Nosseyr, and showed it to him. "Dost thou know whose head that is?" said Suleymán to the wretched father. "Yes, I do," answered Músa, "it is the head of a man who fasted "and said his prayers. May the curses of Allah fall on it if his assassin was a "better man than he!"[6]

Is put to death.

'Abdu-l-'azíz was succeeded in the government of the country by Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, the son of Músa's sister. Ibnu Hayyán says that Ayúb was chosen by the army to command in Andalus, and that he was the first governor who resolved upon transferring the seat of the government from Seville to Cordova, and who held his court at the latter city, although other historians attribute this decision to his successor, Al-horr. Ayúb's administration lasted six months,[7] when he was succeeded by Al-horr. "From this moment," says Ibnu Khaldún, "Andalus was "governed by a succession of Amírs, sometimes appointed by the Khalifs of the "East, and sometimes by the viceroys of Africa, who held their court at Cairwán. "Under their rule the Arabs made incessant war upon the *Káfirs* (infidels); they "took the city of Barcelona in the eastern part of Andalus, as well as the fortresses "of *Kashtélah*[8] (Castile) and those of Narbonne, subduing all the intermediate flat "country towards the north-west. The Gothic nations were nearly exterminated; "the Galicians, and such among the Barbarians as had escaped destruction on "former occasions, were compelled to fly for refuge to the mountains of Castile and "Narbonne, and to strengthen themselves in the gorges and other spots strong by

Is succeeded by Ayúb.

"nature. This, however, proved of no avail to them; for the Moslems, crossing "those natural barriers which, on the side of Barcelona, separate Andalus from "the continent, descended into the plains beyond them, and made incursions into "the land of the Franks, the *Káfirs* becoming every where the prey of the impetuous "waves of Islám. Unluckily discord and civil war broke out at times among the "conquerors themselves: the consequence was that eighty years had scarcely "elapsed since the conquest, when the Franks, profiting by the dissensions of the "Moslems, snatched from their hands Barcelona and several other cities belonging "to those distant regions. God is great! He gives the empire to whomsoever He "pleases!"

Al-horr.

But to return to our narrative. When Mohammed Ibn Yezíd, who governed Africa in Suleymán's name, heard of the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, he immediately sent to Andalus Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Othmán Ath-thakefí, who divested Ayúb of the command, and administered the affairs of the Moslems for two years and eight months, until he himself was replaced by As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, who was appointed by the Khalif 'Omar, son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. According to the historian Ar-rází, Al-horr arrived in Andalus in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 98 (July or August, A. D. 717), bringing in his suite four hundred men of the principal Arabian families of Africa, who became in after-time the stock of all the nobility of Andalus. Ibnu Bashkúwál says also that the duration of his government was two years and eight months,[9] and that it came immediately after the insurrection of Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí.

As-samh appointed by the Khalif.

Al-horr was succeeded in the government of Andalus by As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, who, according to Ibnu Hayyán and Ibnu Khaldún, was nominated to that post by the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz. The first-mentioned writer says that the appointment of As-samh took place in the month of Ramadhán, A. H. 100,[10] (April or May, A. D. 718); the latter says only that he came at the commencement of the second century of the Hijra. However, it was he who caused the bridge at Cordova to be rebuilt, after obtaining permission of the Khalif to that effect, as we have related elsewhere.[11] He also brought instructions from the Khalif to collect for him the fifth of the spoil taken from those Christian provinces which had not yet acknowledged the authority of Islám,[12] and to write a description of the cities, mountains, rivers, and seas in that country; and this 'Omar caused to be done and sent to him, that he might the better gain a knowledge of the countries conquered by the Moslems, and estimate their resources, for he intended to make them evacuate Andalus, dreading the dangers to which they might be exposed in a distant country, away from their brethren in religion, and from the people speaking their language. "Would to God," exclaims Ibnu Hayyán, "that As-samh had lived

" long enough to complete the task intrusted to his care; for, in their transactions " with the infidels, the Moslems of this country are fast working their own per- " dition, unless God Almighty, by his infinite mercy, be pleased to rescue them."[13]

After an administration of two years and eight months, As-samh died a martyr for the faith in the country of the Franks. Ibnu Hayyán relates, that, having invaded the land of the infidels, he was surrounded by their forces, who poured on him on all sides, and that not one Moslem escaped that disastrous affair, which was well known in Andalus as 'the battle of Balátt,'[14] and the spot itself as *Baláttu-sh-shohadá* ('the pavement of the martyrs'). He says also, that it was a common opinion in his days, that on the very spot where so many Moslems fell, the voice of an invisible muezzin was daily heard announcing the hours of prayer. According to Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, As-samh was slain on the day of Taru-wiyah, A.H. 102.[15]

Is killed in battle.

After the massacre of As-samh and his army, the Moslems of Andalus chose for their commander 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí, who is counted by Ibnu Bashkúwál in the number of those *tábi's* who entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr. 'Abdu-r-rahmán is further said to have preserved traditions from 'Ab-dullah, son of 'Omar Ibnu-l-khattáb.

Is succeeded by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí.

Ibnu Khaldún tells us that this 'Abdu-r-rahmán governed Andalus until the arrival of 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí, whom Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem, then Wáli of Eastern Africa, appointed to be his successor. Ibnu Bashkúwál states that this took place in the year 110 (beginning April 15, A.D. 728), that 'Abdu-r-rahmán owed his nomination to 'Obeydah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Alkaysí, Wáli of Eastern Africa, and that he fell a martyr in an encounter with the Christians of Andalus in the year 115. So far Ibnu Bashkúwál, whose statement is in contradiction with what we have related elsewhere; namely, that immediately after the death of As-samh in 102, 'Abdu-r-rahmán succeeded him: for how could this be, when Ibnu Bashkúwál asserts that he was appointed in the year 110? Which of these two accounts is the correct one, God only knows. This difficulty, however, may easily be surmounted by supposing 'Abdu-r-rahmán to have been governor of Andalus on two different occasions, as we find it stated by Al-hijárí. The following words, which we read in Ibnu Hayyán, may also be of use in clearing the obscurity:— " When 'Abdu-r-rahmán came to Andalus, in Safar, 113 (April or May, A.D. " 731), for *the second time*, he was appointed by Ibnu-l-hajáb, Wáli of Eastern " Africa. He immediately made war upon the Franks, with whom he had some " sharp encounters, until his army was destroyed and he himself fell a martyr for " the faith in the month of Ramadhán, 114 (October, A.D. 732), at the spot known " as the pavement of the martyrs (*Baláttu-sh-shohadá*)."

Be this as it may, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí is described by Al-homaydí as a man of great courage and considerable abilities, honest in his proceedings, and impartial in his judgments: he attended in person to the distribution of the spoils taken from the enemy, which he caused always to be made with the greatest equality and fairness in his own presence. On this occasion 'Abdu-r-rahmán's administration did not last long; since he was soon after replaced by 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí, who was appointed by the governor of Africa, Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem. According to Ibnu Hayyán, 'Anbasah was appointed to the government of Andalus in Safar, A.H. 103 (August, A.D. 721), by Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem, the secretary of Al-hejáj, then governor of Eastern Africa. Ibnu Bashkúwál says that he introduced order into the administration, and made war on the Franks in person, and that he died in the month of Sha'bán, A.H. 107 (December, A.D. 725, or Jan. 726), after a government of four years and four months,—others say eight months. Ibnu Khaldún, who makes his government last four years and four months, says that he died a martyr in an expedition into the land of the Franks.

Appointment of 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí.

Rising of Pelayo.

"During 'Anbasah's administration," says Ibnu Hayyán, "a despicable barbarian, whose name was Beláy (Pelayo), rose in the land of Galicia, and, having "reproached his countrymen for their ignominious dependence and their cowardly "flight, began to stir them up to revenge the past injuries, and to expel the "Moslems from the land of their fathers. From that moment the Christians "of Andalus began to resist the attacks of the Moslems on such districts as had "remained in their possession, and to defend their wives and daughters; for "until then they had not shown the least inclination to do either. The com"mencement of the rebellion happened thus: there remained no city, town, or "village in Galicia but what was in the hands of the Moslems, with the exception "of a steep mountain on which this Pelayo took refuge with a handful of "men: there his followers went on dying through hunger until he saw their "numbers reduced to about thirty men and ten women, having no other food "for support than the honey which they gathered in the crevices of the rock which "they themselves inhabited, like so many bees. However, Pelayo and his men "fortified themselves by degrees in the passes of the mountain until the Moslems "were made acquainted with their preparations; but, perceiving how few they "were, they heeded not the advice conveyed to them, and allowed them to gather "strength, saying, 'What are thirty[16] barbarians, perched upon a rock?—they "must inevitably die.'" Would to God that the Moslems had then extinguished at once the sparkles of a fire that was destined to consume the whole dominions of Islám in those parts; for, as Ibnu Sa'íd has judiciously observed, "the contempt in "which the Moslems of those days held that mountain and the few wretched beings

" who took refuge upon it, proved in after-time the chief cause of the numerous con-
" quests which the posterity of that same Pelayo were enabled to make in the
" territory of the Moslems,—conquests," adds that excellent historian, " which
" have so much increased of late years, that the enemy of God has reduced many
" populous cities; and, that at the moment I write, the magnificent city of Cordova,
" the splendid capital of the Mohammedan empire of Andalus, the court of the
" Khalifs of the illustrious house of Umeyyah, has fallen into the hands of the
" infidels. May God annihilate them!"

Ibnu Sa'íd was right; the forces of Pelayo went on increasing until he openly raised the standard of revolt: he was succeeded by Alfonso, the progenitor of all the Christian kings known by his name. This Alfonso resisted likewise the authority of the Moslems, against whom he carried on incessant war; his power and importance, as well as his states, increasing soon in such a ratio as not to be easily obscured. But of this more will be said in the course of our narrative.

Some writers have asserted that 'Anbasah died a natural death as he was marching to attack the Franks, whilst others pretend that he was killed[17] in an engagement with them. Be this as it may, Ibnu Hayyán and Al-hijárí say that after the death of this governor, which, as before stated, happened in Sha'bán, 107 (Dec. A. D. 725 or Jan. 726), the people of Andalus elected 'Odhrah[18] Ibn 'Abdillah Al-fehrí. 'Odhrah is not counted by Ibnu Bashkúwál among the governors of Andalus; but both Al-hijárí and Ibnu Hayyán, who include him in their number, describe him as one of the most distinguished Arabs who attended the conquest of Andalus,—a man of great probity and courage, and whose posterity might still be met with in their days at Guadix, in the kingdom of Granada. A son of this 'Odhrah, whose name was Hishám, made himself at a subsequent period the master of Toledo, the citadel of Andalus.[19] Ibnu Sa'íd includes him likewise in the number of the governors of Andalus, and says that he held his court in Cordova.

Death of 'Anbasah.

'Odhrah Ibn 'Abdillah is appointed by the army.

However, 'Odhrah seems only to have administered the government of the country until the arrival of Yahya Ibn Salmah Al-kelbí, who, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, and the above-mentioned writers, was appointed by Beshr Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, Wáli of Africa, at the solicitation of the Andalusians, who, on the death of 'Anbasah, sent to ask him for a new governor. Yahya landed in Andalus towards the end of the year 107; some authors add in the month of Shawwál. He ruled Andalus for a period of eighteen months, some say two years and a half, during which time he led no army in person against the infidels. Ibnu Hayyán's narrative agrees on this point with that of Ibnu Bashkúwál. Cordova seems to have been the place of residence of Yahya. Ibnu Khaldún, who includes him in his list of Andalusian governors, repeats this statement, and adds that

Is replaced by Yahya Ibn Salmah.

Yahya was the first governor of Andalus appointed by the Wális of Africa, who, from that time, always provided the governors of that country. The same writer [Ibnu Khaldún] agrees in making the duration of Yahya's rule two years and a half.[20]

'Othmán Ibn Abí Nesah Al-khath'amí,[21] whom others call Al-lakhmí, was the next governor of Andalus. According to Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, 'Othmán was appointed to that post by 'Obeydah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán As-solamí, Wáli of Eastern Africa, in the month of Sha'bán, A. H. 110 (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 728). The new governor fixed his residence at Cordova. He was, however, deposed five months afterwards, and replaced by Hodheyfah Ibn Al-ahwass Al-kaysí, who, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, was also nominated by the same Wáli of Africa, 'Obeydah.

Arrival of Hodheyfah.

Hodheyfah arrived in Andalus in the month of Rabi'-l-awal, A. H. 110 (June or July, A.D. 728); he was almost immediately removed, some authors making the duration of his government only one year. However, historians do not agree as to the period of his administration; some supposing that it preceded that of 'Othmán, others that it came afterwards.[22]

Hodheyfah was succeeded by Al-haytham Ibn 'Obeyd Al-kelábí,[23] who, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, was appointed by 'Obeydah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, the Wáli of Africa, and arrived in Andalus in the month of Moharram, A.H. 111 (April, A.D. 729). Ibnu Khaldún says that he invaded the country of Makunshah,[24] and reduced it to the sway of Islám. Al-haytham died in the year 113 (beginning 14th March, A.D. 731), after a government of two years and some days, which other historians make two years and four months.[25] This governor also held his court at Cordova.

He was succeeded by Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ashja'í, whom the people of Andalus appointed to command them.[26] Ibnu Bashkúwál, from whom the preceding statement is borrowed, describes him as a virtuous and upright man. He administered the affairs of the Moslems and presided over their prayers for the short period of two months, after which time he appointed to the government of the country 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí, the same Amír who had performed those duties on a former occasion, and whose administration has already been noticed by us. This time 'Abdu-r-rahmán was appointed by 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-hajáb, Wáli of Africa, of which country Andalus was a dependency. 'Abdu-r-rahmán remained in the government until he was slain in battle with the Franks, as before related, in the year 116, or, according to other authorities, in the year 115,[27] after an administration of one year and eight months, though there is a tradition making it two years and six months. Ibnu Bashkúwál says that the

expedition in which 'Abdu-r-rahmán fell was known in Andalus as *Ghazwatu-l-balátt* (the expedition of *Balátt*); but the same has been said elsewhere of As-samh. 'Abdu-r-rahmán held his court at Cordova.

According to Ibnu Khaldún, who puts the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán in the year 114, this governor must have been absent from Andalus when he was nominated; for the words of that historian run as follow: "After this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn "'Abdillah Al-gháfekí was appointed to the government of Andalus by 'Obeydullah "Ibnu-l-hajáb, Wáli of Eastern Africa. He arrived in Andalus in the year 113, "and made war upon the Franks, with whom he had several encounters; but in the "month of Ramadhán of the year 114 (Oct. A.D. 732), his army was cut to pieces "at a spot called *Baláttu-sh-shohadá* (the pavement of the martyrs), he himself "being in the number of the slain. This disastrous battle is well known among "the people of Andalus as the battle of *Balátt*. 'Abdu-r-rahmán had governed "the country one year and eight months." But to return.

After 'Abdu-r-rahmán's death, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehrí, whom Al-hijárí includes in his list of Andalusian governors, obtained the command. 'Abdu-l-malek is considered by the said author (Al-hijárí) as the stock whence the family of the Bení Al-kásim, Lords of Al-bont (Puente), and the Bení Al-jadd, one of the principal families of Seville, are issued. 'Abdu-l-malek is likewise mentioned by Ibnu Bashkúwál, who says that he was appointed to the government of Andalus in the month of Ramadhán, A. H. 114 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 732), and that his administration lasted two years,[28] although there are not wanting authors, as Al-wákedí, who make four years the duration of his government; but those who do so have, no doubt, been led into error by the circumstance of 'Abdu-l-malek's governing the country twice; since, as we shall presently show, he ruled over Andalus before and after 'Okbah. He conducted various expeditions into the territory of the Basques, one especially in 115, from which he returned victorious, and loaded with spoil. He is, however, described by several writers as a man of cruel propensities, and excessive rigour in his judgments; owing to which he was ignominiously deposed in the month of Ramadhán, 116 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 734), and replaced by 'Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj As-selúlí, who came to Andalus by the appointment of 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-hajáb, the Wáli of Africa. The new governor was a man of great justice and irreproachable conduct, virtues which made him the idol of the Moslems. During the five years of his administration he made many successful inroads into the country of the Franks, and hunted down the infidels in every direction, taking their cities and castles by force of arms, until the Moslem settlements reached as far as Narbonne, and their advanced posts[29] and military stations were established on the banks of the Rodanoh (Rhône). He had previously, in the year 111 (beginning April 4, A.D. 729),

'Okbah appointed by the Wáli of Africa

Invades the country of the Franks.

converted the city of Narbonne into a sort of citadel, from which the Moslems might sally out and scour the neighbouring country, for which purpose he stored it with arms and provisions; and many were the expeditions which he himself led into the country of the Franks. But whilst intent upon extending his conquests, 'Okbah lost no opportunity of spreading the religion of Islám; for, whenever he took prisoners, he never would order their execution without previously inviting them to embrace the only true religion, and setting before their eyes the gross errors and impositions of their creed; and this plan answered so well, that thousands of infidels were converted at his hands.

Is succeeded by 'Abdu-l-malek.

'Okbah arrived in Andalus in the year 117, others say in the year before. He was succeeded by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, for the second time, although the manner in which this was effected is differently stated. Ibnu Khaldún says, "In "the year 121 'Abdu-l-malek rose against 'Okbah, deposed him from his govern-"ment, and put him to death, or, according to others, expelled him from the "country." Ibnu Bashkúwál's statement is, that 'Abdu-l-malek revolted against 'Okbah, seized his person, and deprived him of the command of Andalus; but he says that it was not clear whether he had him secretly put to death, or whether he merely banished him the country.[30] Both authors, however, agree in saying that this happened in the year 121 (beginning Dec. 17, A. D. 738), and that the usurper retained the command during the remainder of that year and the two following, 122 and 123, until Balj came from Africa with the Syrian troops, and, having subdued Andalus, made 'Abdu-l-malek his prisoner, and had him crucified in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 123. 'Okbah held his court at Cordova.

Ar-rází's account differs considerably from the preceding. He says, "In the "month of Safar of the year 123 (Dec. A. D. 740, or Jan. 741), during the Khalifate "of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, the people of Andalus revolted against 'Okbah, "and appointed in his stead 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, for the second time. "'Okbah had governed Andalus for a period of six years and four months; he "died at Carcasonne[31] in the same month (Safar, A. H. 123)." However, we find that both Ibnu Khaldún and Ibnu Bashkúwál give him only five years' government. Be this as it may, certain it is that 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan usurped the power in Andalus, and ruled as master over that country until the arrival of Balj Ibn Beshr, who, escaping from the defeat of the Syrian army by the Berbers, at a place in Africa called Mulwiyah, took refuge in Andalus with the remainder of the Syrian troops; some say in the year 123, others in 124. Balj made war upon 'Abdu-l-malek, whom he defeated and took prisoner, putting him to death in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah, 123 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 741), ten months after his usurpation of the power. They say that Balj caused his adversary, Ibn Kattan, to be crucified in a

field outside of Cordova, on the opposite bank of the river, and close to the head of the bridge, after causing a hog to be placed at his right hand, and a dog at his left. In that state did the body of the unfortunate 'Abdu-l-malek remain for a considerable time, until some of his friends and clients stole his mangled remains one night, and buried them. The spot where this lamentable execution took place was long after known as *Masslab Ibn Kattan*, 'the place of crucifixion of Ibn Kattan.' A few years after this event, the government of Andalus having devolved on his cousin, Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí, Umeyyah, the son of the executed governor, applied to him for permission to build a mosque on the spot; and, having obtained it, he erected a handsome temple, which was called *Mesjid Umeyyah* (the mosque of Umeyyah), after the name of its founder; and thus did the spot lose its former name. They say that when 'Abdu-l-malek was executed he was nearly ninety years old; but of this more will be said when we come to treat about Balj.

CHAPTER V.

General rising of the Berbers in Africa—Kolthúm is sent against them—Is defeated and replaced by Hondhalah—The Berbers of Andalus rise against the Arabs—They defeat 'Abdu-l-malek—The Syrians under Balj come to his assistance—They revolt against him—They take him prisoner—Put him to death—The sons of 'Abdu-l-malek march against Balj—Balj is killed in the engagement—The Syrians appoint Tha'lebah—Their wars with the Berbers—Arrival of Abú-l-khattár—Is defeated, and taken prisoner—Makes his escape—Thuábah's nomination confirmed by the Wáli of Africa—Battle of Shekundah—Death of Abú-l-khattár—The grandsons of Wittiza—Yusúf Al-fehrí is appointed by the army—Several chiefs resist his authority—He defeats them in succession—Chronology of the governors of Andalus.

General rising of the Berbers in Africa.

We have alluded elsewhere to the rising of the Berbers, both in Andalus[1] and in Africa, where they had frequently cut to pieces the forces dispatched against them. About this time, especially, elated at their past success, they aimed at taking the empire from the hands of the Arabs. Thus it occurred: when the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, who succeeded his brother Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek in the year 105 of the Hijra (beginning June 9, A. D. 723), received intelligence of the revolt of the Berbers in *Maghrebu-l-akssá* (Western Africa) and in Andalus, and how they had shaken off the yoke of the Arabs, and denied all obedience to him, resisting the authority of his officers, and committing all sorts of excesses and depredations throughout the country, he was greatly displeased, and decreed the immediate removal of 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-hajáb, then governor of Africa. This done, he appointed to succeed him Kolthúm Ibn 'Iyádh Al-kusheyrí, who left Syria with a considerable army to make war upon the rebels.

Kolthúm is sent against them.

With these forces, which, added to the African garrisons, amounted to no less than seventy thousand men, Kolthúm took the field, and marched against the chief of the insurrection, named Meysarah, a Berber, who had assumed the name and authority of the Khalif in Africa. When the two armies met, the Moslems were defeated with great loss; and their general, Kolthúm, being wounded, was on the point of falling into the hands of his enemies. He, however, contrived to make his escape,[2] and shut himself up in the castle of Ceuta. Among the Arabs who

took refuge in that fortress was a nephew of Kolthúm, named Balj Ibn Beshr Al-kusheyrí.

Is defeated; and replaced by Hondhalah.

When the news of this disaster reached Syria, Hishám was mightily displeased. Wishing to wash out the injury which the Moslems had sustained, he dispatched another army under the command of Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, who, immediately after his arrival, attacked the Berbers, and defeated them in several bloody encounters. But in the interval between the defeat of the Arabs and the arrival of Hondhalah, Balj and his uncle Kolthúm, with the relics of the Syrian army,[3] were closely besieged in Ceuta by the Berbers. So effectually was the city surrounded, and so vigorous were the attacks of the enemy, that the besieged began to feel the scarcity of provisions, and were reduced to the greatest extremity. In this conflict they sent to implore the assistance of their brethren, the Moslems of Andalus; but 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, who was then governor of that country, fearing lest, if he extricated them from their dangerous position, they might afterwards disturb him, refused to grant them any assistance. However, the news of their danger having become known throughout Andalus, there were not wanting some generous and pious men who flew to their relief, or who sent them stores and provisions. Zeyyád Ibn 'Amru Al-lakhmí,[4] among others, freighted two vessels loaded with provisions, by means of which he actually saved them from starvation. But no sooner was 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan apprised of this act of disobedience to his orders, than he caused Zeyyád to be immediately arrested and brought to his presence, when, after reproaching him with his disobedience, he had him punished with seven hundred lashes. Nor did Ibn Kattan's vengeance end here: some time after, under the pretence that he was trying to form in the army a party against him, he ordered Zeyyád to be first deprived of his sight, and then beheaded and crucified, having at his left hand a dog.

The Berbers of Andalus rise against the Arabs.

It so happened about this time that the Berbers of Andalus, having heard of the victories which their brethren of Africa had gained over the Arabs, shook off all allegiance to the Moslems of Andalus,[5] and imitated in every respect the example of their countrymen. Having elected a chief of their own, they fought several battles with the troops of 'Abdu-l-malek, whom they defeated on more than one occasion. When Ibn Kattan saw this, he began to fear lest the Berbers should entirely overpower his forces, and get possession of the country. Perceiving therefore that the rebels, proud of the victories gained over his arms, intended to march against him and besiege his capital, Cordova, he bethought himself of calling to his aid Balj Ibn Beshr and the Syrian adventurers who followed his banners; thinking that they would gladly embrace any opportunity to revenge their past defeats on the Berbers of Andalus. He accordingly wrote to Balj,

They defeat 'Abdu-l-malek.

inviting him to come over, and promising great rewards to him and his troops in case they should succeed in reducing the Berbers. When Balj received Ibn Kattan's letters, his uncle Kolthúm was just dead; so that, seeing no hope of promotion or advantage in Africa, and being moreover unable to extricate himself from his perilous position, that chief readily accepted the offer made to him, and crossed over to Andalus. On the arrival of his Syrian auxiliaries, Ibn Kattan failed not to receive them with the greatest courtesy, making them extensive grants of land, and conferring on them many other favours. It was, however, previously agreed between the two parties, that as soon as their united forces had exterminated the Berbers, Balj and his Syrians should return to Africa; in security for which they were to give 'Abdu-l-malek a certain number of hostages. These conditions being mutually agreed upon, the Syrians were divided into two corps, the command of which was given by 'Abdu-l-malek to his two sons, Kattan and Umeyyah, who marched immediately against the Berbers, who by that time had collected together considerable forces. The two armies met soon afterwards, when, after a most desperate and well contested battle, the wheel of fortune turned against the Berbers, and they were defeated, notwithstanding their forces were so numerous as to render it impossible for any but Allah, their Creator, to estimate their amount. The Arabs pursued them with great slaughter through the provinces of Andalus, until their fugitive remains reached the extreme frontiers of the Mussulman empire, or succeeded in hiding themselves from the eyes of the Syrian hawks.

The Syrians under Balj come to his assistance.

In the mean while Balj and his followers were elated with success; their nostrils swelled with pride; their hands were filled with spoils; their strength and importance waxed greater; their ambition was kindled; they broke the agreements they had entered into, and forgot the conditions they had signed; and when Ibn Kattan, agreeably to their engagements, requested them to leave Andalus, they refused to do so, making all sorts of excuses to put off their departure. At last, throwing off the mask of dissimulation, they began to complain bitterly of the injuries received at the hands of Ibn Kattan, when, being besieged in Ceuta, he not only would not give them any assistance, but had besides sentenced and put to death, as related elsewhere, an Arab, who, in violation of his orders, had sent them provisions and stores: they declared themselves in open rebellion, deposed Ibn Kattan, and appointed in his stead their general, Balj Ibn Beshr. The new governor was therefore acknowledged throughout the country; the troops, even those of Ibn Kattan, having declared in his favour. After this, Balj was advised by his followers to put Ibn Kattan to death;[6] but this he would not do, in consequence of which the people of Yemen showed their discontent, and said to him: "Thou wishest to spare "Ibn Kattan because he belongs to the tribe of Modhar, and is therefore one of thy

They revolt against him.

They take him prisoner.

"kindred. By Allah! unless thou deliver him immediately into our hands, we "swear not to obey thy commands." Hearing which, and seeing his men determined to have their revenge, Balj ordered the deposed governor into his presence, and delivered him into the hands of the infuriated soldiery. The author whose narrative we transcribe says, that 'Abdu-l-malek was a tall and muscular old man, resembling a young ostrich; he was then ninety years of age.[7] When young, he had been present at the famous battle of Al-hárrah,[8] fought between the Syrians and the people of Medínah. While the executioners were binding his hands, one of them addressed him thus: "We have thee at last; thou didst once "escape from our swords at the battle of Al-hárrah; after which thou doomedst "us to eat dogs and the skins of animals, and didst refuse us all supplies, that we "might all die in Ceuta from hunger and thirst; but thou art now in our hands, "and revenge must have its course." 'Abdu-l-malek was instantly beheaded, and crucified in the manner above described. Put him to death.

By the death of 'Abdu-l-malek, the government of Andalus devolved on Balj the Syrian, as above mentioned; but he had soon to contend against Kattan and Umeyyah, the two sons of the deceased, who, assisted by the tribe of Fehr, and by all the discontented, and many others who took offence at the execution of the late governor, advanced towards Cordova at the head of a considerable army. Balj went out to meet them, and gave them battle; but although fortune proved favourable to his arms, and the Fehrites were defeated, he himself was mortally wounded, and died soon after the action, in the year 124, one year or so after his usurpation of the power. The particulars of this engagement are thus described by a trustworthy historian:—"When Kattan and Umeyyah, the two sons of 'Abdu-l-"malek, heard of their father's execution, they fled from Cordova, and, having "collected together some forces, swore to revenge their father's blood. They "were soon joined not only by all the Arabian tribes which had settled[9] in Andalus "previous to the arrival of the Syrians, and who were envious at their success, "but by the Berbers themselves, who from all parts of the country now flocked "under their standard. Among the former was 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb Ibn "Abí 'Obeydah Ibn 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí,[10] one of the generals of the army, "who had hitherto followed the party of Balj; but who, seeing the barbarous "retaliation committed on his cousin 'Abdu-l-malek, deserted the banners of that "chief, and passed over to the enemy with a considerable body of troops. Their "ranks were further increased by the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alkamah "Al-lakhmí, governor of Narbonne, the bravest knight in Andalus, who likewise "embraced their party: the combined forces of the rebels, amounting to upwards "of one hundred thousand men, then marched to besiege Balj in Cordova. The

The sons of 'Abdu-l-malek march against Balj.

"Syrian general, being an experienced and valiant warrior, was not taken unawares: he went out to meet them at the head of twelve thousand cavalry, "without including in this number a large body of his own slaves, which he had "formed into a division, and various tribes of the Beladí[11] Arabs, who were "ranged under his banners. When the two armies met, the Syrians fought with "desperate valour, performing feats of arms the like of which never before were "witnessed. In the midst of the engagement, however, Ibn 'Alkamah thus "addressed his followers: 'Show me where Balj is, that I may look for him, "transfix him with this my spear, or, by Allah! die at his hands.' Upon which one "of his borderers[12] pointed out to him the spot where Balj was, and Ibn 'Alkamah "made a desperate charge at the head of his own men. The Syrian knights, "unable to withstand the shock, gave way, and a passage was thus opened which "enabled Ibn 'Alkamah to penetrate into the middle of their ranks. Having "reached the spot where Balj fought, he wounded him twice with his spear, and "threw him off his saddle. Notwithstanding this mishap the Syrians fought so "well, that after some time the Beladí Arabs were completely routed and took to "flight, being closely pursued by the Syrians, who made great slaughter among "them, and took many prisoners; victory thus remaining to those who had lost "their general in the action."[13] This battle, and the death of Balj, who, as we have already observed, died of his wounds two days after,[14] happened in the month of Shawwál, A.H. 124 (Sept. A.D. 742), eleven months[15] after his coming into power. Like his predecessors, Balj held his court at Cordova.

After the death of their general, the Syrians appointed to succeed him Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-'ámelí, by others called Al-jodhámí;[16] but before we proceed any further, we think it important to observe that the Arabs who entered Andalus with Balj were known by the name of *Shámiún* (people of Shám or Syria), to distinguish them from those who were already in that country, and came at the time of the conquest or soon after it: these were called *Beladiún*. But to return; after the death of Balj, as related, Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-'ámelí was appointed by the Syrians to govern the country, in virtue of a provision received from the Khalif Hishám to that effect. Tha'lebah ruled the country with great moderation and justice. Ibnu Khaldún says "that he governed it for a period of two years, "although his authority was not acknowledged for more than ten months;" his partiality for the Yemení Arabs having become the cause of the desertion of the tribe of Fehr, and of the civil wars which ensued. It happened thus: soon after the appointment of Tha'lebah, the first Andalusian settlers from among the Arabs and the Berbers resolved upon revenging the outrages they had received at the hands of the Syrians, and accordingly made war upon Tha'lebah, whom they

besieged in Merida, where he had taken refuge. When the rebels saw Tha'lebah shut up within the walls of that city, they were greatly rejoiced, and doubted not of the victory: they thought that their enemy could not escape them, and would ere long be obliged to give himself up for want of provisions. In this security, and trusting in their numbers, the besiegers were scattered over the plain before Merida, without the least order or vigilance. They even began to make preparations for the solemnization of an approaching festival;[17] which being observed by Tha'lebah, he chose the moment when they were most careless, and at sunrise of the day in which they were to celebrate their festival, he made a sally at the head of his garrison, and succeeded in routing them completely, killing great numbers of them; besides taking one thousand prisoners, with all their families[18] and children. He then returned to Cordova, where no less than ten thousand captives, or perhaps more, taken by the different divisions of his army after the defeat before the walls of Merida, were brought to him from various parts of the country. Tha'lebah then encamped outside of Cordova with his troops. It was on a Thursday; and on the following day, after prayers, it was his intention to put the whole of his ten thousand prisoners to the sword. Friday came on, and every one present expected to see the massacre of the prisoners commence; when, lo! the Khalif's banner fluttered in the distance, and, soon after, Abú-l-khattár Husám Ibn Dhirár Al-kelbí, who came to take possession of the government, made his appearance.

Arrival of Abú-l-khattár.

Ibnu Khaldún says that this Abú-l-khattár came to Andalus by the appointment of Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán, Wáli of Africa, with instructions to re-establish public order, and appease the troubles excited by the contending parties. He sailed from the port of Túnis in the month of Moharram of the year 125 (Nov. A. D. 742). Ibnu Hayyán has words to the same effect, and adds that the reigning Khalif at the time was Al-walíd Ibn Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán: he places the arrival of Abú-l-khattár in Cordova in Rejeb, 125 (May, 743), after Tha'lebah had governed the country for ten months.

"No sooner," continues Ibnu Khaldún, "did Abú-l-khattár land in Andalus "than all parties hastened to put down their arms. Tha'lebah himself, Ibn Abí "Nes'ah,[19] and the two sons of 'Abdu-l-malek, went out to meet him, and swore "allegiance. Abú-l-khattár treated them all kindly; and Tha'lebah, the late "governor, returned to the East, where he attached himself to Merwán Ibn "Mohammed, whom he followed in most of his campaigns."[20]

Abú-l-khattár is generally described as a brave and generous man, and endowed with much prudence and great talents for administration. Finding that the settlers from Syria were very numerous in Andalus, and that Cordova could no longer hold them, he scattered them over the country, and gave them lands to

settle in. He gave Elvira and the surrounding country to the people of Damascus, who, finding it resemble their native country, called it *Shám* (Damascus): the people of Hems (Emessa) he caused to settle at Seville, which received also the name of *Hems*. Jayyen (Jaen) was given up to the people of Kenesrín, and called also by that name, *Kenesrín;* the people of Al-urdán had as their share Rayah and Malaga, both of which they named *Al-urdán;* Shídhúnah, or by others named Sherísh (Xerez), fell to the lot of the people of Palestine, and was therefore called *Filistín*. The Egyptians had Tudmír, which, in imitation of the other settlers, they called *Misr;* [21] and lastly, the people of Wásit received Cabra and the neighbouring districts as their share.

According to Ibnu Hayyán, Abú-l-khattár was an excellent poet: he also evinced great talents for administration, and his government at first was just and mild, though he afterwards showed some inclination to favour the Yemení Arabs in their feuds against the Modharites, and affronted the tribe of Kays, which is a branch of the latter; the consequence of which was that civil war [22] broke out afresh, and raged with more violence than ever. The cause of the war is thus related by the historians: Abú-l-khattár had always shown himself partial to the Arabs of Yemen. One day a man belonging to his own tribe had an altercation with a man of the tribe of Kenánah, and although the case was clearly proved against the Yemení, who was a cousin of Abú-l-khattár, the governor, swayed by love for his own people,[23] decided in favour of his cousin. The Kenání then went to see As-samíl Ibn Hátim Ibn Shamr Al-kelábí, surnamed Abú-l-jaushan, and told him of Abú-l-khattár's injustice. Now this As-samíl was one of the principal chiefs [24] of the Bení Modhar; he hated tyranny and oppression, and could not suppress his indignation when he heard of the outrage inflicted on one of his own people, whose rights he was always the first to defend and support. He goes immediately to see Abú-l-khattár, and reproaches him with his conduct in language not very moderate; upon which Abú-l-khattár answers with abuse: As-samíl replies, and things go so far that Abú-l-khattár orders his guards to seize him, raise him from his seat, and put him out of the room.[25] They relate that in the scuffle As-samíl received some blows in the nape of his neck, by which his turban was thrown on one side; and that as he was going out of the Amír's palace a man who was standing at the door said to him, " O Abú-l-jaushan, what is the matter with thy turban? By Allah! " it is all on one side."—" Thou art right, man," said As-samíl, " but I trust " my people will soon put it right for me." Saying which, he immediately retired to his dwelling, and sent for his friends and clients, who came to him in haste as soon as they heard of the occurrence. When they were all assembled, As-samíl begged them to stay with him; and when the shades of night had

covered the earth, he addressed them in the following words: "What do you "think, friends, has happened to me? I have been injured and ill-treated by the "Amír; but the affront is not one that falls only on me, it comprises you all as "my friends and relatives." He then told them his adventure with Abú-l-khattár; upon which his friends replied, "If thou declare unto us what kind of revenge "it is thy intention to take, we will see whether we can participate in thy designs, "or not."—"By Allah!" said As-samíl, "my vengeance shall not be satisfied "with any thing short of taking the command from the hands of this Arab: in "order to accomplish which, I intend to quit Cordova secretly this very night, "and betake myself where I can expect help and security; for I see at present "no other way of carrying my plans into execution. Whither do ye think I had "better go? To whom shall I apply for aid?"—"Go wherever thou likest," said his friends, "provided it be not to the dwelling of Abú 'Attá Al-kaysí; for he "is incapable of lending thee any assistance, and will never do any thing that "may turn to thy advantage." This Abú 'Attá was an Arabian chief, who enjoyed great authority and power in the city of Ezija, the place of his residence: he was a great enemy of As-samíl, and his rival in every thing. All those present at this interview assented to this advice, except Abú Bekr Ibn Tofayl Al-'abadí, who, although still a youth, enjoyed great consideration and respect in the tribe: he alone refused to give his opinion, and kept silence; which being observed by As-samíl, he addressed him thus:—"Why dost thou not speak, O Ibn Tofayl? "What is thy advice?"—"I have only one thing to say," replied the youth, "which is, that if thou do not go to see Abú 'Attá, and persist in thy enmity to "him, this our conspiracy will certainly not succeed, and we shall all of us meet "with our death. If, on the contrary, thou go to see him, I am sure he will "forget what has passed between you; he will be moved by love to thee and "his tribe, and he will do any thing thou wishest him to do."—"Well said!" replied As-samíl; "thine is the best advice, and I will certainly act upon it." He accordingly left Cordova that very night, and repaired to Ezija, where he visited Abú 'Attá, who, being a generous and forgiving man, immediately tendered him such aid to his cause as he could bestow. From Ezija As-samíl went to Múrúr (Moror),[26] the place of residence of Thuábah [Ibn Salámah] Ibn Yezíd[27] Al-jodhámí, one of the principal chiefs of the Yemení Arabs, who, having also received certain injuries at the hands of Abú-l-khattár, readily consented to assist As-samíl in his undertaking, and agreed, when called upon, to take the field with the Bení Modhar. Having therefore fixed upon Shídhúnah (Sidonia) as the place of their meeting, the rebels mustered their forces, and marched against Abú-l-khattár, whom they defeated with great slaughter on the banks of the Wáda-Leke,[28]

Is defeated and taken prisoner.

taking him prisoner. They say that when As-samíl and Thuábah saw that governor in their power, their first intention was to put him to death; but they delayed his execution, and took him in irons to Cordova, where he was confined to a strong tower in the walls. All this happened in the month of Rejeb of the year 127 (April or May, A.D. 745), two years after Abú-l-khattár had taken possession of the government of Andalus.

Abú-l-khattár, however, did not remain long in confinement, having soon after succeeded in making his escape, with the assistance of his friends. Abú-l-khattár's liberation happened thus: A friend of his, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Hossán Al-kelbí,[29] came to Cordova one night, accompanied by thirty horsemen and a small body of infantry, all men of tried courage, and in whose experience and fidelity he could trust. Having made a sudden attack upon the tower where Abú-l-khattár was detained, they massacred the guards, and liberated the deposed governor, who retired with them to the western provinces.

No sooner did the news of Abú-l-khattár's liberation, and his readiness to assert his rights, spread over the country, than he was joined by the Yemení Arabs, who from all sides flocked under his banners; and he was thus enabled to resume the offensive, and march upon Cordova. Thuábah in the mean time was not inactive. Having assembled his forces, he went out to meet him in company with As-samíl. The two hosts were in presence of each other, and ready to commence the engagement, when an Arab of the tribe of Modhar rose by night (and placing himself within hearing of Abú-l-khattár's followers), began crying out at the top of his voice,—"O "Arabs of Yemen! why expose yourselves to the fortunes of war? and why try "to avert the fate which awaits Abú-l-khattár? Has he not been already in our "power, and at our discretion? Nay, had we chosen to put him to death, we "might easily have accomplished it; but we had pity on him, and we spared his "life. The governor appointed by us belongs also to your tribe. Why do you "not think of your situation? If Thuábah belonged to any other tribe but your "own, you might have an excuse in your rising; but as it is, you have none. And "do not imagine that these sentiments are uttered through a wish on our part to "conciliate you, or through fear of your spears; it is only our love of peace, and "our anxiety to stop the effusion of blood, and to promote the welfare of the people "of this country in general, which dictate them." These words had the desired effect. They were listened to with attention by the followers of Abú-l-khattár, who said, "By Allah! that man is right." And accordingly they marched away that very night, and on the morning of the next day they were some miles from the field of battle.[30]

Ibnu Bashkúwál says that when the Modharites and their chiefs had agreed upon

giving the command to Thuábah, they wrote to 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb, Wáli of Cairwán, apprising him of their choice, and requesting him to confirm the election; which he did immediately. This happened towards the end of the month of Rejeb of the year 127 (April, A. D. 745), when the country was in some manner pacified, all the power being concentrated in the hands of Thuábah, or rather of As-samíl, who was his second in command. Thuábah governed Andalus for a year or so, after which time he died.[31] In the work of Ibnu-l-faradhí, however, the government of Thuábah is said to have lasted two years.

Thuábah's nomination confirmed by the Wáli of Africa.

The same writer (Abú-l-walíd Ibnu-l-faradhí) describes Abú-l-khattár as a noble and high-minded man; only that, being descended from a tribe of Yemen, he showed too great a partiality to the people of his kindred, and was ill-disposed towards the Bení Modhar. He affronted the tribe of Kays: this being the cause of the rising of their chief, As-samíl, who deposed him, and appointed in his room Thuábah Ibn Salámah, as elsewhere related. Ibnu-l-faradhí adds, that the two factions continued after this to wage war against one another; that Abú-l-khattár was deposed four years and nine months[32] after his taking possession of the government, in the year 128 (beginning Oct. 2, A. D. 745), and that he was at last put to death by As-samíl, and replaced by Thuábah Ibn Salámah in the government of Andalus. But to return.

Ibnu Khaldún says, "About this time civil war raged in Africa, and the empire " of the Bení Umeyyah began to decay in the East. The Khalifs of that dynasty " were assailed by rebels in every distant province, and the power and importance " of the wearers of the black colours ('Abbásides) waxed every day greater. In " the mean time the people of Andalus were left to themselves, and without a " ruler. At first the administration was carried on in the name of 'Abdu-r-rahmán " Ibn Kethír;[33] but afterwards the army decided upon dividing the empire between " the two rival factions, the Bení Modhar and the Arabs of Yemen, in such a " manner that each party should govern the country for one year, when they " would resign the command into the hands of the other. The Bení Modhar, " who were to be the first, appointed, in the year 129, as their commander, Yúsuf " Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí, who accordingly governed the country for one year, " taking up his residence at Cordova. But when, after the expiration of that " year, the Yemenís sought to be put in possession of the government, according " to the agreement entered into with the opposite party, Yúsuf, accompanied by " As-samíl Ibn Hátim and the tribe of Kays, and all the other tribes issued " from the stock of Modhar, made one night a sudden attack upon Shekundah, " a village close to Cordova,[34] where the Yemenís had taken up their abode, and " massacred the greater part of them. Abú-l-khattár then took the field, but he

" was met by As-samíl, who routed him and put him to death in the year 129 " (beginning Sept. 21, A. D. 746)." So far Ibnu Khaldún.

Ibnu Hayyán relates these events differently: he says, " When Abú-l-khattár " heard of his [Yúsuf's] appointment, he put his Yemenís into requisition; and all " answered his call, this being the cause of the celebrated battle of Shekundah, " fought between the Bení Modhar and the Arabs of Yemen. They say that " there never was, either in the East or the West, a more bloody and contested " battle than that of Shekundah, nor one in which greater feats of arms were " performed by the warriors on both sides, who fought until the edges of their " swords were softened by the blows, when each man seized his adversary by the " hair, and fought with his hands until they fell down exhausted and tired of " dealing and receiving blows. However, it appears that As-samíl, having upon " a certain day received intelligence that his enemies were not upon their guard, " called together all the tradespeople and shopkeepers [35] of Cordova, and, putting " himself at their head, resolved to make a sudden attack upon the Yemenís. " Having selected four hundred of the most determined and bravest among them, " armed with knives, sticks, and such other weapons as they could procure,—a " few only being provided with either spears or swords,—he led them against the " Yemenís, who, being unprepared for the attack, were seized with a sudden panic, " and fled in every direction before the people of Cordova, without returning their " blows, or attempting even to parry those dealt to them.[36] They were hotly " pursued by the enemy, who made great slaughter in their ranks. So great was " the loss which the Yemenís sustained on this memorable occasion, that but few " of their number outlived the bloody encounter. Abu-l-khattár, among others, " fled the field of battle, and took refuge in a neighbouring mill, where he remained " for some time concealed under the mill-stone: [37] he was, however, detected " and brought to the presence of As-samíl, who had him immediately beheaded." The above is borrowed from the work of Ibnu Hayyán.

The historians of Andalus have recounted at length some transactions in which the grandsons of King Wittiza were concerned, during the administration of Abú-l-khattár. After the death of Almond, who was the eldest son of that monarch, and who, as related,[38] left a daughter called Sárah, and two sons in tender age, Artabásh seized the states of his nephews, and appropriated them to himself. This happened at the beginning of the Khalifate of Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. When Sárah, the Goth, saw herself and brothers thus deprived of their father's inheritance, she laid a complaint before Abú-l-khattár; but seeing that justice was not speedily done to her, she determined upon repairing to the East in person, and getting redress from the Khalif. Accordingly, having fitted out a good vessel, and provided

it with the necessary stores for the voyage, she embarked at Seville with her two brothers, and set sail for Syria. Having landed at 'Askalún (Ascalon), a sea-port on the shores of that country, Sárah proceeded to Damascus, where the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek held his court. After informing that Sultán of her case, she implored justice against her uncle, and begged him to issue orders to Abú-l-khattár to re-instate her and her brothers in all the lands belonging to their father, as contained in the capitulation entered into with Tárik, and confirmed by his predecessor, the Khalif Al-walíd. Hishám was much pleased with Sárah, whose courage and determination he greatly admired: he treated her kindly, and admitted her to his privacy; and when she expressed her wish to depart, gave her a letter for Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, his governor of Eastern Africa, intrusting him with the redress of the injury she had sustained at the hands of her uncle Artabásh, and bidding him to have restored to her and her brothers all those states which, in conformity with the laws of succession, might belong to them as their father's inheritance. Hondhalah did as he was commanded: he gave Sárah a letter for his lieutenant in Andalus (Abú-l-khattár), who, on receipt of it, put her and her brothers in full possession of all their rights.

According to other authorities, before Sárah quitted Syria, Hishám gave her in marriage to a noble Arab, named 'Isa Ibn Ibráhím, who dwelt with her at Damascus for some time, but who, on the return of Sárah to Andalus, accompanied her to that country, where he soon after recovered from her uncle Artabásh the possession of all her states, through which he was enabled to live in great affluence and comfort. 'Isa had by her two sons, one named Ibráhím, the other Is'hák, both of whom held offices of trust at Seville, the place of their residence, and were very much esteemed and respected on account of their descent on the mother's side from the Gothic kings of Andalus.

They relate likewise, that whilst Sárah was staying at the court of Hishám, she met in one of her visits to that Khalif his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, the same who in after-time became the master of Andalus, and that to this circumstance she owed the great favour which she always enjoyed with that monarch; for when 'Abdu-r-rahmán had conquered the whole of Andalus, Sárah hastened to Cordova to compliment him on his good success, and she failed not to recall herself to his memory, and recommend herself to his good graces as a Christian living in his dominions. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then recollected her, and granted her the privilege of entering at all hours the royal palace whenever she went to Cordova. In this manner he continued bestowing on her new honours and distinctions, going so far as to grant her leave to visit his harem and see his wives and daughters without their veils on. After the death of her husband, who died the same year in

which 'Abdu-r-rahmán arrived in Andalus (A.H. 138), Sárah married 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Omayr Ibn Sa'íd.

Liberality of Artabásh.

Many truly royal acts have been recorded of this princess, as well as of her father Almond, and of her uncle Artabásh, living, as they did, under the Arabian Amírs, who at that time governed Andalus. The following anecdote, related by the theologian Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lebbánah,[39] is one: "Ten of the principal "Arab chieftains, amongst whom were As-samíl, Ibnu-t-tofayl,[40] Abú 'Abdah, and "other noble Syrians, came once to visit Artabásh, who received them with the "greatest attention, and caused them to sit down on the cushions surrounding "his hall. Soon after, a pious man named Maymún,[41] the progenitor of the Bení "Hazm, and who, though a Syrian too, did not associate much with them, on "account of his very pious and abstemious habits, entered the room; and no sooner "did Artabásh see him than he got up to receive him (this being an honour which "he had not done to the rest of his guests), and bidding him ascend a gilded couch "upon which he was reclining, made him a sign to sit in his own place. This "favour, however, Maymún most obstinately refused, and, notwithstanding the "entreaties of Artabásh, he sat himself on the floor; seeing which, the prince did "the same, and sat alongside of Maymún, turning his face towards him, and his "back to the company. 'O Artabásh,' inquired Maymún in amazement, 'what "makes thee treat one like me in this way?' Artabásh then said, 'hast thou not "heard[42] that we came to this country as enemies? and therefore never thought "that our residence would be a long one; we were not in any way prepared to "stay, and had not a large stock of provisions with us. After we are dead, thou "mayest tell our *maulis* how we despaired of ever returning to our native places.' "Maymún then replied, 'God has given thee plenty of fortune's gifts, and I "wish thee to let me have one of thy farms, that I may cultivate the land with "my own hands, and make over the produce of it to thee, after deducting the "sum required for my maintenance.'—'I will with great pleasure,' answered "Artabásh; 'but, instead of a farm in which thou wilt have only a small interest, I "shall give thee the entire possession of it.' He then sent for the chief of his "household, and addressed him thus: 'Thou shalt deliver into the hands of "Maymún our farm so and so, on the banks of the river Shús,[43] with all the "slaves, beasts, and cattle appertaining to it; and thou shalt besides put him in "possession of our estate in Jaen.' These orders being readily complied with, "Maymún became the owner of extensive property, in which he was succeeded by "his son. To them owes its name a fortress in that territory called Kal'ah-"Hazm." The authors who have recorded this anecdote add, "that no sooner "had Maymún, after returning due thanks for so signal a favour, taken leave of

" Artabásh, and retired, than As-samíl, who had witnessed with envy Maymún's " reception, could no longer brook his indignation, and, rising from his seat, " addressed him thus: 'I cannot help thinking thou must be out of thy senses; for " when I, who am the chief of the Arabs in this country, and my friends here who " stand next to me in dignity, enter thy house, thou receivest us with no more " distinction than thy common visitors; and when this beggar Maymún comes " into thy presence, thou payest him unwonted honours and attention.' To which " Artabásh replied, 'O Abú Jaushan! we have repeatedly been told by the people " of thy faith, that men of learning and virtue ought to be honoured in this world; " why then dost thou find fault with me for what I have done? As to thyself, " (may God Almighty prosper thee!) thou hast already sufficient honour, since " men regard thee on account of thy dignity and thy power, whilst this poor man " has no one else to protect and favour him but God. We have been told of " a saying of the Messiah, (peace be on Him!) who said once to his people, 'He " who has been honoured in this world by other men being made subservient to " him, his honour agrees with his nature, as if he swallowed a stone.' As-samíl was " an illiterate man, and hence the allusion made by Artabásh in his reply. After " this, As-samíl's friends spoke to him thus: 'Enough of this; let us drop the " unprofitable question, and proceed to business by stating the object of our visit.' " They then told Artabásh, 'We want precisely the same thing thou hast granted " this man; and since thou hast been so generous with one so low, we are curious " to see how thou wilt deal with us who are the principal men of the land.'—'You " are right,' answered Artabásh; 'he was only a subject, whilst you all are princes " and lords; you will not therefore like to receive from me but what is great and " handsome: I give you one hundred farms, to be equally divided among you, ten " to each.' He then sent for the chief of his household, and having issued the " necessary orders in writing, As-samíl and his friends were immediately put in " possession of their respective estates, which were the best possessed by Artabásh." But to resume the thread of our narrative.

Thuábah was succeeded by Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah Ibn 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí, who was the descendant of ['Okbah] the governor of Eastern Africa, and the founder of Cairwán, he of the praiseworthy deeds and glorious conquests, whose memory shall for ever live, the stock of a family which obtained no small share of power both in Africa and in Andalus. According to the historian Ar-rází, Yúsuf Al-fehrí was born in the city of Cairwán, whence his father, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, crossed over to Andalus, together with [his grandfather] Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah Al-fehrí, at the time of the conquest of that country. 'Abdu-r-rahmán returned to Eastern Africa; but

Yúsuf Al-fehrí is appointed by the army.

his son Yúsuf, having quarrelled with him, fled to Andalus, wherein he settled and obtained command. The same writer (Ar-rází) relates, that on the day on which Yúsuf took possession of the government he was fifty-seven years of age, and that he was elected to that office by the army and the people, after the death of Thuábah, and when the country had been four months without a ruler. He owed his appointment to the suggestions of As-samíl, who recommended him on account of his being a Korayshite; which circumstance, that chief thought, might lead, if not to the entire reconciliation of the rival tribes, at least to a suspension of hostilities. So it happened: both parties put down their arms, and acknowledged the authority of Yúsuf, who was thereby enabled to carry on the government for a period of nine years and nine months.[44]

Ibnu Hayyán relates that Yúsuf's appointment took place in the month of Rabi'-l-akhar of the year 129 (Dec. 746, or Jan. 747); that he ruled as master in Andalus without acknowledging any superior, since his nomination did not in any way emanate from the Khalif, but merely from the troops.

Yúsuf's government was by no means a tranquil one, as he had to contend with several chiefs, who on various occasions took the field against him, and aimed at depriving him both of life and power. He was however successful, and vanquished all his enemies, until he himself was overpowered and put to death by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, of the royal family of Umeyyah, as we shall presently relate.

Several chiefs resist his authority.

Among the chiefs who disputed with Yúsuf the government of Andalus, Ibnu Hayyán counts 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alkamah Al-lakhmí, governor of Narbonne, a fortress on the frontiers of the land of the Franks, whose undaunted courage, great corporal strength, and splendid feats of arms, became proverbial in Andalus, and won him the surname of *Al-fárisu-l-andalus* (the Knight of Andalus). This 'Abdu-r-rahmán had, on a former occasion, assisted the sons of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan in their revolt against Balj Ibn Beshr, and it was he who dealt this chief the blow from which he died a few days after the battle. However, as 'Abdu-r-rahmán was preparing to attack Yúsuf, he was treacherously put to death by his own men, who hastened to convey his head to his enemy.

He defeats them in succession.

'Orwah Ibnu-l-walíd was the next chieftain who took up arms against Yúsuf. Assisted by the Christians and others, he raised the standard of revolt in the city of Beja, whence he marched upon Seville, which place he also reduced. His forces increasing by the arrival of numerous adventurers, who from all parts of the country flocked under his banners, Yúsuf marched in person against him, and put him to death.

'A'mir Al-'abdárí[45] rose likewise at Algesiras, but without better success. Yúsuf marched against him, and made him lay down his arms on condition that he should

reside at Cordova. After which, however, he had him beheaded, in the year 138 (beginning June 15, 755), as will be related hereafter.

'Amru Ibn Yezíd Al-azrak[46] is another of the Arabian chiefs who revolted against Yúsuf. Some say that he was the first who resisted his authority, and that he rose at Seville, but was vanquished and put to death.

Besides the above rebellions, Yúsuf had to quell that of Al-habáb[47] Az-zahrí, an Arabian chieftain, who, on hearing of the victories which the Bení 'Abbás had obtained in the East over their enemies of the house of Umeyyah, appeared in arms against Yúsuf, and proclaimed the Khalifs of the house of 'Abbás as sovereigns of Andalus. Having collected a numerous host, he laid siege to Saragossa, where As-samíl commanded in Yúsuf's name. That chief defended himself for a while, but, seeing he could not hold much longer, sent to Yúsuf for aid. This, however, Yúsuf would not grant, as he was angry with As-samíl at the time, and wished for his destruction. At last the tribe of Kays ran to the assistance of their chief, and, having compelled Al-habáb to raise the siege, extricated As-samíl from his dangerous position. Al-habáb then returned, and gained possession of Saragossa; but, some time after, Yúsuf marched in person against him and put him to death.

Yúsuf was the last governor of Andalus; for, in the year 138 (beginning June 15, 755), 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, a scion of the illustrious house of Umeyyah, which had been in possession of the Khalifate for a period of nearly ninety years, arrived in Andalus, where, with the assistance of the numerous partisans and adherents of his family, he was enabled to contend successfully against him, and to found a durable empire for his posterity. But, as it is our intention to relate in detail the events which led to this mighty revolution, we need not further allude to them here, and will now give the chronology of the Governors of Andalus.

Chronolog the govern of Andalus

Tárik was the first governor of Andalus; then came Músa Ibn Nosseyr: neither of them, however, fixed his residence in that country. Then came 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, who held his court at Seville, where he was murdered. After him Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, who transferred the seat of the government to Cordova. After him all the Governors or Sultáns of Andalus held their court at that city, or at Az-zahrá, as is well known and we shall hereafter relate, until the dynasty of the Bení Merwán was finally overthrown. Then came Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí; then As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání; then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ghåfekí; then 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí; then 'Ozrah Ibn 'Abdillah Al-fehrí; then Yahya Ibn Salmah Al-kelbí; then 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-khath'amí; then Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ashja'í; then 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehrí; then Balj Ibn Beshr Ibn 'Iyádh Al-kusheyrí; then Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-jodhámí; then Thuábah Ibn Salámah Al-jodhámí; then

Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí. These are the governors who ruled over Andalus without transmitting the command as an inheritance to their posterity, or assuming any other title but that of Amír (Governor). They swayed the country for a period of forty-six years, two months and six days, counting from the day on which Roderic the Goth, King of Andalus, was defeated and killed, that is to say, on Sunday, the 5th of Shawwál of the year 92 (July 26, A. D. 711), to that on which the Governor Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán was defeated, and his rival, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, of the royal house of Umeyyah, gained possession of the empire, and made his triumphant entry into Cordova, namely, on the day of *'idu-l-adháhi* (festivity of the victims), or the tenth of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 138 (May 15, A. D. 756).

All these Amírs (Governors) were appointed either by the Governors of Africa, of which Andalus was then a dependency, or by the Khalifs of the house of Merwán (the Beni Umeyyah), who ruled in the East, and were the sole Imáms of the Moslems, until the civil war was kindled, and their mighty dynasty, which had lasted for a period of one thousand months, was overthrown by the Beni 'Abbás, who succeeded them in the empire, and scattered them like dust before the wind.

In course of time, however, Andalus shook off the yoke of the Beni 'Abbás; for 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán, after surmounting all manner of dangers, wrested that country from them, and made it the seat of a powerful empire for himself and his sons, collecting round him the relics of his family, and surrounding himself with the freedmen and adherents of his ancestors: in short, the whole of Andalus submitted to him, and, after his death, to his posterity, who held the supreme power there for a long space of time; God Almighty being pleased to grant him victory over his enemies, the Beni 'Abbás, who, wishing to regain possession of Andalus, and to extirpate all the members of the rival house, frequently sent armies to invade that country, or instigated the chiefs of the Arabian tribes there to take up arms against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and to proclaim the supremacy of their own family. But all their attempts proved unsuccessful; for that Sultán defeated one after the other all those who were in arms against him, and put numbers of them to the sword, principally during the Khalifate of Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, as we shall relate more at large when we come to treat of the establishment of the house of Umeyyah in Andalus.

We have now given in the preceding pages the cream of the information to be found in the work of Ibnu Khaldún, as collected or compiled from various historical sources. As for ourselves, we have added, when required, such information as we deemed sufficient [to illustrate this narrative], or pointed out to the reader the contradictions occurring in the works of ancient historians. All this we have done

with the greatest possible brevity; since, had it been our wish to expatiate at any length on the deeds of the conquest, and the exploits of the Moslems, we might have filled a whole volume or more with the subject. We must also inform our readers that the above extracts on the history of Andalus, from its conquest by Tárik Ibn Zeyád to the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, are chiefly taken from the works of Ibnu Hayyán and Ibnu Khaldún, two celebrated historians, who had access to the best sources of information: the former author especially, who, in his two historical works, the *Matín* and the *Muktabis*, preserved almost every tradition current in his time on the events here recorded, mentions a long poem, which an Andalusian writer, named Yahya Ibn Hakem Al-ghazzál, wrote in the species of metre called *rejáz*, wherein he describes most minutely the causes of the invasion of Andalus; the chief battles therein fought between the Moslems and the Goths; and lastly, the number and the names of the Amírs who administered the affairs of that country until the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah;—"a work," observes Ibnu Hayyán, "exceedingly instructive and useful, and which may be "found in the hands of most people."

We shall now proceed, with the help of God, to relate the events which led to the establishment of the family of Merwán or Bení Umeyyah in Andalus.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah—Death of Merwán, their last Khalif—'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah takes to flight—Is pursued by the emissaries of As-seffáh—Arrives in Eastern Africa—Evades the search of the governor—Wanders through the country—Sends his freedman Bedr to Andalus—A party is formed in his favour—The conspirators communicate their plans to As-samíl—Answer made by that chieftain—The tribes of Modhar and Rabi'ah refuse to join them—'Abdu-r-rahmán's party is daily strengthened—He embarks for Andalus—Lands at Almuñecar—Preparations of Yúsuf—Desertions in his camp—'Abdu-r-rahmán marches to Cordova—Gains the battle of Musárah—Enters the capital—Starts in pursuit of Yúsuf—Obliges him to capitulate.

Overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah.

DURING the Khalifate of Merwán Ibn Mohammed Al-ja'dí, the last Khalif of the house of Umeyyah in the East, Abú-l-'abbás 'Abdullah, surnamed As-seffáh (the shedder of blood), rose in arms against him, and was proclaimed at Kúfah. After many sanguinary encounters, in which the armies of Merwán were invariably defeated, As-seffáh took Damascus, the capital. Having subsequently sent his own brother Sáleh in pursuit of Merwán, who had taken refuge in Egypt, that Sultán was overtaken at Buseyr, and put to death in the month of Jumáda-l-akhar of the year 132 (February or March, A. D. 750). Thus was the mighty dynasty of the Bení Merwán overthrown. There is no power or strength but in God!

Death of Merwán.

Every where the unfortunate members of the proscribed family were seized, and put to death without mercy; and few escaped the search made by the emissaries of As-seffáh in every province of the empire. A youth named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who was the son of Mu'áwiyah, and the grandson of the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, was almost the only prince of that house who, after great dangers, succeeded in escaping the vengeance of the Bení 'Abbás. His adventures are thus related by the historian Ibnu Hayyán in his *Muktabis:*

"When the empire of the Bení Umeyyah was overthrown in the East, and the

'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah takes to flight.

" search for the individuals of that family commenced, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was one " of those who fled, to escape the vengeance of the Bení 'Abbás: he never ceased " marching with his family and his son until he halted at a village on the banks " of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of which was a thick forest,[1] where he " hoped to conceal himself from the spies of Abú Moslemah[2] until he could find " an opportunity of passing to Africa. The following account of his adventures " whilst flying from his enemies has been handed down to us as related by 'Abdu-r-" rahmán himself: 'As I was on a certain day sitting under cover of my tent, to " shelter myself from the rain, which fell heavily, and watching my eldest son " Suleymán, then about four years old, who was playing in front of it, I saw him " suddenly enter the door, crying violently; and, soon after, he ran towards me, and " clung to my bosom for protection. Not knowing what he meant, I pushed him " away; but the child clung still more to me, as one seized with violent fear, and " began uttering such exclamations as children are wont to utter when they are " frightened. I then left the tent, that I might see what caused his fear; when lo! " I saw the whole village in confusion, and the inhabitants running to and fro " in great consternation. I went a little further on, and saw the black banners " [of the 'Abbássides] fluttering in the wind. At sight of these a younger brother " of mine, who had also rushed out of the tent, and was with me at the time, " began to fly at the top of his speed, saying, 'Away! away with thee, O brother! " for yonder black banners are the banners of the sons of 'Abbás.' Hearing this, " I hastily grasped some dinárs which I had just at hand, and fled precipitately out " of the village with my child and my younger brother, taking care to apprise my " sisters of my departure, and of the road we intended to take; and bidding them " join us at a spot which I named, together with my freedman Bedr, who was the " bearer of my message. In this manner we escaped from our pursuers, and halted " at a spot some distance from the village. Scarcely had we left our tent when it " was surrounded by a body of cavalry, who scrupulously searched every corner " of it; but finding no one inside, they withdrew, and soon after left the village. " In the mean time Bedr joined us, bringing with him a man well acquainted with " the course of the Euphrates and its banks, to act as our guide, whom I directed " to purchase for us horses and the articles requisite for our journey. It " happened, however, that this man was a spy of our enemies, who wished only " to entrap us; for scarcely had we been a few minutes under his guidance, when " we again saw the horsemen in full pursuit of us. We then used our greatest " speed, and God permitted that we should reach before them the banks of the " Euphrates, into which we threw ourselves, the horsemen arriving almost im-" mediately after. When our pursuers saw this, they began to cry out to us,

Is pursued by the emissaries of As-seffáh.

" ' Return hither, no harm shall be done unto you ;' but I, without listening to " their treacherous words, dashed into the midst of the current, and my companions " did the same. I being an excellent swimmer, took charge of my son, whilst my " servant Bedr helped my younger brother. When in the middle of the stream, " my brother felt his strength fail him, and he was seized with the fear of death. " Seeing his danger, I returned to him to give him courage, and induce him to " exert himself; but, as I approached, I saw him make for the bank, no doubt " deceived by the treacherous words of our enemies, and believing that his life " would be spared. I then cried to him, ' O brother ! come to me, come to me ! ' " but he would not listen to my advice; for the promise that his life would be " spared, and the fear of being drowned, made him hasten to the shore. I, more- " over, succeeded in crossing the Euphrates. One of my pursuers seemed at one " time inclined to leap into the river, and swim across in pursuit of me; but his " comrades dissuaded him from the undertaking, and he left me alone. No sooner " had I set my feet on shore, than I began anxiously to look about for my brother, " whom I saw in the hands of the soldiers, and whom I expected every moment to " see put to death. I was not mistaken; for the traitors, having dragged their " victim to a spot not far from the river, beheaded him immediately, and leaving " the trunk on the spot, marched triumphantly away with the head. My brother " was then thirteen years old.

" ' The sight of this catastrophe struck me with horror : I was seized with violent " fears for my life, and began to run with all my speed; my feet scarcely touched " the ground; I flew rather than ran. In this way I took refuge in a thick forest, " and hid myself amongst the trees, until the pursuit ceased; I then left my place " of concealment, and fled the country, taking the route to the west, until I reached " Eastern Africa,' " &c.

Arrives in Eastern Africa.

Ibnu Hayyán continues. " After the above adventure, 'Abdu-r-rahmán fled the " country with the utmost speed he could use, and marched until he arrived in " Eastern Africa, whither his own sister, Ummu-l-asbagh, and his two freedmen, " Bedr and Sálim, had preceded him, provided with money for their sustenance, " and jewels. Other relatives or partisans of the proscribed family of Umeyyah " had likewise taken refuge in the same province, where 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn " Habíb Al-fehrí [3] was then governing in the Khalif's name. It happened, however, " that this governor was on terms of intimacy with a Jewish astrologer and sooth- " sayer, who had once been a servant of Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, one of the " Beni Umeyyah, but was now attached to the Beni 'Abbás. This man having upon " a certain occasion found Ibn Habíb alone, spoke to him thus : ' A Korayshite " youth, of the family of Merwán, descended from kings, shall in time become

" a great conqueror; he shall found in Andalus an empire for him and his " posterity; his name is 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and he wears two long curls.' When " the governor heard this, he procured two locks of hair answering exactly " the description of those which the Jew meant, and sent them to his officers, " trusting that they would thereby be enabled to discover the object of his " search. So it happened; for soon after 'Abdu-r-rahmán's arrival in Eastern " Africa, he was recognised by one of the officers, and brought to the presence " of Ibn Habíb, who, seeing the two locks of hair on his head, sent for the Jew, " and spoke to him thus: 'By thy life! this is the very youth mentioned in thy " prophecy; he must die.' The Jew then said, 'If thou kill him, he is not the " person intended; if, on the contrary, thou spare his life, he must conquer and " reign:' upon which he let him go. However, several of the Bení Umeyyah " had taken refuge in Eastern Africa, trusting that the governor Ibn Habíb, who " was an adherent of their family, would allow them to live in peace in those " remote regions; but, contrary to their expectations, he persecuted them, and " obliged them to leave the country. Two sons of Al-walíd Ibn Yezíd, who had " taken refuge in his territory, he caused to be seized under some false pretence, " and put to death. He also confiscated the property of Isma'íl Ibn Abán Ibn " 'Abdi-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, another of the Bení Umeyyah, and married a sister of " his against his will and express injunctions. After this he tried to seize the " person of 'Abdu-r-rahmán; but having received timely intelligence, this prince " hid himself, and succeeded in reaching a place of safety." So far Ibnu Hayyán.

Evades the search of the governor.

Other accounts state, that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán left Palestine for Africa, he had with him besides Bedr, who had been a freed slave of his father, three other servants whose names were Abú Shafa', 'Amru, and Yezíd; that he stopped at Maghílah, where he was hospitably entertained by a Berber chief named Abú Korrah Wánesús, who secreted him some time at his house. Here it was that his freedman Bedr overtook him, bringing with him the jewels and gold sent by his sister Ummu-l-asbagh. One day, as 'Abdu-r-rahmán was in the tent of this chief, the emissaries of Ibn Habíb, the governor, suddenly made their appearance, and searched all the corners of it; but the Berber's wife, named Tekfah, hid him under her clothes, and by this means concealed 'Abdu-r-rahmán from the eyes of his pursuers. It is further related, that 'Abdu-r-rahmán never forgot the signal service he received on this occasion; for, when he became King of Andalus, he invited Wánesús and his wife to Cordova, and treated them kindly, admitting them to his privacy, and conferring on them all sorts of honours and distinctions. He gave Tekfah leave to visit his palace at all hours, and enter his harem whenever she

Wanders through the country.

chose; and more than one anecdote has been handed down to us to show the great favour she always enjoyed with the prince.[4]

The historian Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem relates that 'Abdu-r-rahmán passed five years in concealment in the town of Barkah; at the end of which time he quitted that place, and travelled through the country until he arrived at Tihart, a city of Central Maghreb, where he placed himself under the protection of a tribe called the Bení Rustam, who were then the lords of that country. Thence he visited the encampments of various Berber tribes, and at last fixed his quarters not far from the sea, in the territory of a tribe called Zenátah. It was from this place that 'Abdu-r-rahmán first cast a wistful eye upon Andalus, and dispatched his freedman Bedr with messages to the numerous clients and adherents of his family who were in that country.

Sends his freedman Bedr to Andalus.

At that time the number of *maulis* or adherents to the family of Merwán, inscribed on the rolls of the Andalusian army, was very considerable, amounting to between four and five hundred, all men of tried courage, and who had many followers devoted to them. Their chiefs on this occasion were Abú 'Othmán 'Obeydullah Ibn 'Othmán and 'Abdullah Ihn Kháled, both of whom had formerly been *maulis* of the Khalif 'Othmán, and had on their arrival in Andalus been intrusted with the keeping of the banners of the Bení Umeyyah, and had also been invested with the command of the Syrian Arabs who had settled in the territory of Elvira. To this Abú 'Othmán, Bedr the freedman brought letters from his master, in which 'Abdu-r-rahmán enumerated the benefits conferred by his ancestors of the house of Umeyyah on Abú 'Othmán, and reminded him of the obligation under which the latter now lay to serve their cause: he further acquainted him with his own legitimate rights to the empire, which he said it was his intention to assert, as the only surviving heir by true lineal descent from his grandfather Hishám, in whose hands the Khalifate had been vested. He concluded by asking him to rise in his support, with such among the adherents of the house of Umeyyah and others as he could trust; stating, that if he could only procure him the means of entering Andalus, he was sure of success; after which he would not fail to reward him and his friends as they deserved, and bestow on them all manner of honours and distinctions. He then gave him directions as to the best means to be employed to gain their object. He was to seek the assistance of those among his friends in whom he could trust, and who might aid him in his revolt: he was to take advantage of the mortal feuds and dissensions then existing between the Arabian tribes of Yemen and the sons of Modhar, who, from long-existing hereditary wrongs, hated each other most heartily, and were sure readily to embrace any cause in opposition to that of their adversaries.

A party is formed in his favour.

Abú 'Othmán immediately agreed to what was requested of him, stimulated, no doubt, by the prospect of his own personal advantage. When Bedr arrived with this message, 'Othmán was preparing to march to Saragossa, in the *Thagher*, to the relief of the governor As-samíl Ibn Hátim, who had been besieged there by a rebellious chieftain named Az-zohrí; for Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, then supreme governor of Andalus, having received intelligence of As-samíl's dangerous situation, had directed him to hasten to his aid with the disposable forces of his district; and in compliance with this order 'Othmán was about to march to Saragossa, when 'Abdu-r-rahmán's secret message was delivered to him: he nevertheless undertook his march. Whilst therefore 'Othmán was going to Saragossa with his troops, he one day sent for his son-in-law 'Abdullah Ibn Khâled, who accompanied the expedition, and addressed him thus: " Methinks, O Ibn Khâled! that were we " to apprise As-samíl of the news brought us by Bedr, we might learn what he " thinks about it, and ascertain at the same time whether we can reckon upon him " or not: should he not agree to take part with us, As-samíl, I am persuaded, will " never divulge our secret, as I know him to be a man of honour and principle." " That may be," answered 'Abdullah; " but were we to do as thou proposest, " we could not be sure of success: for although on the one hand his envy of the " Sultán Yúsuf, and the high post he occupies, might perhaps induce As-samíl to " embrace the cause of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, it is likely on the other hand that the fear " of losing under the new sovereign all the power and influence he now enjoys, " will prevent him from joining in the undertaking." To which Abú 'Othmán replied, " We may easily remove that obstacle by flattering his ambition, and " deceiving him with promises of riches and advancement. We will tell him that " 'Abdu-r-rahmán, in coming to this country, has no other object in view than " to obtain security for his person, and claim the fifth of the spoil due to his " grandfather Hishám, and live on its produce." To this proposal 'Abdullah agreed; and accordingly the two chieftains, before taking leave of As-samíl to return to their respective districts, took him into a private room, and there disclosed all their plans to him.

The conspirators communicate their plans to As-samíl.

It happened as Abú 'Othmán had foretold. No sooner had he explained his views to As-samíl than that chieftain began to utter complaints against the governor Yúsuf for not hastening to his relief when he was attacked by Al-hobáb Az-zohrí in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, and leaving him to fight single-handed against the superior forces of his enemy. At last he said to them, " You may rely on me " for the furtherance of your plans; write to the youth, and tell him to cross over " to us: when I have heard of his landing, I will go to Yúsuf and advise him " to do him honour, admit him to his intimacy, and give him one of his daughters

Answer made by that chieftain.

"in marriage. If he follow my advice, your object is gained; if he refuse, we shall "strike his bald head with our swords, and take the command of this country from "him, to give it to your friend." This being agreed upon, the two chieftains heartily thanked As-samíl for his proffered assistance, and after kissing his hand they separated, and retired, each to his destination; As-samíl to Toledo, of which city he had been made governor by Yúsuf, who no longer wished to retain him in the command of the *Thagher* (Aragon); Abú 'Othmán and his son-in-law 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled, to their abode in the town of Elvira. At this place many were already in the secret; for [before starting for Saragossa] Abú 'Othmán and 'Abdullah had spoken to the officers of the Syrian army quartered in that town, as well as to other Arabs of distinction, and to all those friends in whom they could trust, and communicated to them their plans respecting the son of Mu'áwiyah ('Abdu-r-rahmán). The affair was soon divulged, and talked of among the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, spreading like fire among brush-wood; the conspirators being not a little assisted in their plans by the circumstance that the year in which this came to pass was one of great scarcity, as the whole of Andalus had been visited by a most dreadful famine, which lasted for a long time.

However, there are not wanting authors who relate this affair differently. They certainly say that As-samíl, at first, agreed to the propositions of the conspirators, and consented to assist them in their undertaking to give the empire to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, but that after they had left him he thought more seriously on the subject, and repented of what he had promised; that he accordingly went to them, and said, "I have weighed attentively all the chances of the undertaking which you wish me "to share with you, and I find that the youth you recommend belongs to a family, "one individual of which is enough to set all this island on fire, and that perchance "you and I may perish in the conflagration.[5] Besides, our present ruler [Yúsuf] "is a man over whose mind I exercise great influence, and on whom I lean "for support; and I do not intend to have him changed for any other. By Allah! "I say more; if on reaching your tents you still persevere in your plans, and "continue gaining over partisans to the cause of that youth, I shall be compelled "to oppose you for my own sake. I therefore give you to understand that my "sword shall be the first unsheathed against 'Abdu-r-rahmán. I wish you success." The conspirators then said to him, "Thy advice is our own, and we think as thou dost." After which they left him, the better to persuade him that 'Abdu-r-rahmán's object in coming to Andalus was not to make himself master of the country.

The tribes of Modhar and Rabi'ah refuse to join them.

They returned to Elvira, where they laboured, though in vain, to gain over to their cause the chiefs of the Arabian tribes of Modhar and Rabi'ah. After this they applied a second time to the Yemenís, and began adroitly to feed their

animosity and hatred to the Beni Modhar. They found them a set of men in whose breasts raged the most violent passions, and who, in order to revenge the injuries received, were ready to embrace any cause, however desperate. Having easily persuaded them to join in the undertaking, they concerted together the means of carrying their project into execution. Profiting by the absence of the Sultán Yúsuf,[6] who was then in the *Thagher* (Aragon), and by that of As-samíl, who was, likewise, far off, they commenced their operations. Their first care was to procure a vessel to send back Bedr: having bought one, they dispatched in her eleven of their men, with instructions to land near 'Abdu-r-rahmán's residence, and acquaint him with their readiness to uphold his pretensions, and declare for him the moment he should land in Andalus. In the mean time Abú 'Othmán and his friends, with whom Bedr had left his master's signet-ring, made ample use of it, sealing the numerous letters and proclamations which they addressed to their friends and the people of Andalus in 'Abdu-r-rahmán's name. In this manner the partisans of that prince increased, and the conspiracy spread wide through the country. However, the emissaries, in whose number was a distinguished officer named Temám Ibn 'Alkamah, arrived safely at their destination, and landed near Maghílah, in the country of the Berbers. They found 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who, since the departure of his freedman Bedr, had been in a state of great anxiety, and who was now expecting him every moment, praying fervently on the sea shore. Bedr was the first man to leap on shore, and to announce to his master the success of his expedition: he was quickly followed by Temám Ibn 'Alkamah, who, in the name of his friends, confirmed the good news brought by Bedr. "What is thy name?" said 'Abdu-r-rahmán to him. "Temám."—"And what thy surname?"—"Abú Ghálib" (the father of the victorious).—"God is great!" exclaimed 'Abdu-r-rahmán; "may his name be exalted! for, if that be the case, we shall, through "the power and interposition of the Almighty, conquer that land of yours, and "reign over it." 'Abdu-r-rahmán could never forget that Temám had been the first man to bring him the good tidings; for when he had vanquished all his enemies, and was firmly seated on the throne of Andalus, he appointed him his Hájib, which office he held until the death of his sovereign. But to return.

'Abdu-r-rahmán's party is daily strengthened.

'Abdu-r-rahmán hastened on board; but whilst he was doing so, there came to the shore a troop of Berbers, who made demonstrations of opposing his embarkation. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then took up some dinárs,[7] which Temám had brought with him for the purpose, and gave them to be divided among them; upon which they all seemed satisfied, and he was allowed to embark: but before the vessel could quit the shore, there came another party of Berbers, who, not having shared in the former gift, were determined to oppose his departure. One of them clung to the

He embarks for Andalus.

cable of camel's hair which still retained the vessel to the shore; but one of the party, whose name was Shákir, laying hands on his sword, struck off the hand of the Berber, which fell instantly, severed from his body. Soon after, a favourable wind sprung up, which impelled the vessel on her course, and they landed safely on the coast of Elvira, near a sea-port town called Al-munékab (Almuñecar), in the month of Rabi'-l-akhar of the year 138, according to Ibnu Hayyán, or in the three first days of Rabi'-l-awal, according to other authorities. Immediately on his landing, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was met on the shore by the two chiefs of the conspiracy, Abú 'Othmán and his son-in-law Abú Kháled, who conducted him to a town called Torosh (Torrox), where Abú 'Othmán was residing at the time.

Lands at Almuñecar.

According to other accounts, 'Abdu-r-rahmán landed at the hour of *'asr* [shortly before sunset]; and the news of his disembarkation being speedily divulged among his partisans, 'Abdullah and Abú 'Othmán met him on the shore with great show of consideration and respect. He then said his afternoon prayers with them, and rode on to Torrox, where he made some stay: he was here met by the principal *maulis* of his family and some Arabs, who took the oath of allegiance to him. However, no sooner was the news of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's disembarkation made known through the country, than the people who were in the secret flocked to him from all parts. The first man who arrived was Yúsuf Ibn Bokht, who was the chief of the Bení Umeyyah: next came Jodárán Ibn 'Amru Al-mad'hají, who inhabited Malaga, and who, in after-time, was appointed Kádí to the army; and Abú 'Abdah Hossán Ibn Málik Al-kelbí, whom 'Abdu-r-rahmán named to the office of Wizír. In this way the party waxed stronger day by day, and even moment by moment; and people flocked to his banners from every part of the country; God being pleased to grant all His support to 'Abdu-r-rahmán's cause, until that prince was enabled to gain possession of the capital, Cordova, within seven months, counting from the day of his landing on the coast of Almuñecar.

Preparations of Yúsuf.

Whilst these events were passing, Yúsuf Al-fehrí, the governor of Andalus, was in the *Thagher* (Aragon),[8] carrying on war against some chiefs who refused to acknowledge his authority. He was, however, completely successful, defeating and taking prisoners the leaders of the insurrection. These were Al-hobáb Az-zohrí, who, as related, had risen in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, and 'A'mir Al-'abdarí, another chieftain who had likewise risen in arms against him. Having got rid of his enemies in that quarter, Yúsuf hastened towards Toledo. Whilst he was encamped at Wáda-r-ramal (Guadarrama), near that city, he ordered the execution of his prisoners, though he had solemnly promised to spare their lives, and caused 'A'mir Al-'abdarí and his son to be beheaded. Yúsuf is said to have done this at the instigation of As-samíl.

They relate that as Yúsuf was entering his tent, after witnessing the execution of his prisoners, a messenger arrived at full speed from his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom he had left in command of Cordova during his absence, bearing news "how a "youth, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, had lately landed on the shores "occupied by the Syrian settlers, and had been immediately proclaimed by the "adherents and partisans of the family of Merwán, who had flocked to him from "all parts." When the news spread through Yúsuf's camp, his men, who had already disapproved the execution of 'A'mir and his son,—who belonged to the illustrious tribe of Koraysh, and who, as above related, had been put to death, notwithstanding his solemn promise to the contrary,—began openly to murmur, and many decided upon deserting his banners that very night, and joining the troops of the invader. Accordingly, in the depth of night, the chiefs having called together their men, left the camp unperceived, the Almighty sending down a heavy rain, as if to cover the sound of their footsteps, and thereby disconcert the plans of Yúsuf. When morning dawned, Yúsuf found himself deserted by all except his own personal friends and slaves, and the tribe of Kays, who remained faithful to As-samíl and his followers: seeing which, Yúsuf marched immediately to Toledo. Arrived there, he asked As-samíl for his advice in their perilous situation. "My advice," said As-samíl to him, "is that we march immediately upon 'Abdu-r-"rahmán, so as not to give him time to strengthen himself; for I strongly suspect "that the Yemení Arabs will go over to him, owing to the hatred they openly "bear to us, the Bení Modhar." Yúsuf then answered, "I agree with thee, O "As-samíl! as to the expediency of what thou proposest; but thou seemest to "have forgotten that we have been deserted by most of our own followers, and "have at present no forces to march against the invader. We are, besides, without "either money or provisions; we have to march through a sterile and deserted "country, in which hunger must be our lot. I propose going first to Cordova, "where we may get re-inforcements, and wait there for further news; perhaps the "danger is not so great, nor the rising so formidable, as it has been represented." To which As-samíl replied, "Believe me, O Yúsuf, mine is the best advice upon "this occasion: thou mayest act contrary to it; but, if thou dost, thou wilt in "time discover thy error, and suffer from it." Yúsuf, however, would not listen to As-samíl, and marched to Cordova.

Desertions in his camp.

'Abdu-r-rahmán in the mean while was not inactive. After passing some time at Elvira, where he soon found himself at the head of seven hundred horsemen, of the best Arabian tribes, or of the *maulis* of his family, he left that city, and repaired to the district of Rayyah, where his forces were considerably increased, both the governor ('Isa Ibn Musáwid) and the inhabitants hastening to take the

'Abdu-r-rahmán marches to Cordova.

oath of allegiance, and proclaim him their sovereign. Thence he went to Shidúnah, where the governor, 'Itáb Ibn 'Alkamah Al-lakhmí, did the same; then to Modrúr;[9] and from the latter place to Seville, where he was met by the chief of the Yemení Arabs, Abú-s-sabáh Ibn Yahya Al-yahssobí. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then summoned his friends to a council; and having heard their advice, it was unanimously resolved to march upon Cordova, the seat of the government. They say that as they were halting at Toshínah (Tocina) on their way to that capital, it occurred to them that they had neither banner nor colours by which they might be guided on the field of battle. A long spear was immediately produced, and it was proposed that a turban should be placed on the top of it; but as in order to effect this it was necessary to incline the head of the spear, which was supposed by some to be of extremely bad omen, the following expedient was devised: the spear was placed erect between two olive-trees standing close together; a man was then directed to ascend one of the trees, from the top of which he was enabled to fasten the turban to the spear, without lowering it in the least. They relate also that some time previous to this event, a learned man named Forkád, who was gifted with the science of divination, happening to pass by the spot where the two olive-trees stood, said, pointing to them, "Between yonder two trees a banner "shall be erected for a prince, before whom no other banner shall ever wave "victorious." The prophecy was fulfilled; for with this same banner did 'Abdu-r-rahmán and his son Hishám vanquish their enemies wherever they met them, as we shall have more than one opportunity to relate hereafter. They say that this banner was held in such veneration and respect by the first sovereigns of that family [Bení Umeyyah], that whenever the turban by long use decayed, it was not removed, but a new one was placed over it. In this manner was the banner of the Bení Umeyyah preserved until the days of the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-hakem, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel,—others say till the days of his son Mohammed,—when the turban upon the spear being decayed, the Wizírs of that monarch met together in council to deliberate upon its renewal. Seeing nothing else under the decayed turban but a few rags twisted round the spear, and not knowing that these had been long an object of veneration, they issued orders for their removal. The whole was consequently removed, and thrown away, and a fresh turban placed in its stead. It happened that Jehwar Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Bokht, then the chief Wizír, and president of the council, but who was absent during the deliberation, arrived in Cordova the day after the mischief was done. Having inquired into the case, he gave his brother Wizírs a most severe reprimand for their ignorance and their hasty decision: he said to them, "Since "you have through your imprudence caused the loss of the good omen attached to

"that banner, it is but just that you should consult with the elders of our nation "as to the best means of repairing the mischief done: go, and tell them your case." The Wizírs went, and the rags were carefully looked for; but they could nowhere be found. When the Sultán was made acquainted with the loss, he was much grieved; and as his armies, always victorious, met after that event with severe defeats, it was thought at the time that these disasters were chiefly to be attributed to the loss of the banner. "From that time," remarks the judicious historian Ibnu Hayyán, "the empire of the Bení Umeyyah began visibly to decline." It is generally asserted that the man who ascended the olive-tree for the purpose of crowning the spear was 'Abdullah Ibn Khâled, one of the *maulis* of the Bení Umeyyah established in Andalus, whose father, Khâled, had likewise crowned the banner of Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, the grandfather of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., when, after the overthrow of the dynasty of the Bení Harb, he was joined by the Bení Umeyyah and the Bení Kelb, to make war against Adh-dhahhák Ibn Kays Al-fehrí, who was afterwards defeated and put to death at the battle of Merj-Ráhitt. They say also that the keeping of this banner was first intrusted to Abú Suleymán Dáúd Al-ansárí, in whose posterity the charge remained until the days of the Amír Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., when, as related, it was irretrievably lost.

But to resume the thread of our interrupted narrative. On the approach of 'Abdu-r-rahmán to Cordova, Yúsuf went out to meet him. There had been a famine in Andalus for six consecutive years, so that the people were greatly debilitated from want of food. Since their departure from Seville, the common soldiers in 'Abdu-r-rahmán's host had subsisted merely upon the herbs and plants which they found on the road, the officers and rich men not faring much better. It was then spring-time, and the year in which this happened was ever afterwards called *'ámu-l-khalaf*,[10] *i. e.* 'the year after the famine.' The Guadalquivir too was considerably swollen, and in some districts had overflowed its banks. Yúsuf then marched from Cordova, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán came down from Seville, until they met each other at a place where the Guadalquivir separated the two hosts. Thence 'Abdu-r-rahmán continued his march up to Cordova, following the right bank of the river, which being perceived by Yúsuf, this governor retraced his steps, and returned to his capital by the opposite bank, watching at the same time all the movements of his adversary. In this manner both armies proceeded until Yúsuf pitched his tents in the plain of Musárah,[11] west of Cordova, where 'Abdu-r-rahmán also encamped in front of him. Negotiations then commenced, and messengers crossed from one camp to the other, with a view to

adjust a peace between the belligerents. Yúsuf had given orders to slaughter some sheep, and make a display of their flesh, meaning it, no doubt, as an insult to the son of Mu'áwiyah, whose followers, as we have already observed, were almost starved for want of food. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, however, made every preparation for the coming contest: he caused his men to keep in readiness with their arms, and he himself passed all night awake, to see that his orders were punctually executed.

Gains the battle of Musárah.

They relate that Yúsuf was the first who made proposals of peace to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who feigned to accept of them, and thus gained two days, the last of which was the day of *'Arefah* of the year 138 (May 14, A. D. 756). Under this belief, 'Abdu-r-rahmán's men passed the night preceding the 'festival of the victims;' but 'Abdu-r-rahmán thought differently in his heart from what he affected in public, and he consequently took every measure to ensure the success of the approaching contest: he also gave orders that Khâled Ibn Zeyd, Yúsuf's secretary, who was at the time in his camp, whither he had been sent with a message from his master, should be kept a prisoner. "If we are defeated," he added, "let him "be put to death; if we vanquish, spare his life." So that Khâled kept saying the night before the battle, "There is nothing I wish for more ardently at this "moment than to see the troops of my master put to flight by those of 'Abdu-r-"rahmán Ad-dákhel."

When the morning of the day of the victims dawned, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, at the head of his cavalry, made a sudden attack upon the camp of his rival. They say that 'Abdu-r-rahmán was that day mounted on a beautiful steed; upon which some of the Yemení Arabs said to each other, "Look at our youthful general; he is "mounted on a swift-footed animal, the better to fly from the field of battle. Who "can assure us that he will not turn back at the first onset, and leave us to fight the "battle ourselves?" 'Abdu-r-rahmán having been informed of this by one of his *maulis,* rode up to Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Yemení Arabs, who was mounted on a grey mule called *Kaukab* (lightning), and addressed him thus: "O Abú-s-"sabáh! this horse of mine is in the habit of rearing under me, so that it is "very difficult for me to keep my saddle. I wish to make an exchange with "thee; give me that excellent and quiet mule of thine, and take my spirited "horse." Abú-s-sabáh did as he was desired by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who by this act dissipated the suspicions of his followers. They relate likewise that some time previous to the general engagement 'Abdu-r-rahmán rode before the ranks, and asked his men, "What day is this?"—"Thursday, the day of *'Arefah,*" answered they. "Well, then, mark my words," replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "To-morrow is

" Friday, and the 'festival of the victims' [May 15, A. D. 756]; the contending " parties are the Bení Umeyyah on one side, the Bení Fehr on the other; opposed " to each other are the sons of Kays and the tribes of Yemen; let this day be a " brother of that of Merj-Ráhitt,[12] which it so much resembles in every respect." These words failed not to inspire courage into the followers of 'Abdu-r-rahmán; for it brought to their mind the battle of Merj-Ráhitt, between Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, 'Abdu-r-rahmán's grandfather, and Adh-dhahhák Ibn Kays Al-fehrí, which, as is well known, was likewise fought on a Friday, and on the 'day of the victims;' the victory remaining to Merwán, who put to death Adh-dhahhák and seventy thousand men of the tribe of Kays, and others allied to it. It is even said that there was a still closer coincidence. At the battle of Merj-Ráhitt there were only three men of the tribe of Kays serving under the orders of Merwán; namely, 'Abdullah Ibn Masádah Al-fezárí, Ibn Hobeyrah Al-moháribí, and Sáleh Al-ghinawwí: at the battle of Musárah there were likewise only three men of the tribe of Kays serving under 'Abdu-r-rahmán; namely, Jábir Ibnu-l-'ala Ibn Shehâb and Al-hossayn Ibnu-d-dajen, both belonging to the tribe of 'Okayl, and Helál Ibnu-t-tofayl Al-'abdarí.[13] After some hard fighting on both sides, victory declared for 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Yúsuf was the first to give way; As-samíl and his followers valiantly kept their ground until all hopes of recovering the day were gone. They say that when As-samíl saw that his men were losing courage, he spurred on a grey mule which he rode, and plunged into the middle of the enemy's ranks, with a view of coming, if possible, to close combat with 'Abdu-r-rahmán. As he was approaching the spot where that prince fought, Abú 'Attá came up to him and said, " O Abú Jaushan! thou hadst " better spare thyself for another occasion; this is an ominous day, and every thing " must needs go wrong for us. Mark the coincidence: to-day is Friday, and so was " the day of Merj-Ráhitt; the warriors on both sides are the same; Umeyyah and " the sons of Yemen against the tribes of Fehr, Kays, and Kelb. By Allah! I " believe in truth that this day will turn out as unlucky for us as the day of " Merj-Ráhitt."—" O Abú 'Attá!" answered As-samíl, " thou art an eminent " man, and thy learning is, no doubt, great; but on this occasion despondency " preys on thy mind, and thy reason is clouded by fear:" saying which he rushed forward, whilst Abú 'Attá turned bridle and fled. As-samíl, however, was defeated, and his followers put to flight.

Such is the account of this memorable battle as it has been handed down by historians. 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel obtained a most complete victory, and the field was strewn with the bodies of the enemy. Among the prisoners of the day was 'Abdu-r-rahmán, one of Yúsuf's sons, and other distinguished individuals. As-samíl

and Yúsuf contrived to escape: the former retired to a village called Shoudhar (Xodar), in the district of Jaen; the latter, to Merida. They relate that immediately after this defeat Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Arabs of Yemen, addressed his followers in these words: "O men, let our victory this day be complete; we have "annihilated the party of Yúsuf and As-samíl; let us put to death this beardless "youth, I mean the son of Mu'áwiyah, our present commander. If we do, the "empire is ours, and we may then appoint one of ourselves to the command of this "country, and be for ever rid of the Bení Modhar." Thus spoke Abú-s-sabáh, but not one of those who heard him made reply; on the contrary, his words were reported to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who kept them in his heart, until a year afterwards, seeing a favourable opportunity, he seized him, and had him executed.

Enters the capital.

After Yúsuf's defeat, 'Abdu-r-rahmán marched his victorious army to Cordova, which city he entered after remaining for three days encamped outside, that he might allow the family of Yúsuf time to quit the palace.[14] He also showed his generosity and clemency by pardoning all those who had taken up arms against him. After spending a few days in the capital, 'Abdu-r-rahmán received intelligence how the partisans of Yúsuf and As-samíl, after collecting the relics of their army in the neighbourhood of Granada, were again preparing to attack him, and he therefore resolved to go out in pursuit of them. Before his departure, however, he appointed Abú 'Othmán, who, as before related, was the principal instrument of his success, to be governor of Cordova in his absence, and gave him Umeyyah Ibn Zeyyád to act as his secretary. This Umeyyah had formerly held the same office under Yúsuf; but, being a *mauli* of the Bení Umeyyah, 'Abdu-r-rahmán granted him his pardon, and confirmed him in his appointment. These arrangements being taken, 'Abdu-r-rahmán started in pursuit of the enemy, though not without leaving behind him a considerable body of troops to guard the capital in his absence. It happened, however, that as he was marching to overtake Yúsuf, that general manœuvred so well as to place himself between 'Abdu-r-rahmán and Cordova, whence, by dint of forced marches, he suddenly appeared before that capital, which he entered without resistance, as well as the palace of the governor, Abú 'Othmán, who, with the garrison, threw himself hastily into the tower of the great mosque. He was there besieged by Yúsuf, who offered him security for himself and his followers, if he would surrender. Abú 'Othmán refused, and maintained himself until a peace was concluded between his master and Yúsuf in the month of Safar of the year 139 (July, A. D. 756). The treaty, which included also Yúsuf's late Wizír, As-samíl, stipulated that the two chieftains should be left in the undisturbed possession of whatever property they might have at the time; that Yúsuf should

Starts in pursuit of Yúsuf.

Obliges him to capitulate.

reside in Cordova, where the palace of Al-horr was assigned to him as a dwelling; but that he should be obliged to present himself before 'Abdu-r-rahmán once every day. To insure the fulfilment of these conditions, Yúsuf was to give as hostages his sons Abú-l-aswad Mohammed and 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the latter of whom, as before related, was made prisoner at the battle of Musárah. This treaty being ratified and peace concluded, both armies returned to Cordova.

CHAPTER II.

'Abdu-r-rahmán invites the Bení Umeyyah to settle in Andalus—Names of those who left the East—Rebellion of Yúsuf—His defeat and death—As-samíl poisoned by 'Abdu-r-rahmán's order—Ibn Mughíth invades Andalus—Is defeated and put to death—Rebellion of the Yemenites—Heroic act of 'Abdu-l-malek—Conspiracy against 'Abdu-r-rahmán discovered—Execution of his nephew Al-mugheyrah—'Abdu-r-rahmán prepares to invade Syria—Rebellion of the Fátemí—of Hayyát Ibn Mulábis—of Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya, governor of Saragossa—of Hasan Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz—'Abdu-r-rahmán takes Berbers into his pay—Success of the Christians—Charlemagne asks for peace—Building of the Rissáfah—of the great mosque—Character of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—His liberality—His wit and eloquence—His ingratitude towards Bedr, Abú 'Othmán, Kháled, and Temám—Hájibs of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Councillors—Kátibs—Kádís—Death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

In the preceding Book we gave a rapid sketch of the victories of the Moslems and their conquest of Andalus, and of the power which they wielded in that country until the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, the sovereign under whose sway the consolidation of the Mohammedan empire was achieved, and the preponderance of the Yemenite faction [over the Bení Modhar] fully established, as we shall hereafter relate, if God be pleased.

Ibn Hazm and others describe the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah of Andalus as the most powerful and glorious of the Mohammedan dynasties; the most afflicting to the enemies of God, and that which gained most renown; since, as it will be shown in the course of this narrative, none other surpassed it in the number and importance of its victories.

We have given elsewhere a detailed account of the adventures of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, of his wanderings through Africa, and of the many dangers to which he was exposed before he could land in Andalus, and establish therein the supremacy of his family; but for the sake of information, and in order to throw more light over this our narrative, we shall here condense the facts already recorded.

According to Ibnu Khaldún and other historians, the dynasty of the Bení

Umeyyah of Andalus originated thus: In the year 132 of the Hijra (beginning August 19, A. D. 749), the Bení 'Abbás overpowered the Bení Umeyyah, and gained possession of the Khalifate. After 'Abdullah Ibn 'Alí, the uncle of As-seffáh, had put to death Merwán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, the last Khalif of that dynasty, the sons of Umeyyah were every where pursued for slaughter, and both the surface and the bowels of the earth were scrupulously searched for them. Among those who fled [to escape from their enemies] was 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of Merwán, for whom the partisans and friends of the Bení Umeyyah were preparing an empire in the West, as they saw in him certain signs indicative of his success, which had been prognosticated by his uncle, Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. 'Abdu-r-rahmán himself, who had heard from the lips of Moslemah that he would be the avenger of his family, having upon one occasion entered the presence of his grandfather Hishám, found his uncle, Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, sitting in the room with him. 'Abdu-r-rahmán being then an infant, Hishám gave orders that he should be taken out of the room. But Moslemah interfered, and, pressing the child to his bosom, said to his brother, " Let him stay, O Commander of the " Faithful! and be kind to him; for he will become in time the avenger of the " Bení Umeyyah,[1] and the restorer of their empire."—" From that time," said 'Abdu-r-rahmán (from whom this anecdote is borrowed), " my grandfather always " treated me with the greatest kindness and distinction." Encouraged by these prognostics, with which he never failed to acquaint his friends, 'Abdu-r-rahmán fled to the West, and took up his abode among the Nefezah, a Berber tribe of Tripoli, to whom his mother Ráha belonged. However, Ibn Habíb hearing of his being there, he removed to Maghílah; others say to Mekenésah (Mequinez); others, to a district inhabited by Berbers of the tribe of Zenátah, who treated him kindly, and among whom he was secure. Thence 'Abdu-r-rahmán went to Melílah (Melilla). It was from this place that he sent over to Andalus his freedman Bedr, to stir the adherents of his family to revolt against Yúsuf Al-fehrí, the governor who held the command of that country.

'Abdu-r-rahmán invites the Bení Umeyyah to settle in Andalus.

No sooner was 'Abdu-r-rahmán firmly seated on the throne, than he dispatched emissaries to Syria, Egypt, and other Mohammedan countries, with instructions to find out the surviving members of his family, and invite them to settle in his dominions. Accordingly several individuals, or adherents, of the proscribed race of Umeyyah, who had hitherto lain concealed from the spies of Al-mansúr [Abú Ja'far], hastened to obey his summons, and arrived in Andalus, where 'Abdu-r-rahmán received them with every mark of attention and respect. As the names of all those who entered Andalus on this occasion have been preserved by many

diligent historians, we shall extract from their works such passages as are calculated to throw light on this interesting subject.

"During the reign of this Sultán," says one, "numbers of illustrious Moslems "quitted the land of their fathers, and settled in Andalus. Several of the Bení "Merwán too, encouraged by the success of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, flocked to him from "the East. A contemporary writer has said, 'When Ad-dákhel saw himself firmly "seated on the throne, he bestirred himself to collect around him the relics of his "family, and, having dispatched emissaries for that purpose, succeeded in bringing "to Cordova several of the relatives and adherents of his family. God Almighty "was pleased to assist him in the undertaking, and to permit that he should extend "over them the hand of protection.'"

Alluding to this, the historian Al-hijárí has said, "'Abdu-r-rahmán was in the "habit of saying to his courtiers, 'Among the many favours bestowed on us by "the Almighty, the greatest, after making us the master of this empire, is his "allowing us to collect in this country our kindred and relatives, and enabling "us to give them a share in this empire, which we hold through his interference. "There is no power or strength but in God! His is the empire!'"

Names of those who left the East.

In this manner there came to Andalus a brother of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, named Al-walíd Ibn Mu'áwiyah; two sons of the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek; a cousin of his named 'Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Yezíd Ibn Hishám; and two nephews, Al-mugheyrah Ibn Al-walíd and 'Obeydullah[2] Ibn Abán Ibn Mu'áwiyah. There came, besides, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, Abú Suleymán Foteys Ibn Suleymán, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Bashar, Habíb Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, and many others, to all of whom he gave pensions and lands, as well as command in his armies, and government in the provinces, by which means his empire was strengthened, and he was enabled to subdue all his enemies.

Among the above-named individuals, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar was the one who contributed most powerfully to the consolidation of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's power. He was the son of 'Omar, and the grandson of the Khalif Merwán Ibn Al-hakem. His father 'Omar had, when young, been intrusted to the care of his own brother 'Abdu-l-'azíz, governor of Egypt, where he resided until his death. When the bearers of the black colours ('Abbássides) appeared in Syria, 'Abdu-l-malek, who was residing in that country, fled to Egypt; but not considering himself secure there, he took his departure, accompanied by ten men[3] of his own family, and arrived in Andalus, where he found his relative 'Abdu-r-rahmán already seated on the throne. This was in the year 140 (beginning May 24, A. D. 757). 'Abdu-r-rahmán honoured and distinguished him greatly: knowing that he had filled offices of trust under the Khalifs of his family, he gave him the government of Seville, and

appointed also one of his sons, named 'Omar, to that of Morór. They relate of this 'Abdu-l-malek, that when he perceived that notwithstanding the separation of Andalus from the Eastern empire, it was still the custom to say the *khotbah* for Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr in all the mosques, he advised 'Abdu-r-rahmán to have the name of that Khalif omitted in the public prayers, and brought to his recollection all the injuries which the Bení Umeyyah had sustained from the Bení 'Abbás. At first, 'Abdu-r-rahmán would not listen to his advice, and the prayers continued as before; but, on 'Abdu-l-malek insisting strongly, he at last gained his object. They say that as 'Abdu-r-rahmán upon a certain occasion refused to accede to his entreaties on the subject, 'Abdu-l-malek said to him, " If thou refuse to comply " with my request, O Amír! and allow Al-mansúr's name to be mentioned in the " prayers, I will certainly destroy myself." Upon which, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, moved by his determination, and not choosing to lose so zealous a servant, granted his request; and from that day the Khalif's name was no longer proclaimed from the pulpits, as it had been during the first ten months of his reign.

This 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar was an excellent poet. Seeing one day at Seville a solitary palm-tree, which brought to his recollection the place of his birth in Syria, and the friends he had left there, he exclaimed, in a fit of irrepressible sorrow,—

" O palm-tree! like myself, thou art alone in this land; thou also art " away from thy kindred.

" Thou weepest, and closest the calix of thy flowers. Why? dost thou " lament the generating seed scattered on the mountain?

" Yes, I do; for although they all may take root in a congenial soil [like " that] watered by the Euphrates,

" Yet orphans are they all; since the Bení 'Abbás have driven me away " from my family."[4]

Another of the Bení Umeyyah was Jazi Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, brother of the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz. He went to Andalus, and settled there. He died before 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and was a virtuous and exemplary man, following in most things the steps of his brother the Khalif.

Among the illustrious individuals who settled in Andalus under this reign may be counted Abú-l-ash'ath Al-kelbí, who was far advanced in age when he arrived in Cordova. This man preserved traditions from his mother, who held them herself from 'A'yeshah. (May God's favour be on her!) He became a great favourite with 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who admitted him to his privacy; and he was generally esteemed for his amiable temper and his virtues: he had, however, one great fault, namely, that of being somewhat fond of turning men and things into ridicule, and

indulging in jests. The following is given as an instance: When the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán heard of the death of Habíb[5] Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Omar Ibn Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who had been his most intimate friend, and for whom he always showed more deference than for any other member of his family, he began to weep, and to implore the Almighty to forgive the sins of the deceased. Abú-l-ash'ath, who was standing by the side of the Sultán when Habíb's death was announced, and whose jests 'Abdu-r-rahmán was in the habit of bearing with extreme patience and good humour, said aloud, and as if he were addressing the deceased,—"O Abú Suleymán! thou hast descended to the grave, and it "was not until thou wast comfortably lodged there that the Khalif began his "lamentations." Hearing which, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who could scarcely suppress the smile on his lips, turned round, and went away. The preceding anecdote is related by the historian Ibnu Hayyán in his *Muktabis*, as well as by the Háfedh Ibnu-l-abbár, who borrowed it from him.

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We have said elsewhere that a treaty was concluded between 'Abdu-r-rahmán and Yúsuf, in virtue of which the latter was to reside in Cordova. It was not long, however, before Yúsuf infringed the conditions he had agreed to observe. In the year 141 (beginning May 13, A.D. 758) he left Cordova secretly, and, putting himself at the head of his numerous followers, tried to raise the country against 'Abdu-r-rahmán. According to the historian Ibnu Hayyán, this happened thus: It appears that Yúsuf was possessed of considerable property in land in the neighbourhood of Cordova, which he was enabled to retain by one of the articles in the above-mentioned treaty. Some people, however, having disputed with him the title by which he held some of his estates, they went before the magistrates, who decided in favour of the claimants and against Yúsuf. When the sentence was communicated to that chief, he complained bitterly of the injustice, and uttered some strong expressions against the son of Mu'áwiyah; which being speedily reported to that monarch by the enemies of Yúsuf, led to a misunderstanding between them. At last Yúsuf, fearing for his life, secretly left Cordova, and retired to Merida,[6] where he had numerous partisans, and was soon surrounded by twenty thousand adventurers from all parts of the country. His power having gradually increased, Yúsuf flattered himself that he could successfully contend against the arms of Ibn Mu'áwiyah; who was no sooner acquainted with Yúsuf's movements, than he gave orders to his generals to attack the rebels, whilst he himself went out of Cordova with a powerful army, and took up his quarters at Hisnu-l-mudowwar (Almodovar), a town at some distance from that capital. In the mean while, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar Ibn Merwán, who was governor of Seville, had gone in pursuit of the rebels with all the forces he could

muster. He met Yúsuf, with whom he had several sharp encounters, until at last he completely defeated him, killing most of his men, and putting the remainder to flight. Yúsuf, however, contrived to make his escape, and reached the neighbourhood of Toledo; but, whilst he was in one of the villages of that district, he was met by a man named 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amru Al-ansárí, who, having recognised him, said to those who were with him, "This is no doubt the Fehrite [Yúsuf], "who has taken refuge among us because the country is against him. To kill "him would be a service to him and to this country;" saying which, he dealt him a blow with his sword, and stretched him dead at his feet: after this he cut off his head, which he carried to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who, on his return to Cordova, ordered that the event should be announced to the inhabitants by the public crier, and that the head of Yúsuf should be nailed under the central arch of the bridge. He then ordered 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the son of Yúsuf, to be beheaded, and his head to be placed beside that of his father; which order was punctually obeyed, the heads of the father and son being placed on two spears under the gate of the royal palace. Thus the governor Yúsuf ended his days, after having been in command of Andalus for a period of upwards of nine years. He was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Habíb, son of Abú 'Obeydah, and the great-grandson of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí, the founder of Cairwán, who, during the Khalifate of Mu'áwiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán, had been governor of the Mohammedan conquests in Eastern and Western Africa.

His defeat and death.

As to his Wizír, As-samíl, he soon shared a similar fate. No sooner was the flight of Yúsuf discovered, than he was arrested and thrown into a dungeon. He was afterwards summoned to the presence of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who interrogated him as to the place whither Yúsuf had gone. "I do not know," answered As-samíl. "Well, then," replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "thou shalt remain in prison "until thou dost know. Thy son was seen in his company before he was missed, "and I make thee responsible for his re-appearance."—"Thou mayest do thy "worst," retorted As-samíl, "but, were Yúsuf here under my foot, I would not "raise it to give thee the opportunity of seizing on him." Hearing this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán caused him to be cast into a dungeon, together with the two sons of Yúsuf, Abú-l-aswad Mohammed, afterwards called *Al-'amí* (the blind), and 'Abdu-r-rahmán. These latter, however, succeeded some time afterwards in bribing some of their guards, who procured them the means of escaping from prison. Abú-l-aswad fled to the provinces, where he excited a rebellion against his sovereign, and maintained himself until he died of a natural death in 169 (beginning July 13, A.D. 785. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was not so successful: being a very corpulent man,

his own weight overcame him, and he fell: he was discovered, brought back to prison, and put to death as we have elsewhere related.

They say that As-samíl, who was in prison with them, obtained intelligence of their plans of escape, but would not follow them, and remained. However, after the death of Yúsuf, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent some people, who strangled As-samíl in prison, and he was found dead on the following morning. Others say that he was poisoned, and that one day as the Sheikhs of the Beni Modhar went to see him in his prison, they found him a corpse, having close by his side a cup,[7] as if he had been drinking; upon which one of the beholders exclaimed, "By Allah! "O Abú-l-jaushan, we need not be told that thou drankest the potion; but there "can be no doubt either as to the hand that administered it." As-samíl was the son of Hátim, son of Shímr, son of Dhú-jaushan; others make him the son of Hátim, son of 'Amrú, son of Junda', son of Ash-shímr, son of Dhú-jaushan. His ancestor, Ash-shímr, had been one of the most illustrious citizens of Kúfah, and one of the murderers[8] of Huseyn Ibn Abí Tálib (may God be favourable to him!). As to As-samíl, he entered Andalus in the suite of Balj Ibn Beshr, with other noble Syrians and Arabians. He had previously fought in the Maghreb (Western Africa) against the Berbers, at the orders of Kolthúm Ibn 'Iyádh, then governor of the Mohammedan settlements in Africa. He distinguished himself by his bravery and his experience in military affairs. To these qualities he owed his rapid promotion in the army, and the great favour he always enjoyed with Yúsuf, who intrusted to him the command of his armies.

As-samíl poisoned by 'Abdu-r-rahmán's order.

As-samíl was a tolerably good poet, but an uneducated man, and could not write: he was very fond of intoxicating liquors, and was often inebriated. Notwithstanding these faults, he obtained the command of the Arabs in Andalus; for, although Yúsuf was nominally their Sultán, he was completely the master of that chieftain, over whose mind he exercised the greatest influence. As-samíl obtained the command at the same time with Yúsuf, in the year 129: he retained it until it passed into the hands of the Beni Umeyyah, whose empire ceased not to increase in extent and strength until the fourth century of the Hijra, when their empire was overthrown, and their power vanished away, as did that of other mighty dynasties which preceded it. Thus are the immutable decrees of the Almighty irrevocably fulfilled on his creatures. God is great! God is great! There is no God but him, the merciful, the compassionate!

Ibn Mughíth invades Andalus.

In the year 146 (beginning March 20, A.D. 763), Al-'ala Ibn Mughíth Al-yahssobí sailed from Eastern Africa with a view to re-establish the supremacy of the Beni 'Abbás, and to plant their black banners in Andalus. He landed with

a small force on the western coast, and took possession of Beja, where he fortified himself. Having called upon the inhabitants of that city and the surrounding districts to aid him in his undertaking, great multitudes answered his call, and he soon saw himself surrounded by considerable forces, with which he began to molest all those who remained faithful to the cause of the Benī Umeyyah. No sooner was 'Abdu-r-rahmán informed of his landing, than he hastily collected some troops and marched against him: he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Seville, whither Ibn Mughíth had marched in the hope of reducing that wealthy city; and a battle ensuing, the victory remained on the side of 'Abdu-r-rahmán; Mughíth himself, and most of his officers, falling into his hands. Having ordered the execution of all his prisoners, the victorious monarch caused their heads to be secretly conveyed to Cairwán and Mekka, and to be cast at night into the squares and principal streets of those two cities, together with the black banners of the 'Abbássides, and the dispatches and credentials which Ibn Mughíth had brought with him from Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr. Another account says that when the unfortunate general was brought into the presence of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, that monarch ordered first the hands of his enemy to be cut off, and then his feet; he then had him beheaded, together with the principal chiefs of the insurrection. In order the better to strike terror into his enemies, 'Abdu-r-rahmán caused labels, inscribed with the names of the deceased, to be suspended from their ears; their heads were then stored in sealed bags, together with the black banners of the house of 'Abbás, and the whole given to a trusty merchant, who was directed to convey his cargo to Mekka, and deposit it in public places at a certain time. The merchant did as he was ordered. It happened that Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, the reigning Khalif, by whose orders the expedition had been undertaken, was in Mekka at the time, whither he had gone on pilgrimage, and the bags were secretly placed at the door of his tent. When the guards saw them in the morning, the circumstance was communicated to Al-mansúr, who immediately opened them himself, when lo! the first thing that met his eye was the gory head of his trusty servant Ibn Mughíth: he then broke out into maledictions against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and exclaimed, "The fate "of this unfortunate man (meaning Ibn Mughíth) sufficiently discloses to us the "wicked intentions of that demon. God be praised for placing a sea between "us!"

Is defeated and put to death.

Owing to this occurrence, Al-mansúr always bore 'Abdu-r-rahmán great hatred, and never failed, as long as he lived, to do him all the harm he could, by causing inroads to be made into his dominions, and stirring up the Arabs of Andalus to

rebellion. Yet Al-mansúr, though he hated him so intensely, would often speak of him in the highest terms, extolling his sagacity and his prudence, and doing justice to his military talents. He used to call him *Sakru-l-koraysh*[9] (the hawk of Koraysh), on account of his deeds in Andalus, the many dangers he had escaped on his way to that country from the East, and the rapidity with which, though destitute of resources, and with only a handful of followers, he had snatched so mighty an empire out of his hands, and transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity. Upon one occasion he told his courtiers, "Do not wonder at the dimensions "and strength of this our empire; what is really wonderful is the enterprise, "wisdom, and prudence displayed by the youth of Koraysh; when, destitute of "friends as he was, he hesitated not to thrust himself into the paths of perdition, "and to invade a distant island, difficult of access, and defended by a well appointed "army. See how, profiting by the feuds and enmities of the rival tribes, he has "caused them to rise in arms against one another; how, by prudence and good "government he has gradually gained the hearts of his subjects and quelled their "rebellious spirit; how, in short, he has overcome every difficulty, and made "himself sole master of the country."

A very striking resemblance has been pointed out as existing between 'Abdu-r-rahmán and his contemporary and rival, Abú Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, of the house of 'Abbás. Both were equally distinguished for prudence, vigour, and talents for administration; both displayed the same energy in humbling the pride, and the same unflinching severity in chastising the rebellions of their subjects. They had yet other points of resemblance: both their mothers were natives of Barbary, and each of them put to death his own nephew; since, as is well known, Al-mansúr killed the son of his brother As-seffáh, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán ordered the execution of Al-mugheyrah Ibn Al-walíd Ibn Mu'áwiyah. But to return.

bellion of e Yemenites.

In the year 151 (beginning Jan. 26, A. D. 768,) there was another revolt[10] against 'Abdu-r-rahmán. The rebels, having mustered in large numbers, marched against the capital. This intelligence being brought to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, orders were sent to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, the governor of Seville, immediately to attack the enemy. 'Abdu-l-malek, after giving Umeyyah,[11] one of his sons, the command of the van, marched against the rebels. In this manner Umeyyah suddenly came up with the enemy; but finding their numbers too great, and not daring to engage them, he fell back upon his father's army. When 'Abdu-l-malek saw his son thus flying before the rebels, his indignation was roused to the highest pitch, and he said to him, "How camest thou, O coward, thus to abandon the post intrusted to "thy care? The people of Andalus and Africa know how we came hither to escape "from death, but thou meetest it:" saying which, he ordered him to be beheaded;

eroic act of bdu-l-alek.

which was done. He then called together his friends and relatives, and said to them, "Are we come from the East to the extreme limits of these regions; and "have we gone through so many dangers and privations, to be now so sparing of "the few sparkles of life which still remain in our bodies? Let us throw away the "scabbards of our good swords, and perish rather than be vanquished." Thus saying, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and charged the enemy with great determination. The people of Seville,[12] and the Arabs of Yemen, were completely defeated: so great was their loss on this occasion, that they never afterwards recovered the blow. Thirty thousand bodies on both sides remained on the field of battle, and 'Abdu-l-malek himself was severely wounded. When 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who came up after the battle, heard of the exploits achieved by his trusty relative, and saw the blood ooze from his wounds and drop from his sword, the hilt of which actually clave to the palm of his hand, he rewarded him most munificently, and said to him, "O cousin! I have ordered my son "and heir Hishám to marry one of thy daughters,[13] to whom I will give so much "out of my treasury as dowry. I likewise give thee so much, and thy sons so "much; I give thee and thy sons such a castle and such a town, and appoint "thee besides to the office of Wizír."

In the year 163 (beginning Sept. 16, A. D. 779), according to Ibnu Hayyán, 'Abdu-r-rahmán put to death 'Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Yezíd Ibn Hishám,[14] better known by his patronymic Al-yezídí. He likewise ordered the execution of his own nephew, 'Obeydullah Ibn Abán Ibn Mu'áwiyah Ibn Hishám. It appears that these two individuals, with many others, had entered into a conspiracy to dethrone 'Abdu-r-rahmán. A *mauli* of 'Obeydullah, who was in the secret, and had assisted in their plans, discovered them to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who immediately caused the guilty parties to be arrested, and sentenced them to death. Abú 'Othmán, his chief Wizír, was likewise in the conspiracy; but 'Abdu-r-rahmán, grateful for his past services, spared his life. Conspiracy against 'Abdu-r-rahmán discovered.

In the year 167 (beginning Aug. 4, A. D. 783), says Ibn Hazm, another of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's nephews, whose name was Al-mugheyrah Ibn Al-walíd Ibn Mu'áwiyah, was put to death on the charge of having formed a conspiracy to dethrone his uncle. The same fate befel Hudheyl Ibn As-samíl Ibn Hátim. His own brother, Al-walíd, Al-mugheyrah's father, he exiled to the opposite coast of Africa, though he gave him permission to take with him his sons, family, and treasures. It is said in the *Mas'hab* that on the day in which 'Abdu-r-rahmán ordered the execution of his nephew, one of the favourite *maulis* of that monarch entered his presence, and found him absorbed in thought, and with signs of deep sorrow on his countenance. After some time 'Abdu-r-rahmán raised his head, and Execution of his nephew Al-mugheyrah.

said to him,—" It is a wonder to us, how, after all our endeavours to place these " people in a situation of security and comfort, and after risking our life, until God, " whose motives are a mystery, was pleased that we should carry our purpose, they " should be so ungrateful as to array themselves in arms against us. They come " to this country, flying from the swords of our enemies; and yet, when we receive " them with open arms, and give them a share in the empire which God destined " for us alone,—when we grant them security, and surround them with every " comfort and luxury,—they stir their arms, inflate their nostrils, fancy them- " selves superior to us, and try to resist that power which the Almighty has placed " in our hands! But God has chastised their ingratitude by permitting us to pry " into their secrets, and by turning against them the blows which they aimed " at us."

In this same year (A. H. 167) 'Abdu-r-rahmán made known his intention to march to Syria at the head of his army, and take the empire from the Bení 'Abbás. He accordingly began to make every preparation, and wrote to his relatives, *maulis*, and partisans of his house, apprising them of his determination. He was to leave his eldest son, Suleymán, to command in Andalus in his absence, whilst he himself, at the head of his troops, was to invade Syria. However, the rebellion of Huseyn Al-ansárí, who rose about this time at Saragossa, disconcerted his plans, and frustrated his purposes.

Besides the above rebels, 'Abdu-r-rahmán had to reduce many others of the principal Arabian tribes, who, during his reign, rose in various parts of his dominions, although God was pleased to render him victorious over every one of them. In their number may be counted a Berber who passed himself off as a descendant of Fátimah,[15] the daughter of the Prophet. This man raised the standard of revolt at the town of Santa Maria, and the mischief lasted for two years, until one of his own followers treacherously slew him.

Hayyát [16] Ibn Mulábis Al-hadhramí, governor of Seville, 'Abdu-l-ghaffár Ibn Hamíd Al-yohssebí, governor of Niebla, and 'Amrú Ibn Tálút, governor of Beja, are also counted among the Arabian chieftains who opposed the authority of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and rose in arms against him. After the death of Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Yemení Arabs, whom 'Abdu-r-rahmán, as above related, caused to be executed,[17] the three illustrious individuals just named swore to revenge the murder of their friend; and having collected the troops of their respective governments, marched upon Cordova. But they were met by the troops of the Sultán, and defeated with awful carnage: all the above-named chieftains remained dead on the field of battle, or were overtaken and put to death in their flight; though there are not wanting historians who assert that they contrived to escape

from the slaughter, and were some time afterwards pardoned by 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Of Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya, governor of Saragossa.

Al-huseyn[18] Ibn Yahya Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Obádah Al-khazrejí rose likewise at Saragossa in the year 157 (beginning Nov. 20, A. D. 773), assisted by Suleymán Ibn Yokdhán Al-'arabí Al-kelbí, the principal chief of that insurrection.[19] They maintained themselves for some time against the arms of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, until at last Al-huseyn treacherously killed Suleymán, and Al-huseyn himself fell into the hands of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who had him executed, as we have related.[20]

Of Hasan Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz.

In the year 163 (beginning Sept. 16, A. D. 779), Hasan Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-kenání[21] rose at Algesiras; but on the arrival of the troops sent against him by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he embarked on board a vessel, and sailed for the East.

'Abdu-r-rahmán takes Berbers into his pay.

But in order to check in future the rebellious spirit of the Arabian tribes, whom he found animated with a strong hatred towards him,[22] 'Abdu-r-rahmán began to cease all communication with their chiefs, and to surround his person with slaves and people entirely devoted to him; for which end he engaged followers and took clients from every province of his empire, as well as from Africa. He sent people over to enlist Berbers in his service; and those who came to him he treated so well as to make their comrades desirous of following them. In this manner, says the historian Ibnu Hayyán, 'Abdu-r-rahmán collected an army of slaves and Berbers, amounting to upwards of forty thousand men, by means of whom he always remained victorious in every contest with the Arabian tribes of Andalus; his empire was strengthened, and raised on solid foundations.

Success of the Christians.

Whilst the Moslems of Andalus were thus revolting against their sovereign, and striving to overthrow his empire, the people of Galicia were gathering strength, and their power was greatly increased. Fruela, son of Alfonso, who was their king at the time, attacked the fortresses and towns on the Moslem frontiers; and after expelling their inhabitants, took possession of them, and peopled them with his own subjects. In this manner, he took the cities of Lugo, Portokál (Oporto), Zamora, Kashtelah, and Shekúbi'ah (Segovia), which remained in the hands of his posterity until Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir retook them some time before the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah; although soon after, alas! they fell a second time into the hands of the unbelievers, who, as we shall hereafter relate, reconquered the whole of Andalus. May God Almighty be praised! His is the empire!

Charlemagne asks for peace.

Károloh (Charlemagne), King of the Franks, and one of the most powerful sovereigns of that nation, after warring for a length of time with 'Abdu-r-rahmán, sent him an embassy, and solicited an alliance with him by marriage; but the latter having met with an accident in the loins, which injured his virility, the

design was abandoned. Károloh, however, sought his friendship and alliance, and again insisted on the marriage; [23] but this was declined, although a peace was concluded between the two sovereigns.

Building of the Rissáfah.

Whilst the above events were taking place, 'Abdu-r-rahmán,—whose passion for building equalled, if it did not surpass, that of his predecessors of the house of Umeyyah,—was daily adding to the embellishments of his capital by works which he superintended himself. One of his first acts was to supply Cordova with water, by means of an aqueduct which came from the neighbouring mountains. He planted a most delightful garden, to which he gave the name of *Mun'yat Ar-rissáfah,* in remembrance of a splendid villa near Damascus, which his grandfather Hishám had built, and where he himself had spent the first years of his life. Finding the spot a very charming one, he erected in the middle of it a most magnificent palace, which he ornamented with every luxury which could be procured; and moreover made it his residence in preference to the old palace inhabited by the governors of Andalus. Being passionately fond of flowers, he commissioned an intelligent botanist to procure for him in the East such among the fruits and plants of that country as could be naturalized in Andalus; and in this manner he introduced the peach and the pomegranate called *Safarí.*[24] Ibnu Hayyán has preserved us four verses, which he is reported to have spoken extempore at the sight of one solitary palm-tree which grew in the middle of his garden.

"In the centre of the Rissáfah grows a palm-tree, born in the West, away "from the country of the palm-trees.

"I once exclaimed, 'Thou art like me; for thou resemblest me in wan- "dering and peregrination, and the long separation from relatives and friends.

"Thou [also] didst grow in a foreign soil, and, like me, art far away [from "the country of thy birth].

"May the fertilizing clouds of morning water thee in thy exile! May "the beneficent rains, which the poor implore, never forsake thee!'" [25]

But whilst 'Abdu-r-rahmán expended a portion of his treasures in this and other delightful dwellings, he was meditating a work far more meritorious in the eyes of the Almighty, and which would insure him a place in Paradise; we mean the erection of a magnificent place of worship, that which existed being in a ruinous state, and being, besides, insufficient to hold the great concourse of people who flocked to prayers. We quote the words of Ibnu Hayyán.

Of the great mosque.

"In the year 170 (beginning July 2, A. D. 786), 'Abdu-r-rahmán began the "building of the great mosque, which was constructed on the site of the old one. "Though he did not live to see that magnificent edifice completed, he is said to

"have expended on it the enormous sum of eighty thousand dinárs. He surrounded "Cordova with a thick and strong wall, the work beginning in the year 150, and "continuing for the greater part of his reign. He also supplied his capital with "water, built himself a palace, and erected mosques, baths, bridges, and castles "in every province of his dominions."

Character of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

'Abdu-r-rahmán, says Ibnu Hayyán, was kind-hearted, and well disposed to mercy. He was eloquent in his speech, and was endowed with a quick perception; he was very slow in his determinations, but constant and persevering in carrying them into effect; he was exempt from all weakness, and prompt in his movements; he was active and stirring; he would never lie in repose or abandon himself to indulgence; he never intrusted the affairs of the government to any one, but administered them himself, yet he never failed to consult, on such difficult cases as occurred, with people of wisdom and experience; he was a brave and intrepid warrior, always the first in the field; he was terrible in his anger, and could bear no opposition to his will; he could speak with much fluency and elegance; he was likewise a good poet, and composed verses extempore; he was, in short, a beneficent, generous, and munificent prince. He always dressed in white, and wore a turban of the same colour, which he preferred to any other; his countenance inspired with awe all those who approached him, whether friends or foes. He used to attend funerals, and recite prayers over the dead; he often prayed with the people when he attended the mosque on Fridays and other festivals, on which occasions he was in the habit of ascending the pulpit, and addressing his subjects therefrom. He visited the sick, and mixed with the people, attending their rejoicings and recreations. One day, as he was returning from a funeral, he was met in the street by an impudent man of the lower orders, who, fancying he had been wronged by a sentence lately passed against him, addressed him thus: "May God prosper the Amír! Thy Kádí has wronged me, and I "come to appeal to thee for justice."—"If what thou statest be right, O man!" said 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "thy wrong shall be redressed." But the man, extending his hand, seized the bridle of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's horse, and said, "O Amír! I "entreat thee for God's sake to grant my request. Move not from this spot "until thou order thy Kádí to do justice unto me: there he is in thy suite." Hearing this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán's indignation was roused: he looked round for his followers; but saw that there were only a few, and those at some distance behind him: he then called the Kádí, and told him to do the man justice. On his return to his palace, one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's favourites, who disapproved of his frequent ramblings without a sufficient escort, represented to him the great danger to which he had voluntarily exposed himself, and said to him, "May God preserve thy life,

"O Amír! These continual ramblings do not become a powerful Sultán like thee; "for if once the eyes of the vulgar become accustomed to the sight of thee, all "salutary dread and respect will vanish away." These words had the desired effect on 'Abdu-r-rahmán; for not only did he abstain ever afterwards from accompanying the funerals, and mixing with the crowds, but he advised his son and successor Hishám to do the same.

ality.

The same historian (Ibnu Hayyán) relates, that when, by the submission of Yúsuf Al-fehrí, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was freed from all his enemies, and firmly seated on his throne, men hastened to Cordova from every province of Andalus to take the oath of allegiance to him. For several days the palace of 'Abdu-r-rahmán was crowded with governors and chiefs, who came to swear fealty to him; and 'Abdu-r-rahmán would receive them with great affability on appointed days, and after confirming them in their respective offices and land tenures, he would converse with them, and address them in words which delighted them, and attached them to him. He would also distribute among them dresses, food, and sundry presents. In this way they all returned to their homes, highly pleased and satisfied, repeating to each other the kind words they had listened to, expatiating in praises of their sovereign, and invoking the favours of God for him. There happened to come before 'Abdu-r-rahmán on one of these occasions a man who belonged to the division of Kenesrín,[26] who, after humiliating himself in his presence, addressed him thus: "O descendant of the righteous Khalifs and honourable Lords! to "thee I fly, and under thy shelter I take refuge from calamitous times and the "injustice of fate. Money is scanty, and my family is numerous; my situation "becomes every day more precarious, and riches are given to thee that thou mayest "distribute them more amply. Thou art the Lord of praise and glory, the imparter "of gifts, and the hope of the destitute."—'Abdu-r-rahmán immediately answered, "We have listened to thy words, and remedied thy wants; we have issued orders "that thou shouldst be helped against fortune, and regret the miserable plight "to which thou hast been reduced. Let all those who are in the same condition "with thyself apply to us for help, and make known to us their poverty or mis-"fortunes, either personally, or by means of memorials placed in our hands, in "order that we may alleviate the blows of fate, and, by remedying their poverty, "avert the malignant rejoicings of their enemies." He then ordered a large sum of money to be given to the Arab, who left the room highly rejoiced, and in utter amazement at the Amír's eloquence, readiness of wit, and unbounded liberality. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, moreover, issued orders that all those who came to him with petitions should be admitted to his audience-room without delay, that he might attend to their cases, and listen to their complaints. In this manner,

says the author above cited [Ibnu Hayyán], numbers of poor distressed people, who had either met with some misfortune or were the victims of iniquitous judgment passed upon them, would flock to the Amír's hall on the days of public audience, when they invariably obtained the redress of their wrongs. It was 'Abdu-r-rahmán's custom to dine in company with such among his courtiers and public officers as happened to be with him at the hours of his meals, and whoever came to him upon business at those hours was by him invited to sit down and partake with him.

Of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's wit and eloquence several traits have been preserved by the historians. Ibnu Hayyán relates, that having once received a letter from Suleymán Ibn Yoktán Al-'arábí, in which that chieftain tried to deceive him, he made the following reply: "Let me alone with thy frivolous excuses, whilst thou "art quitting the path of duty; extend thy hands towards obedience, and hold "by the strings of the multitude; do not persevere in thy disobedience and rebellion, "and let the fate of thy predecessors be a warning to thee, for God is never unjust "to his servants." His wit and eloquence.

After the taking of Saragossa, and the execution of the rebel Huseyn Al-ansárí, whose head, together with those of the principal inhabitants of the city, was fixed on stakes, 'Abdu-r-rahmán's courtiers hastened to congratulate him on a victory so signal, and which had realized his most ardent hopes. Among those who approached him was a man who had not been present at the siege, and who yet complimented him like the rest in a tone of voice both loud and rude. Turning sharply towards him, 'Abdu-r-rahmán said, "By Allah! were it not that this is a day in which He "who is over me has granted me a most special favour, and in which it is therefore "incumbent upon me also to bestow my favours upon those who are under me, "I would have thee most severely punished for presuming to address me in that "disrespectful manner, as if thou wert accosting thy father, thy brother, or thy "wife, and entirely disregarding the respect due to royalty."

'Abdu-r-rahmán has been accused of ingratitude to those to whom he was most indebted; and certainly his treatment of his freedman Bedr, who was the principal instrument of his success, who shared his privations and misfortunes, accompanied him in his flight as well as in concealment, and sought out an empire for him in the East or West, by sea or land, cannot be excused. No sooner had he risen to power than he deprived him of all his honours, cast him into prison, and, at last, exiled him to the confines of his empire, where he died in great poverty and affliction. The author of the *Mas'hab* [Al-hijárí] relates that Bedr once wrote to his master from his place of exile as follows: "I should have thought that, after "crossing the sea, and traversing the deserts, in order to procure thee a kingdom, His ingratitude to Bedr.

"thou wouldst have rewarded me otherwise than by thus humbling me in the eyes "of my equals, and giving matter of cause for the malicious joy of my enemies, "making me poor and destitute, and no longer useful to my friends, causing those "who honoured and esteemed me to keep aloof, and those who hated me to hate "me the more. I verily think that had I fallen into the hands of the Bení 'Abbás, "I could not have been worse treated by them than I have been by thee. But "God is over all things, and to Him we must all return." What reason 'Abdu-r-rahmán may have had thus to act towards his faithful servant Bedr is only known to God, who looks into the interior of men's hearts, and unravels their secrets: perhaps 'Abdu-r-rahmán had reasons for thus acting towards his faithful servant; or perhaps the latter was calumniated, as often happens, by people who knew his low origin, and saw with envy his rapid rise in honours and fortune.[27]

To Abú 'Othmán.

Nor was 'Abdu-r-rahmán more grateful to 'Abú Othmán, the Arabian chieftain who was the first to raise the standard in his favour; for when 'Abdu-r-rahmán saw his power firmly established, he would no longer attend to him, nor to those who, like him, had most contributed to his success. At last, Abú 'Othmán, seeing himself ill-treated, and his applications disregarded, caused a nephew of his, on the female side, to revolt in one of the castles in the district of Elvira. 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched some troops against him, and the rebel was taken and beheaded. After this, Abú 'Othmán seduced one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's own nephews, to whom he painted in bright colours how easy it would be to revolt against his uncle and deprive him both of his life and throne; but 'Abdu-r-rahmán, having received intelligence of the conspiracy in time, seized on the persons of his nephew and the principal conspirators, and had them all beheaded, with the exception of Abú 'Othmán; for, although he was repeatedly told that he was one of their number, and that it was he who had instigated his nephew to revolt and had assured him of success, he would always answer, "Let Abú 'Othmán alone; for he is "the Abú Salmah[28] of this dynasty, and I would on no account give the people "cause to say that I treated him as the Bení 'Abbás treated Abú Salmah; I intend, "however, to inflict on him a chastisement worse than death itself." He then sent for him, and, after charging him with his treacherous conduct, deprived him of all his honours and emoluments, though some time afterwards he re-instated him in his office, and took him again into favour.

To Khâled.

The next person who was most instrumental in 'Abdu-r-rahmán's elevation to power was Abú 'Othmán's son-in-law, 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled, who shared with him the duties of the Wizírate. It appears that when Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Yemení Arabs, revolted, he gave out as a reason that certain terms agreed to between himself and 'Abdullah, in his master's name, had been violated by 'Abdu-r-

rahmán. After the capture and execution of that chieftain, 'Abdu-r-rahmán removed Ibn Kháled from his office, and swore never to employ him as long as he lived. 'Abdullah, accordingly, passed out of memory at the court, and remained without taking any part whatever in the affairs of the government. Another man who most strenuously contributed to 'Abdu-r-rahmán's accession, and at first shared his intimacy, was Temám Ibn 'Alkamah, who, as already mentioned, crossed the sea to him, and was the first to announce to him the good tidings of the rising in his favour. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, however, soon forgot his past services, and his son and successor, Hishám, put to death a son of Temám,[29] as well as a son of Abú 'Othmán. Alluding to this event, Ibnu Hayyán says, "The execution of the two youths, "ordered as it was by the son of the man to whom their lives ought to have been "most precious, well convinced their disconsolate fathers of the truth, that no one "has a right to expect praiseworthy deeds from his own kindred.[30] Indeed, if we "compare the fate of those who were the principal instruments of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's "success, and who gave him the empire, with that of those who resisted his "authority and were subdued, we shall find that the fate of the former was the "more lamentable and severe of the two."

And Temám Ibn 'Alkamah.

The first who filled the office of Hájib to 'Abdu-r-rahmán was his *mauli* Temám Ibn 'Alkamah: he lived to a great age. He was succeeded in that office by Yúsuf Ibn Bokht Al-fáresí, a freedman of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who left a numerous posterity in Cordova. The next was 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn Mahrán, of the posterity of Al-hárith Ibn Abí Shamr Al-ghosání, who was succeeded by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mugheyth Ibn Al-hárith Ibn Huwirath Ibn Jabalah Ibni-l-ayham, whose father had been the conqueror of Cordova, as before related; after this, Mansúr the eunuch, the first of his class who obtained that office under the Bení Umeyyah: he retained his office until the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Hájibs of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Ad-dákhel had not Wizírs, properly speaking, who administered the government in his name; but he had a certain number of Sheikhs who sat in council and assisted him with their experience and advice. The first in rank among these was the aforesaid Abú 'Othmán; then came his son-in-law 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled; then Abú 'Abdah, governor of Seville; then Shoheyd, son of 'Isa, son of Shoheyd. This last-named individual was the descendant of a Berber, others say a Greek, who was made a prisoner in the first wars of Islám, and became a slave of Mu'áwiyah Ibn Merwán Ibn Al-hakem: from him are descended the Bení Shoheyd, an illustrious family of Cordova. The next were, 'Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Basíl, also a Greek, and a freedman of 'Abdullah Ibn Mu'áwiyah, whose posterity obtained great renown in the Wizírate and in other offices; Tha'lebah Ibn 'Obeyd Ibn An-nadhdhám Al-jodhámí, governor of Saragossa; and 'A'ssem Ibn Moslem

Councillors.

Ath-thakefí. This latter, who was one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's most zealous partisans, was a very brave man. It was he who at the battle of Cordova (Musárah) set the example to the troops, by swimming across the river. His posterity afterwards attained great renown as public functionaries under various reigns.

Kátibs. The first Kátibs or secretaries appointed by 'Abdu-r-rahmán when he assumed the supreme power, and took possession of Cordova, were Abú 'Othmán and 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled. He then named to that office Umeyyah Ibn Yezíd, a *mauli* of Mu'áwiyah Ibn Merwán, who, as before stated, had also been secretary to Yúsuf Al-fehrí. This Umeyyah had likewise a seat in the council-room, where he was much esteemed for his experience and his talents. It is said that he was implicated in the conspiracy of Al-yezídí against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, but that he died before that monarch was apprised of it, when Al-yezídí was in consequence put to death.

Kádís. Ibn Zeydún relates, that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán took possession of Cordova he confirmed Yahya Ibn Yezíd Al-yahssobí in the charge of *Kádi-l-jamá'h* (supreme judge), which he was then filling. After him he appointed Abú 'Amru Mu'áwiyah Ibn Sáleh Al-hemsí;[31] after him 'Omar Ibn Sharáhil;[32] then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Taríf. Jodrán Ibn 'Amru was judge[33] to the army.

Death. 'Abdu-r-rahmán died in the year 172 (beginning June 10, A. D. 788), after a reign of thirty-three years and four months, counted from the day of his landing on the coast of Almuñecar to that of his death. Others say that he died in 171, during the Khalifate of Harún Ar-rashíd. He was buried within the palace of Cordova, his son 'Abdullah reciting the funeral service over his body. He was born in the year 113 (beginning March 14, A. D. 731), at Deyr-hinná, in the territory of Damascus, or, according to other authorities, at Al-'aliyá, a town of the jurisdiction of Tadmor. His mother was a native of Barbary; her name was Ráha. His father, Mu'áwiyah, died in the year 118 (beginning January 19, A. D. 736), at the age of twenty-one, and during the lifetime of his own father, the Commander of the Faithful. Hishám intended him as his successor in the Khalifate, and had him educated accordingly. Mu'áwiyah having upon his death-bed intrusted the guardianship of his sons to their grandfather Hishám, the Khalif took care of them, and especially of this 'Abdu-r-rahmán, to whom he allotted, for his maintenance, his own share in the revenue of Andalus, the prince sending thither a man named Sa'íd Ibn Abí Leyla[34] to collect it in his name.

The dates given by Ibnu Hayyán differ slightly from the above. We here transcribe his words: "'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel was born in the year 113, "or, according to other writers, in the year before, at 'Aliyá, in the district of "Tadmor; others say at Deyr-hinná, in the territory of Damascus, where his "father Mu'áwiyah died in the lifetime of the Commander of the Faithful, Hishám

" Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, who was his father, and destined him for his successor in the " Khalifate. It was this Mu'áwiyah who interceded for Al-kamet, the poet, when " Hishám had unjustly decreed his death.

" Ad-dákhel died on the 24th day of Rabi'-l-akhar of the year 171 (Sept. 30, " A. D. 787), being then fifty-seven years old: some writers make him sixty-two " years of age at the time of his death. He was buried within the royal palace " of Cordova, his eldest son 'Abdullah reading the funeral service over his body. " He was fortunate and successful in all that he undertook, and conquered all " his enemies, as we have sufficiently demonstrated in our account of his battles. " As a further proof of his good fortune, we might add what an historian relates " of him; namely, that the banner which he assumed on his first landing in Andalus " was never defeated, and that it was not until that banner was lost that the " empire of the Bení Umeyyah gave signs of decay." Such is the narrative of the trustworthy historian Ibnu Hayyán, from whose works we have already transcribed enough to render any information on this last topic superfluous.

One of the historians of the West, after copying the above passage from Ibnu Hayyán, draws the following picture of 'Abdu-r-rahmán: " The Imám 'Abdu-r-" rahmán Ad-dákhel was a man of very sound judgment and quick perception; " he was deeply learned, and could express himself with facility and elegance; " he was slow and prudent in his determinations, but firm in carrying them into " effect. Not once did he unfurl his banners against his enemies that he did " not return victorious from the field of battle. He was exceedingly liberal, and " well versed in the science of government: he always dressed in white, and " wore a turban of the same colour.[35] He used to visit the sick and attend " funerals, saying his prayers at the mosque in common with the people on " Fridays and other festivals; he harangued his troops himself, and raised the " banners with his own hand; he appointed Hájibs and Kátibs: his army " amounted to 100,000 men."

'Abdu-r-rahmán was surnamed Ad-dákhel, (*i. e.* the enterer,[36]) because he was the first of his family who entered Andalus, and *Sakr Koraysh* (the hawk of Koraysh), owing to the rapidity with which he subjected that country to his rule. As elsewhere related, he abolished the rule of the Bení 'Abbás in Andalus, and founded in that country a powerful empire for his posterity, restoring to his race in the West that supremacy which they had lost in the East, and preparing for them the way to the Khalifate. Although, at the beginning of his reign, he was troubled by frequent rebellions in the provinces, and by the invasions of the generals sent by As-seffáh,[37] he, nevertheless, vanquished and subdued all those who opposed him, and ultimately abolished the spiritual rule of the

Bení 'Abbás by forbidding the mentioning of the Khalif's name at prayers from the pulpits of the mosques. Yet, neither 'Abdu-r-rahmán nor his immediate successors assumed any other title than that of *Amíru-l-moslemín* (Commander of the Moslems of Andalus), out of respect for the seat of the Khalifate, which was still the abode of Islám, and the meeting-place of the Arabian tribes. However, after the year 300 of the Hijra, his namesake, 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, the eighth Sultán of his family, seeing the state of affairs in the East,—where the Bení 'Abbás had been overpowered by foreigners, who left only a shadow of power in their hands,—and yielding to the entreaties of his subjects and the advice of his most eminent theologians, took the titles of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful), Imám [38] and Khalif, which his successors also assumed, as we shall relate hereafter.

Ibn Zeydún says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán had a clear complexion and reddish hair; he had high cheek-bones, with a mole on his face: he was tall and slender in body, wore his hair parted in two ringlets, could only see out of one eye, and was destitute of the sense of smelling. He left twenty children, eleven of whom were sons, the remainder daughters.

CHAPTER III.

Accession of Hishám—His interview with an astrologer—His justice—Liberality—Wise administration —Rebellion of Suleymán—Taking of Narbonne—Wars with the infidels—Expedition to Galicia—To Alava—Rebuilding of the bridge of Cordova—Several Theologians leave Spain for the East—They meet Málik Ibn Ans—Death of Hishám—Al-hakem ascends the throne—His uncles rebel against him —Taking of Barcelona by the Franks—Wars with the Galicians—Revolt at Cordova—Exemplary chastisement of the rebels—Death of Suleymán—Wars with the Christians—Defeat of the Franks— of the Galicians—Dreadful famine—Death of Al-hakem—His government—Respect for the learned.

Accession of Hishám.

On the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, his son Hishám, surnamed Abú-l-walíd, who had been previously appointed his successor, ascended the throne. His mother's name was Halal.[1] He was born on the 4th of Shawwál, A. H. 139 (Feb. 28, A. D. 757), that is, one year after his father's arrival in Andalus. When the empire devolved on him he was absent at Merida, of which city he was governor, as his father, with a view to train him in the duties of administration, had, from his earliest youth, given him several offices to discharge: he was, accordingly, proclaimed at Merida in 172 (A. D. 788).

Hishám was not 'Abdu-r-rahmán's eldest son; but that monarch, who always showed a great predilection for him, and knew his excellent qualities, preferred him to his other sons, and named him his successor. They say that whenever 'Abdu-r-rahmán inquired how his two sons, Suleymán and Hishám, spent their time, the answer he received was invariably this: "If thy son Hishám receives company, "his hall is thronged with learned men, poets, or historians, who discuss the "exploits of the brave, and converse about military affairs, and so forth; whereas "the hall of thy son Suleymán is always filled with sycophants, fools, and cowards." By means of this and other similar reports, Hishám rose high in his father's esteem, in proportion as his brother Suleymán descended, until that monarch decided upon naming him his successor to the empire, to the prejudice of his elder brother.

One day, as 'Abdu-r-rahmán was sitting in his hall, surrounded by his courtiers, he repeated the following verses, and asked Hishám whether he knew where they were to be found:

"If thou consider his brilliant qualities, thou wilt easily find out who his "father was, and who his ancestors,—who is Yezíd and who is Hajr.

"Observe his generosity, his piety, his good faith, his logical acuteness,
"whether he is sober or intoxicated [after a banquet]."[2]

No sooner had he uttered them, than Hishám exclaimed, "O my Lord! those "verses are the composition of 'Amrú-l-kays, King of Kindah, and it seems as "if they had been written on thy account." So pleased was his father with this answer, that he ordered many bounteous gifts to Hishám, who from that moment rose high in his estimation. They relate that as Suleymán, who was also present at this interview, went out of the audience-room, he asked some one whose verses they were, and repeated them until he knew them by heart; he then said, "To gain my father's affection I have nothing more to do than learn by heart some of the sayings of the Arabs;" and that when these words were reported to 'Abdu-r-rahmán he was struck with astonishment, and became more convinced than ever of the great disparity between his two sons.

His interview with an astrologer.

Soon after his accession to power, Hishám sent for a celebrated astrologer who resided at Algesiras, and whose name was Adh-dhobí. He was a man of great reputation for his knowledge of astrology, and of the influence of the stars upon mundane affairs, which he had studied in the writings of Ptolemy. In compliance with Hishám's orders the astrologer repaired to Cordova, where, immediately on his arrival, that monarch closeted himself up with him and addressed him thus: "I doubt not thou hast already divined the reason of thy being "sent for; I need not, therefore, give thee any further explanation. Tell me "now, with God's permission, what thy science discloses to thee respecting my "future destiny." The astrologer hesitated to give answer, and said, "Pardon "me, O Amír! I am but a novice in that science; and it is beyond my power "to execute thy commands, as I am not at all deserving of the honour of observing "a subject so superior to myself in rank and dignity."—"Heed not that," replied Hishám, "I raise thee to my own station, and thou wilt thereby become competent to the task."

Some days after this interview, the astrologer was again summoned to the presence of Hishám, who said to him, "What I asked thee the other day has kept "me since in a state of great agitation, although God knows I place no confidence "in things which are amongst His impenetrable secrets, and the knowledge of "which he has reserved to Himself. Yet I ardently desire to hear what thou hast "to predict to me: man is naturally fond of inquiry, and he is bound by the hope "of reward, as well as by the fear of punishment." Adh-dhobí then said, "Thy "reign, O Amír! will be glorious and fortunate: it will be marked by victories "over thy enemies: its duration, however, if my calculations be right, will only "be eight years or thereabout." After a moment's reflection, Hishám lifted up

his head, and said, " O Adh-dhobí! I am not in the least alarmed at thy pre-" diction, though it may be the unerring admonisher who informs me by thy " tongue; for if the time of life allotted to me be spent in adoration of the " Almighty, when the hour comes I will say with resignation, 'May His will be " done!'" Hishám then dismissed the astrologer, after rewarding him munificently, and from that day abstained from the pleasures of this world, and made justice and benevolence the sole guide of his actions.

Among the anecdotes related of Hishám, and which show his love of justice and his liberality, the following is one: As he was once, in his father's lifetime, journeying out of Cordova, he halted on an eminence close to the banks of the river (Guadalquivir), whence he saw a man from Jaen, whom he well knew—having on a previous occasion rendered him some service—running in great haste and trepidation towards the spot where his tent was pitched. Hishám immediately guessed the cause of the man's fear and hasty flight: he had perhaps experienced some ill-treatment from his brother Suleymán, then governor of Jaen; he had escaped his vengeance, and was now hastening to implore his help. He therefore gave orders to his attendants, that on the arrival of the man he should be immediately introduced to his presence. This being done as he desired, and the fugitive being conducted to his tent, he addressed him thus: " O Kenání! I know not what has " brought thee here; but I should say that thou art fleeing from some calamity."— " Thou sayest right, O my Lord!" replied the man; " I am trying to avert " misfortune from my head. Listen to my tale: A member of my tribe [Kenánah] " has put to death a man belonging to another tribe: according to custom I have " handed over to the tribe of the deceased the usual expiation-money, that they " may distribute it among his family and relatives; yet thy brother Suleymán, " knowing how much I am favoured and distinguished by thee, is not satisfied, " and wishes to proceed further in this affair." Hearing this, Hishám lifted up a curtain leading to the interior of his tent, and stretching his hand towards one of his slave girls, who happened to be sitting behind, cut off a beautiful pearl necklace which she wore, and presented it to him, saying, " Take this, O Kenání! " and sell it; it is worth three thousand dinárs: do not part with it for less; keep " the money to redeem thyself and thy people, and no one shall injure thee."— " O my Lord," replied the man, " I came not hither to ask for thy gifts, nor do " I want money; the expiation price being already paid down. I came to complain " of the crying injustice done unto me, and to implore thy powerful assistance; for " if thou protect me in this matter, and thy intercession for me is made public, " I shall grow in importance among those who hate me, merely because thou " befriendest me."—" How is that to be accomplished?" said Hishám. " Thou

His justice.

Liberality.

"must write to thy brother," answered the man, "and let him know that thou "claimest my person, and that I must henceforth be under thy protection."—"Very "well, I will do so; but keep the necklace nevertheless." Hishám immediately rode off to Cordova, and, entering the royal palace, begged leave to see his father. He happened to arrive at a time when 'Abdu-r-rahmán had retired into the interior apartments, and did not wish to be disturbed by applications. He said, notwithstanding, on hearing of his son's arrival, "Nothing can bring my son Abú-l-walíd "[Hishám] hither at this time of the day save business of the most pressing nature; "let him come in." Hishám entered the apartment, and, after giving his father the *salám,* stood in a respectful attitude before him. 'Abdu-r-rahmán motioned him to sit down, and state his business. "May God prosper the Amír, my lord and "father!" exclaimed Hishám. "How can I sit down when those [who claim my "interference] stand injured and oppressed? It behoves those of my rank and "station not to sit down unless they be content and satisfied, and I cannot be "so unless the Amír puts me at my ease by granting my request. Otherwise "I shall go back to my people."—'Abdu-r-rahmán then said to him, "God forbid "that thou shouldst leave my presence discontented and disappointed. Sit down, "were it only that we may accede to the prayers of one who intercedes: speak out, "and tell us thy business." Hishám then sat down, as commanded, and related to his father the whole of the case: upon which 'Abdu-r-rahmán gave orders that the expiatory sum paid to the tribe of the deceased should be taken out of his treasury, and that Suleymán should be instructed not to proceed further in the matter, and to suspend all proceedings against the Kenání. Upon which Hishám left the palace, highly pleased and gratified, and expatiating in praise of his father's generosity and justice. When the Kenání came to take leave of Hishám, to return to Jaen, he said to him, "This certainly exceeds my expectations, and thy favours "come down upon me more profusely even than I could have wished. Here is "the necklace thou gavest me; I do not want it, let it be restored to its owner. "I shall not be the less grateful for the singular service I have received at thy "hands." Hishám, however, refused to take it back, saying, "We never take "back what we have once given."

Wise administration.

Like the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, Hishám followed the maxim of sending men of probity and virtue, and on whom he could rely, to the various provinces of his empire, to inquire into the condition of his subjects, and ascertain the opinions of the inhabitants respecting the conduct of their governors and magistrates; and if in this manner any one of his public officers was convicted of having committed injustice, he would deprive him of his situation, oblige him to make due amends, and for ever afterwards exclude him from his service. So eminent were

the virtues, so upright the conduct of this sovereign, that when the celebrated theologian, Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, better known by the surname of *Shabattún*, left Andalus for the East in search of learning, the Imám Málik Ibn Ans, to whom he related some of Hishám's most praiseworthy acts, is said to have exclaimed, "May the Almighty preserve his life, and make him one of our select [disciples]."[3]

At the onset of his reign, Hishám was compelled to make war on members of his own family and other rebels, who resisted his authority, or raised the standard of revolt in various corners of his empire. His eldest brother Suleymán especially, to whom he had been preferred by his father, shook off his allegiance, and appeared in arms against him, assisted by another brother, called 'Abdullah. After many sanguinary encounters between the royal troops and those commanded by his two brothers, Hishám repaired in person to the seat of war; and the wheel of fortune turning in his favour, he defeated the rebels, and compelled them to have recourse to his clemency. Thus rid of his internal enemies, Hishám turned his arms against the infidels. Rebellion of Suleymán.

In the days of Hishám, the celebrated city of Narbonne[4] was again wrested from the Christians. His Galician vassals having sued for peace, Hishám only granted it to them on very hard conditions; one of which was their having to carry a certain number of loads of earth[5] out of the demolished walls of the conquered city, Narbonne, to the gate of his own palace in Cordova, to be used there in the construction of a mosque, opposite to the Bábu-l-jenán (gate of the gardens); and not only was the mosque built of those materials, but a large quantity still remained piled up in front of the royal palace. Taking of Narbonne.

In the spring of the year 175 (beginning May 9, A. D. 791), having put himself at the head of a powerful army, he reached the districts of Alava and the Castles,[6] met the unbelievers, and defeated them completely. In the same year (175) God again sent down victory to his arms; for, having dispatched one of his generals, named Yúsuf Ibn Bokht[7] Al-fáresí, against the Galicians, that chief penetrated into their country at the head of considerable forces, and met their king, Beremundoh (Bermudo), whom he defeated, making great slaughter among his followers, and reducing a considerable portion of his states. Wars with the infidels. Expedition to Galicia.

In the ensuing year, A. H. 176 (beginning April 27, A. D. 792), Hishám sent forward his Wizír 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth on a similar service; and this general reached the districts of Alava and the Castles, wherein he committed all manner of depredations. To Alava.

After this, in the year 177 (beginning April 17, A. D. 793), Hishám sent the same general in another direction. This time 'Abdu-l-malek marched to Ariúnah (Narbonne) and Jerundah (Gerona), laid waste the territories adjoining those two

cities, and subdued the whole country of Seritányah (Cerdagne).[8] 'Abdu-l-malek, moreover, having penetrated far into the country of the infidels, put their armies to flight wherever he met with them.

Another invasion was made by the command of Hishám in the year 178 (beginning April 6, A. D. 794). 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed penetrated far into Galicia, and reached Ashtorkah (Astorga), where the King of the Galicians, assisted by the King of the Basques, seemed disposed to make a stand; but not daring to come to close quarters with the Moslems, the two kings retreated into their states, whither they were hotly pursued by 'Abdu-l-malek. Hishám, moreover, had previously sent by another route some forces,[9] which joined 'Abdu-l-malek in the enemy's country, and laid it waste. They were opposed by the troops of the Franks, who at first obtained some trifling advantage over them, though the Moslems at last returned safe and victorious.

Rebuilding of the bridge of Cordova.

Among the praiseworthy actions of this Sultán, one is the restoration of the famous bridge of Cordova,[10] which, as before related, had been erected by As-samh Al-khauláni, governor of Andalus, during the Khalifate of 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and was proverbial for its beauty and dimensions. Hishám designed it himself, and inspected the work till its completion. Happening on a certain day to ask one of his Wizírs what the people of Cordova said about it, the Wizír replied, "They say "that the Amír's only motive in rebuilding this bridge is, that he may pass over "it when he goes out hunting." Hearing which, Hishám bound himself by a most solemn oath never to pass it again; a vow which he is known to have kept most scrupulously as long as he lived.

Several theologians leave Cordova for the East.

During the reign of this Sultán several eminent doctors left Cordova and other cities in Andalus to make their pilgrimage to Mekka. Among their number were, Fara'ún Ibnu-l-'abbás, 'Isa Ibn Dínár, Sa'id Ibn Abí Hind, and others, who, on their return to Andalus, failed not to diffuse the rays of theological science which they had diligently gathered in the East. Some, moreover, who had there become acquainted with Málik Ibn Ans, and had adopted his religious opinions, began to describe him as a man eminent by his talents and virtues, and to speak of the extent of his learning, and the great honour and estimation in which he was held all over the East; by which means the fame of that celebrated theologian spread throughout Andalus, his doctrines were publicly taught, and his religious opinions satisfactorily explained. This prepared the way for the rejection of the rite of Al-auzá'í, and the adoption of that of Málik Ibn Ans, which happened soon after, under the reign of his successor [Al-hakem I., the son of Hishám]. They say that Abú 'Abdillah Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Zeyád Al-lakhmí, better known by the by-name of *Shabattún*, whom Andalusian writers designate more generally under the

They meet Málik Ibn Ans.

honourable surname of 'the theologian of Andalus,' was the first who contributed by his writings to spread the knowledge of the religious opinions entertained by that illustrious Imám. This Shabattún was as virtuous and modest as he was learned. They relate of him, that the Sultán Hishám wished once to appoint him to the charge of Kádí of Cordova; but this Zeyád obstinately refused, under the plea that he was unworthy of that office. Hishám wished to compel him to accept it, but he fled; when the people said to the Sultán, "O Hishám, if all men were like Shabattún, there would be peace in this world." Hishám then sent for him, and pardoned him; when, having previously received a safe conduct, he returned to his house. They relate of him, that whilst he was thus contending with his sovereign, Hishám offering him that high office, and Shabattún refusing to accept of it, some of the Wizírs called upon him, and declared to him the Sultán's determination that he should accept the appointment offered to him; upon which he said to them, "Do not importune "me; for if you make me once take a dislike to the office, I shall behave in such "a manner that you shall soon wish to see me out of it again. For instance, were "my wife such a one, thrice divorced [by some of you], to come to me, laying "claim to any thing remaining in your hands, I would most certainly issue orders "for its restoration, and make you besides answer for keeping it." When the Wizírs heard Shabattún express himself in this way, they saw that he was in earnest, and they went and reported the conversation to the Amír, who no longer insisted upon Zeyád accepting the office of Kádí. But to return: This Zeyád, having become acquainted with Málik Ibn Ans, read the *Mowattá* under his direction; he also learned under Mu'áwiyah Ibn Sáleh, whose daughter afterwards received lessons from him. Zeyád[11] died, according to some writers, in the year 204 (beginning June 27, A. D. 819); others advance his death eleven years [193]; others place it in 194; others in 199: the first date, however, is the most commonly received: but God only knows the truth of the case!

Suwwár Ibn Tárik Al-kortobí, a freedman of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., was another of the eminent men who left Cordova under this reign, to travel in the East. He visited the city of Basrah, where he met with Al-asma'í and other distinguished characters of the time. He then returned to Andalus, where he was appointed preceptor to Al-hakem. He left several sons; among whom the most distinguished was Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Suwwár, who also made a pilgrimage to Mekka.

Death of Hishám.

After a prosperous reign of seven years and nine months, some historians say eight [months], Hishám died in the year 180 (A. D. 796).[12] He is counted among the good and virtuous monarchs, full of military ardour, and zeal for the promotion of the faith. Among the commendable acts of his administration one was his continuing and completing the construction of the great mosque of Cordova, which

his father 'Abdu-r-rahmán had begun, and left intrusted to his care. He had also the merit of not exacting from his Moslem subjects more taxes than the *zeka'h* or tithe prescribed by the Korán and the *Sunna* (traditionary law). May God have mercy on him! His age, when he died, was forty years and four months, having been born, as above stated, in the month of Shawwál of the year 139. His mild temper, his generosity, and his love of justice, were such that his subjects gave him the surnames of *Ar-rodha*, (the amiable), and *Al-'ádil* (the just). Among the laudable practices introduced by him, the historian Saken[13] Ibn Ibráhím records the following: He instituted a night-watch, composed of honest citizens, who went their rounds; and if any disturber of the public peace was apprehended, he was fined according to his offence: the produce of the fines was then sent to such poor people as were found in the mosques in dark and rainy nights.

Al-hakem ascends the throne.

On the death of Hishám, his son Al-hakem, whom he had previously designated as his successor, ascended the throne.[14] Soon after his accession, Al-hakem increased the number of his mamelukes and guards, formed a body of cavalry, which he kept in constant readiness for action, infused vigour into every branch of the administration, and took into his own hands the direction of affairs. In consequence, however, of the civil wars which broke out between him and his two uncles,[15] the infidels seized the opportunity to invade the territory of the Moslems. Having made an incursion into the districts of Barcelona,[16] they reduced that city in the year 185 (A. D. 801), the Moslem garrison withdrawing to such other fortresses as acknowledged their sway in those parts.

His uncles rebel against him.

Taking of Barcelona by the Franks.

Wars with the Galicians.

Al-hakem dispatched an army to Galicia, under the command of his Hájib, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn ['Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn] Mugheyth, who penetrated far into that country, and wasted it. As he was returning from this expedition, he found the enemy posted on the heights, and occupying the passes by which he had to cross; but he defeated them with great slaughter, and succeeded in reaching the dominions of Islám in safety.

Revolt at Cordova.

Al-hakem had also internal enemies to contend with; and, among other rebellions which he had to put down, the most serious and formidable was that of the inhabitants of one of the suburbs of Cordova. It originated thus: Al-hakem having since the commencement of his reign shown great propensity to worldly pleasures, some of the most eminent theologians of Cordova, and other men distinguished by their piety and learning, as Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, the disciple of Málik Ibn Ans, and one of those who delivered traditions from the mouth of that Imám, Tálút the theologian, and others, revolted against him, and proclaimed in his stead one of his relatives.[17] The scene of this commotion was the western[18] suburb of Cordova. Al-hakem, who had a body of troops encamped close to his

palace, marched against the rebels, whom he defeated and dispersed. He then entered the suburb, which he razed to the ground, not sparing even the mosques, and expelled the inhabitants. Some of them fled to Africa, and settled at Fez, where they peopled a quarter of the city called after them *Medínatu-l-andalusiín* (the town of the Andalusians); others went to Alexandria. Those who fled to the latter city, being in considerable number, created some disturbances there, and subsequently revolted against the authorities of the place; upon which 'Abdullah Ibn Táhir,[19] who was governor of Egypt for the Khalif Al-mámún, son of Hárún Ar-rashíd, attacked and defeated them, and transported the remainder to the island of Akritis (Crete), which they conquered, and held until, after a considerable length of time, the Franks[20] dispossessed them of it. During their occupation of Crete the Andalusians were governed by kings of the posterity of Abú Hafss[21] 'Omar Ibn Sho'ayb, surnamed Ibnu-l-ghalíth, a native of Betrúh (Pedroches), who was their leader at the time of their attack on the island. The last of them was 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

Exemplary chastisement of the rebels.

Yahya Ibn Yahya, one of the principal conspirators, fled to Toledo; but having some time after obtained a safe conduct from Al-hakem, he returned to Cordova, and was pardoned. The same happened with Tálút, who not only obtained forgiveness, but rose afterwards to the favour of his sovereign.

Tálút was the son of 'Abdi-l-jabbár Al-ma'áferí.[22] He had made a pilgrimage to Mekka, and visited Misr (Cairo), where he met the Imám Málik Ibn Ans, and profited by his lessons: he then returned to Cordova. After the taking of the suburb where the rebels had fortified themselves, Tálút at first took refuge at the house of a Jew; but after some time he went to one of his friends, Abú Bessám, the Kátib, who, he trusted, would intercede for him, and obtain his pardon from Al-hakem. Far from this, Abú Bessám denounced him, and Tálút was accordingly summoned to the presence of his sovereign. Being admitted to the hall of audience, Al-hakem reproached him in the harshest terms, and charged him with his crime; saying, "How camest thou to rebel against me? thou, a disciple "of the Imám Málik, from whom thou must have heard, that the long rule of "a bad king is preferable to civil war for one hour? By Allah! thou must have "heard thy master say so."—"I did," answered Tálút, humbly. "Well, then," said Al-hakem, "return to thy dwelling; thou art forgiven." He then asked him where he had been concealed; and Tálút informed him that he had remained for a whole year at the house of a Jew, whom he named, and had afterwards gone to his friend the Kátib, Abú Bessám, who, instead of sheltering and interceding for him, as he had expected, had been treacherous, and denounced him. Hearing this, Al-hakem grew very angry, and not only deprived Abú Bessám of his office, but

issued an order in writing that he should never again be employed in the public service. Ever after this, Abú Bessám, who followed the profession of the law, became an object of ridicule to his comrades, who used to say to him, "Thou "camest here, no doubt, to proclaim the doctrines of thy friend Tálút."

Death of Suleymán.

After the defeat of his two uncles, who disputed the empire with him, and the eldest of whom, named Suleymán Abú Ayúb, fell in an encounter with his troops in 183 (A. D. 799),[23] Al-hakem turned his attention towards repelling the attacks of the Christians on his territory. During the civil wars in which Al-hakem had been engaged, the Christians, profiting by the separation of the Moslem troops from their frontiers, had often assailed the defenceless points of the Mohammedan territory, reduced the castles, led the inhabitants into captivity, and committed all manner of ravages and depredations. But, in order to check their progress and chastise their insolence, Al-hakem determined upon sending yearly expeditions against them, and dispatched army after army, under the command of his best generals, to waste their territory, and put every thing before them to fire and sword. We shall here mention a few only of the memorable wars undertaken during his reign.

Wars with the Christians.

In the year 192 (beginning Nov. 5, A. D. 807), Ludhwik, son of Carl, King of the Franks, collected his forces, and marched to Turiasonah (Tarazona),[24] which he besieged. Al-hakem sent against him his eldest son 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who defeated him, God Almighty being pleased that the Moslems should vanquish their enemies. But, as the Franks became every day bolder on account of the wars which Al-hakem had to sustain against the rebels of Toledo,[25] and were assailing his frontiers, it was thought expedient to chastise their insolence. Accordingly, in the year 196 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 811), the Amír marched against them in person, and, having invaded their country, took many of their towns and fortresses, laid their lands waste, and followed them every where with slaughter, captivity, and plunder; returning afterwards to Cordova with the trophies of his victory.

Defeat of the Franks.

Four years after this, in the year 200 (beginning August 10, A. D. 815), Al-hakem dispatched his Wizír, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn ['Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn] Mugheyth, against the Franks. The Moslems plundered the country, and razed several fortresses; but they were met by the King of the Galicians at the head of considerable forces. Both armies then encamped on the banks of a river,[26] and skirmished for several days, the advantage remaining at first with the Moslems. At last, after thirteen days of incessant fighting, the river, swollen by the heavy rains, overflowed its banks, and the Moslems, though victorious, were compelled to retreat from the field of battle.

Of the Galicians.

In the year 197 (beginning Sept. 11, A. D. 812,) a most dreadful famine prevailed in Andalus, which so much affected the lower classes of people that they died by thousands. In allusion to this calamity, a poet of the court of Al-hakem, named 'Abbás Ibn Násih [27] Al-jezayrí (from Algeziras), composed these two verses: Dreadful famine.

"Time has brought on sterility and famine, but the calamity itself has "proved a benefit to Al-hakem:

"It has insured his rule, and delivered him of many a rebellious sub-"ject." [28]

Of this poet ['Abbás] historians relate a very curious anecdote. They say that as he was once travelling in the *Thagher* (the province of Toledo), he met at Guadalajara with a woman who was crying out at the top of her voice, "Come "to our help, O Al-hakem! for thou hast so neglected us of late, that the enemy "of God has fallen upon us, and deprived us both of husband and father." Having inquired of her the particulars of her sad loss, the woman acquainted Abú-l-'abbás how she and her family, as they were returning from the fields [to Guadalajara], fell in with a party of Christians on horseback, who killed or took prisoners all those who went with her. This furnished Al-'abbás with a theme for that elegant *kassídah* of his which begins thus:

"I was passing through Guadalajara in all haste, when I heard a plaintive "sound issue from a house.

"I listened, and heard a woman say, 'O Abú-l-'assi! towards thee I guide "my exhausted camel, to thee I run for assistance and protection.'"

On his return to court, 'Abbás entered the presence of Al-hakem, and recited the above poem, in which he admirably described the fear and consternation of the inhabitants of the districts through which he had passed, and the words uttered by the wretched woman whilst imploring his help. No sooner had Al-hakem heard it, than he issued immediate orders to prepare for war, and three days after he marched to Guadalajara, taking with him the poet 'Abbás. Arrived there, he inquired from what part of the enemy's country the marauding party had come; and being informed of it, he invaded that district, laid waste the land, took many fortresses, destroyed the fields, burnt the houses of the inhabitants, and committed all kinds of ravages, inflicting death on a great number of infidels. After this he returned to Guadalajara, where he summoned the widow to his presence, and, causing the captives taken in his expedition to be brought before him, he had them all beheaded before her eyes. This done, Al-hakem turned towards 'Abbás, and said to him, "Ask the widow now whether Al-hakem's help is effectual, or not." She, being a well-bred woman, replied, "No doubt of that; the Amír has alleviated our sorrow, he has afflicted our enemies, and bestowed his assistance

on the weak and oppressed. May God reward him for it, and make him happy!" Hearing this, Al-hakem could not refrain from showing all the gratification and joy which he felt at the compliment, and said to the poet, "See, O Al-'abbás! how we "have run, though we were distant, to this woman's call; and how, collecting our "victorious forces, we have by our appearance soothed the grief and satisfied the "revenge of the injured, alleviated the sorrow of the afflicted, and relieved those "who were in difficulties."—"True, O Amír!" replied 'Abbás; "may the Al-"mighty reward thee for all the good thou hast done to the Moslems!" After which he kissed the hand of his sovereign, and retired.

Al-hakem had five Wizírs, who were also the generals of his armies: their names were, Is'hák Ibn Al-mundhir, Al-'abbás Ibn 'Abdillah, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth, who was also his Hájib, Foteys Ibn Suleymán, and Sa'íd Ibn Hossán. When he ascended the throne the office of Kádí of Cordova was held by Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán, after whose death he appointed 'Omar Ibn Busheyr. Then came Al-farej Ibn Katánah, then Besher Ibn Katten, 'Abdullah Ibn Músa, Mohammed Ibn Telíd, Hámid Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yahya. His Kátibs were, Foteys Ibn Suleymán, 'Ittáf Ibn Zeyd, Hejáj Ibn Al-'okaylí.

Death of Al-hakem.

Al-hakem died about the end of the year 206 (May, A. D. 822), after a reign of six-and-twenty years. He was then fifty-two years old, having been born in 154 (beginning Dec. 23, A. D. 771) of a concubine of Hishám, named Khazraf. The impression of his seal was "In God Al-hakem trusts, and is secure." He was tall and thin, of a very dark complexion, and had an aquiline nose. He left twenty male children, and twenty female.

His government.

More than one historian has recorded the fact that Al-hakem was the first monarch of his family who surrounded his throne with a certain splendour and magnificence. He increased the number of mamelukes until they amounted to five thousand horse and one thousand foot. Ibnu Khaldún and others say that he was also the first who introduced the practice of issuing a regular pay to the troops; that he formed magazines of arms and provisions; increased the number of his slaves, eunuchs, and servants; had a body-guard of cavalry always stationed at the gate of his palace, and surrounded his person with a guard of mamelukes, the number of which has already been stated. These mamelukes were called *Al-haras* (the guard), owing to their being all Christians, or foreigners. They occupied two large barracks, with stables for their horses; and one thousand of their number were continually mounting guard on both banks of the river, close to his palace. Al-hakem kept, moreover, several spies, who acquainted him with the state of public opinion, while he himself conducted the affairs of his government, surrounding himself with theologians, doctors, and other learned and honest

individuals. In this way he was enabled to transmit to his posterity a powerful and well organized empire.

There are not wanting authors, like Ibn Hazm, who assert that Al-hakem was a tyrant and a shedder of blood; for which reason all the learned and pious men in his dominions set their faces against him. He put to death the pious and learned theologian Abú Bekr Zakariyyá Ibn Yahya Ibn Mattar Al-ghossání, who, during his residence in the East, had attended the lectures of Sufyán At-thúrí [29] and Málik Ibn Ans, the latter of whom quoted him in his writings. This worthy man, with many other doctors and learned men, was put to death by Al-hakem. He is by others accused of having seized male children, and caused them to be castrated. But whether the charge be true, or not, God only knows. He is said, however, to have shown repentance of this and other acts towards the close of his reign, and to have thenceforth desisted from all violence or oppression. May God have mercy on him!

Al-hakem had a favourite whom he much loved; his name was Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán.[30] Being one day in company with him, Al-hakem flew into a violent passion with one of his eunuchs for presenting to him a petition which he did not like to see, and ordered that the slave should immediately have his hand cut off. No sooner had Al-hakem issued the order, than Zeyád, who happened to be present at the time, said to him, "May God prosper the Amír. I was told by "Málik Ibn Ans, who held it from Rifá'h Ibn Katham, that 'whoever will refrain "from anger, and moderate his passions, shall be secure against the wrath of God "on the day of judgment.'" This in some measure appeased the anger of Al-hakem, who said, "Did Málik Ibn Ans really say so?"—"Yes, he did," answered Zeyád; upon which Al-hakem remitted the sentence, and pardoned the offence of his slave.

That he honoured the learned, and always showed the greatest respect for the laws, which he never infringed, choosing for the office of Kádí those people only who enjoyed the reputation of being honest and worthy of their trust, may easily be proved by extracts from the historians of the time. "In this year," says one, "Al-hakem appointed to the charge of *Kádí-l-jam'ah* (supreme judge), "vacant by the death of Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán, a learned and virtuous theologian "of the name of Mohammed Ibn Bashír. He was the son of Sa'íd, son of Bashír, "son of Sharáhil Al-ma'áferí, an excellent and highly esteemed man, who had "likewise been supreme judge of Andalus during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., "and had shown such impartiality and zeal in the discharge of that responsible "office that his justice had become proverbial."[31] Being at Beja, of which city he was a native, when Al-hakem was advised to appoint him to the vacant office, Ibn

Respect for the learned.

Bashír was summoned to the capital. In obedience to the commands of the Sultán, Ibn Bashír repaired to Cordova. As he was journeying thither, he happened to halt for the night at the house of a friend of his, who was a very pious and devout man. Not knowing why he had been sent for, the conversation naturally turned upon that topic, when Ibn Bashír expressed his opinion that it was the intention of Al-hakem to appoint him Kátib;[32] but his friend said to him, " Better than that; " I think he destines thee for the office of *Kádí-l-jam'ah*, now vacant by the " death of the person who held it."—" Should such be the case," replied Ibn Bashír, " I will choose thee for my consul."—" Willingly," said his friend; " but " before I accept thy offer, let me hear how thou wilt answer the three questions " which I am now going to ask thee: first, How dost thou like to live well, to " dress handsomely, and to be well mounted?"—" By Allah! I care not for " eating, except to appease my hunger; nor for dress, as long as my nudity is " covered: as to carriage, I want no other than my feet," was Ibn Bashír's reply. " So far," continued his friend, " my first question is answered. Now to the " second: How dost thou like to see a handsome face, or to gaze at a heaving " bosom, or at any other of the charms of the fair,[33] and to indulge thyself in their " company?"—" Those are pleasures which I have never tasted, and therefore " I shall nowise be disappointed if I am to be deprived of them."—" That is " the second. Now, how dost thou like to be praised and extolled by thy fellow-" citizens, and how dost thou like to be appointed to the office, and to be superseded " afterwards?"—" By Allah!" answered Ibn Bashír, " it is very indifferent to " me whether people praise me or vilify me, and I will neither rejoice at my " appointment, nor exhibit sorrow at my removal."—" Well said!" exclaimed his friend; " my three questions are answered to my satisfaction, and I accept thy " offer: hasten now to Cordova, where the office of Kádí awaits thee." Ibn Bashír accordingly arrived in the capital, and was appointed to the vacant office, as his friend had foretold.

Ibn Wadháh says, " I was told by a man who saw the Kádí, Ibn Bashír, enter " the great mosque on the first Friday after his nomination, that he was dressed in " a cloak dyed of a deep yellow,[34] and wore sandals[35] on his feet: his loose hair " fell profusely on his shoulders. In this garb he preached and prayed [with " the people], and afterwards sat to administer justice; and yet if any one " neglected to pay him proper respect, or forgot any of the formalities due to " his office, he invariably found him (in haughtiness of manner) more distant " than the Pleiades.[36] Upon one occasion a man came up to him, and seeing him " dressed like a gay youth, his hair scattered and uncombed, his deep-yellow cloak, " perceiving traces of *kohol* and tooth-powder[37] on his face, and of *hinna* on his

" hands, stopped and said, ' Point out to me who is the Kádí.' ' Here he is,' said " one of the audience, pointing to Ibn Bashír: but the man would not believe it, " and said, ' I see that you are amusing yourselves at my expense; I am a " stranger to this city. I ask you who is the Kádí, and you point out to me " a flute-player.'[38] However, as all assured him that such was the truth, the man " came forward, and made his excuses, and approaching nearer to Ibn Bashír, " explained to him his case, and found him more just and impartial than he could " ever have imagined. The business for which he had come being at an end, the " man began to upbraid the Kádí in an amicable way for wearing his hair so long " and untidy, and dressing in coarse raw silk, of a deep-yellow colour. Ibn Bashír " answered in the following words: ' I was told by Málik Ibn Ans, that Mohammed " Ibn Munkadir wore his hair as I do; and that Hishám Ibn 'Orwah, a theologian " of Medína, used a deep-yellow cloak, like mine; and, lastly, that Al-kásim Ibn " Mohammed always dressed in coarse silken cloth, like this.' "

The same author (Ibn Wadháh) further relates that Yahya Ibn Yahya [the traditionist], being once asked what he thought of the turban, answered, " That " the turban was the usual head-dress for men in the East, and that in ancient times " great importance was attached to it." They then said to him, " If thou use one, " people will not follow thy fashion." To which he replied, " Mohammed Ibn " Bashír dressed in silken cloth, and people did not imitate him; and yet, was Ibn " Bashír deserving that men should oppose him? Were I to put on a turban, people " would desert me as they did Ibn Bashír, and I should be without followers."

One of the first acts of Ibn Bashír, after his appointment to the office of Kádí, was to issue sentence against the Amír Al-hakem in a law-suit pending between him and a citizen of Cordova, respecting the possession of a mill close to the bridge. The suitor having fully proved his right, Ibn Bashír decided that Al-hakem was not entitled to the property; upon which the Sultán summoned the party to his presence, and, having asked him to name his price for it, gave him an order upon his treasury. One of Al-hakem's courtiers, named Músa Ibn Semá'h,[39] once came up to him, to complain of Ibn Bashír, who, he said, had exceeded his authority, and shown partiality against him. Al-hakem said to him, " I shall soon ascertain " whether what thou tellest me be true or not. Go to him immediately, and ask " to be admitted to his presence. If he grant thy request, I believe thee, and he " shall be punished, and deprived of his office: if he does not, notwithstanding thy " importunities, my esteem for him shall increase tenfold; for I am sure he is not " tyrannical, and truth is his only pursuit." Músa did as he was commanded, and repaired to Ibn Bashír's residence. Al-hakem, however, ordered some of his Sclavonian guards to follow Músa thither, and report to him what should take place

between the two. Shortly after, one of them returned, and told Al-hakem how, on the arrival of Músa at the house of Ibn Bashír, he had been received by a porter; who, after acquainting the Kádí with his presence, returned with a message from him thus conceived: "The Kádí begs me to say, that if thou hast any legal "business with him, thou hadst better go to court at the hours he administers "justice." Hearing this, Al-hakem smiled and said, "I well knew Ibn Bashír "to be an upright judge, having no partiality towards any one."

Ibn Bashír held twice the office of Kádí, having been once deposed by Al-hakem, who, however, soon after re-instated him in his office. After his removal, Ibn Bashír quitted Cordova, and repaired to his native city. They relate that some time before this took place, one of his comrades wrote, upbraiding him for his excessive severity, and saying, "If thou follow thy present course, I greatly fear thy re-"moval;" and that Ibn Bashír answered him in these words: "Would to God "that I saw myself with my mule Ash-shakrá on the road to Beja!" Shortly after this, the Amír Al-hakem being greatly offended with him for calling witnesses in a case in which one of his favourites was concerned, he was deprived of his office,[40] and accordingly took the road to Beja, his native city. Ibn Bashír had not proceeded long on his journey before one of the *rakkás* (runners) of the Amír overtook him, and bade him return to Cordova. The word *rakkás*, used in the West, is synonymous with As-sá'í. Al-hakem again intrusted that office to Ibn Bashír, who, at first, would not accept it; but he was at last prevailed upon by Al-hakem to resume his old functions. That Sultán, moreover, assigned him a pension on his treasury, and gave him one of his slave girls.

Among the remarkable acts of justice of this Ibn Bashír, the following is one. Sa'íd Al-khayr, son of the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, having a law-suit pending with another party, appointed a person to appear in his name at court, and to represent him in all ways. The agent accordingly produced a deed signed by several witnesses, all of whom were already dead, with the single exception of the Amír Al-hakem, and another person living in Cordova. The latter witness appeared in court, and gave his testimony in favour of Sa'íd Al-khayr; but the adverse party having insisted upon the appearance of another witness, Ibn Bashír declared his application just, and complied with the request. Sa'íd accordingly repaired to the royal palace, and, presenting the deed to Al-hakem, showed him his own testimony attached to it. The deed had been drawn before Al-hakem succeeded to the throne and during his father's lifetime; and therefore Sa'íd, fearing that its validity might otherwise be brought into question, requested him to affix a note to it, stating it to have been signed with his own hand. Al-hakem had the greatest esteem for his uncle, Sa'íd Al-khayr, and wished justice to be done

unto him; he therefore said to him, "O uncle! we are not by our station called "upon to appear as a witness; for certainly we have been invested in this world "with a power and glory which no one can deny: we fear, moreover, that if "we comply with the Kádí's request, and appear at his court, perchance we shall "sustain such an injury in our character and station as can only be followed by "the loss of our kingdom. Go therefore to court, and try to persuade the Kádí "of thy right. If thou do not succeed, and he should decide against thee, appeal "to me from his sentence, and I will instantly give thee redress." Sa'íd Al-khayr refused, and said, "God be praised! What right has the Kádí to dispute "thy testimony, he being a creature of thine, and appointed to this office by thee? "No, I adjure thee by our religion to put thy signature on that paper, and to state, "besides, what thou well knowest to be the truth, without concealing any thing." "Willingly," replied Al-hakem, "for thou hast addressed me in a way that leaves "me no alternative but to comply with thy request: we would rather choose to "be freed from the obligation; but if thou insist upon it we must needs grant "thy request, and write down such corroborating testimony as will leave no doubt "whatever, and will induce the Kádí to decide in thy favour." Having then summoned to his presence two of the most eminent lawyers of his capital, he wrote down on a piece of paper his testimony, sealed it with his seal, and presented it to them, saying, "Here is my testimony under my own signature and seal; go with it "to court, and show it to the Kádí when he is about to examine the witnesses." The lawyers did as they were commanded, and delivered the paper to the Kádí, who said to them, "I have heard of you, you are both men of integrity and justice." Shortly after, Sa'íd's agent made his appearance, and presented to him a new affidavit,[41] saying, "O Kádí! I hear thou hast received the Amír's testimony; "what sayest thou to it?" Ibn Bashír took the paper, and, after perusing its contents attentively, said to the agent, "This is the testimony; but I want to see the "attestant himself." On hearing this, the agent's amazement was complete; he repaired immediately to his master Sa'íd Al-khayr, and acquainted him with the circumstance. Sa'íd rode to the royal palace, and entering the presence of Al-hakem, addressed him in these words: "Our empire has disappeared, and our "glory is vanished, since thou allowest this Kádí of thine to hold thy testimony "in contempt. God has intrusted to thee the government of his servants, and "made thee the arbiter of their lives and property; and an insult of this kind "should not be borne by one like thee." He then began to abuse the Kádí, and tried to persuade Al-hakem to have him seized and put to death. But Al-hakem said to him, "Why am I to consider myself injured by such a proceeding? "O uncle! the Kádí is a pious and honest man, who does that which he con-

"siders to be his duty, and for which no chastisement will be inflicted on him "hereafter: may God remunerate him amply for his good deeds." By these words Sa'íd's indignation was raised to the highest pitch, and he exclaimed, "Is this "the regard thou entertainest for me?"—"Certainly," replied Al-hakem; "I have "done all that was in my power; for it was not for me to oppose that which "the Kádí had decreed; neither would I act so tyrannically against the Moslems "[of this country] as to seize on the person of Ibn Bashír for that which is not an "offence in the eyes of God."

Mohammed Ibn Bashír died at Cordova in the year 198 (beginning Aug. 31, A. D. 813), that is to say, six years before the Imám Ash-sháfe'í. He was originally from Beja, then the abode of the Egyptian Arabs. Ibn Hárith, citing an author named Ahmed Ibn Kháled, says that he made his first studies in Cordova; he then became secretary to one of the sons of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, of the royal family of Umeyyah. Having quitted his service, he left Andalus on a pilgrimage, and met Málik Ibn Ans, from whom he received instruction. After spending some time at Cairo, wholly intent upon the acquisition of learning, he returned to his native city (Beja), and devoted himself to the cultivation of an estate he had inherited from his father. Of his virtues and praiseworthy deeds the historians of his time make ample mention; and a detailed account of his life and writings may be found in the biographical work of Ibn 'Ayádh, entitled *Al-mudárik*, to which we refer our readers, as the copy of it which we possess is in Africa among our books.

CHAPTER IV.

Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II.—Invasion of Galicia—of Alava—Defeat of Alfonso—'Abdu-r-rahmán marches against the Galicians—Invasion of Cerdagne—Death of Garcia of Navarre—Taking and destruction of Leon—Greek ambassadors arrive in Cordova—Account of Yahya Al-ghazzál—Piratical expeditions of the Northmen—Arrivals from the East—Account of Zaryáb the singer—His reception—He becomes a favourite of 'Abdu-r-rahmám—Improves the lute—Death of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí —of 'Abdu-l-maleck Ibn Habíb—Their labours in introducing the sect of Málik—Death of 'Abdu-rahmán—Revenues of Andalus under his reign—His passion for women—His adventure with Tarúb—Accession of Mohammed I.—His wars with the Christians—with the rebels of Toledo—Earthquake in Cordova—Death of Mohammed—His son Al-mundhir ascends the throne—Is killed in battle with 'Omar Ibn Hafsún—Succeeded by his brother 'Abdullah—Death of 'Abdullah.

IN conformity with Al-hakem's will, 'Abdu-r-rahmán succeeded him. Some time before his death, Al-hakem, having summoned to his presence his Wizírs, his courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the chiefs of the Arabian tribes, exacted from them the oath of allegiance to his eldest son 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom he appointed his successor. In case of death, he was to be succeeded by another of his sons, called Al-mugheyrah. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then thirty years old. Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II.

Soon after his accession to the throne, 'Abdu-r-rahmán invaded Galicia, where he remained for a considerable time, wasting the country, and annihilating its Christian inhabitants. Owing to these and other victories which 'Abdu-r-rahmán had gained over the Christians and others during his father's lifetime, his subjects bestowed upon him the surname of *Al-modhaffer* (the victorious). Invasion of Galicia.

In the year 208 (beginning May 15, A. D. 823) he dispatched an expedition against the country of Alava and the Castles, under the command of his Hájib, 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed. This general ravaged the country, and destroyed many towns that lay in his way; he likewise reduced by force of arms several of the enemy's fortresses, the inhabitants of some of which obtained security and peace on condition of releasing all their Moslem captives and paying the customary annual tribute. After this achievement 'Abdu-l-kerím returned victorious [to Cordova]. Of Alava.

Again, in the year 224 (beginning November 22, A. D. 838), 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his own relative, 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-balensí,[1] with an army to the same Defeat of Alfonso.

quarter (Alava and the Castles). 'Obeydullah marched thither, and met the enemy, in whose ranks he made great slaughter. After this, Ludheric, King of the Galicians, (Alfonso II. of Leon,) having made an incursion into the district of Medínah-Sálim (Medinaceli) in the *Thagher*, Fortún Ibn Músa[2] marched against him, gave him battle, and defeated him with a severe loss in slain and prisoners. After this, Fortún proceeded to a fortress which the people of Alava had constructed on that frontier for the purpose of annoying the Moslems, and, having laid siege to it, took it and razed it to the ground.

'Abdu-r-rahmán marches against the Galicians.

After this,[3] 'Abdu-r-rahmán in person led his army against the Galicians, whom he defeated, subjugating their country, and taking a number of their castles. After a long campaign, and several incursions made into the enemy's territory, he returned [to Cordova] with captives and plunder.

Invasion of Cerdagne.

In the year 226 (beginning Oct. 30, A. D. 840) 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his army to the country of the Franks, under the command of Músa Ibn Músa, governor of Tuteylah (Tudela). Having penetrated into the country of Seritániyah (Cerdagne), Músa was met by the enemy, and a battle ensued, in which the Moslems fought with desperation, until it pleased the Almighty to put their foes to flight. On this occasion Músa's conduct was worthy of great praise.

Death of Garcia of Navarre.

In the year 229 (beginning Sept. 29, A. D. 843) he sent his son Mohammed to Pamplona in command of his army. Near that city Mohammed engaged the infidels, and put to death their Lord, Garcia,[4] one of the greatest princes of the Christians.

Taking and destruction of Leon.

In the year 231 (beginning Sept. 6, A. D. 845) an army was dispatched to Galicia. On this occasion, after subduing the country through which they proceeded, the Moslems arrived before the city of Leon, which they besieged, battering its walls with war-engines, until the inhabitants deserted the city; upon which the Moslems entered it, plundered whatever they found, and set fire to it. They then attempted to demolish the walls, but could not accomplish their purpose, owing to their solidity and strength, they being seventeen cubits in thickness: the Moslems, however, succeeded in opening a great breach, and then departed. Some time afterwards 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his forces to the country round Barcelona. His Hájib, 'Abdu-l-kerím, who went in command of the expedition, after ravaging the districts in the neighbourhood of that city, passed the defiles known by the name of Al-bort (Portæ), and penetrated into the country of the Franks, which he scoured in every direction, slaying the inhabitants or taking them prisoners. He also besieged Jerundah (Gerona), the great city [of those parts], and, after wasting the neighbouring districts, returned [to Cordova].

In the year 225 (beginning Nov. 11, A. D. 839), Tufilus (Theophil), King of

Constantinople, a city situated beyond the country of the Franks, sent presents to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, at the same time soliciting his friendship. The Greek, who had of late been greatly harassed by the armies of Al-mámún and Al-mu'tassem, asked 'Abdu-r-rahmán to join forces with him against their common enemies of the house of 'Abbás. To this end he tempted 'Abdu-r-rahmán with the conquest of the empire which his ancestors [of the house of Umeyyah] had possessed in the East; and in a letter which he addressed to him he entered more fully on the subject, and explained his views and intentions. 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent him a valuable present in return by one of the most distinguished men of his court, named Yahya Al-ghazzál, who was renowned for his wisdom and his talents for poetry, and who succeeded in forming an alliance between the two sovereigns. Thus did 'Abdu-r-rahmán's renown grow even above that of the Bení Abbás.

Greek ambassadors arrive in Cordova.

Ibnu Hayyán relates, that, on his arrival at Constantinople, the King of the Rúm (the Emperor of Greece) showed great astonishment at his youthful appearance, and was very much pleased with him: he invited him to partake of a repast with him, but this Al-ghazzál refused on the plea that his religion forbade him to drink spirituous liquors. As he was, upon a certain day, sitting in company with the king, the wife of the latter came out [from the royal apartments] dressed in all her finery,—a rising sun in beauty. Al-ghazzál was so surprised that he could not take his eyes from her; and although the king was talking to him at the time, Al-ghazzál paid no attention to what he said. The king, finding Al-ghazzál's behaviour very rude, directed his interpreter to ask him what he was about. Al-ghazzál said to him, "Tell thy master that I am so captivated by the charms " of this queen, that I am prevented from listening to his conversation. Say to " him that I never saw in all the course of my life a handsomer woman than she " is." He then began to describe one by one all her charms, and to paint his amazement at her incomparable beauty, and concluded by saying that she had captivated him with her black eyes. When the interpreter repeated his words to the king, Yahya rose still higher in his favour, and the queen was delighted with his words.

The above is not the only service on which Al-ghazzál was employed by his master, 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Abú-l-khattáb Ibn Dih'yah relates, in his work entitled *Al-muttrib*, that he was also sent [on an embassy] to the land of the Majús.[5] Al-ghazzál was then very near his fiftieth year; but, though his hair was gray, he had still all the appearance of youth and strength. The queen, whose name was Túda, having asked him one day what his age was, he answered in jest, "Twenty." —"And how does it happen," replied the queen, "that thou hast gray hair?" Al-ghazzál then said, "There is nothing extraordinary in that. Hast thou not

"heard it said that the *Mehriyyah*[6] breeds though the colour of her hair is gray?" This answer surprised the queen.

Account of Yahya Al-ghazzál.

This Yahya Al-ghazzál was the son of Hakem; he belonged to the tribe of Bekr Ibn Wáyil, and was a native of Jaen: he was surnamed Al-ghazzál (the gazelle), from his great beauty.[7] Ibnu Hayyán, in his *Muktabis*, calls him the physician, the poet, and the 'A'lim, or learned man, of Andalus. He was witty, and much inclined to satire. Having upon one occasion indulged his satirical propensities against Ibn Náfi', surnamed Zaryáb, a favourite of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, of whom mention will occur hereafter, he was banished the kingdom. He then visited 'Irák, where he arrived shortly after the death of Abú Nowás. He lived to the age of ninety-four, and died in the year 250 (beginning Feb. 12, A. D. 864), under the reign of Mohammed, the son and successor of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, having known five sovereigns of the house of Merwán; namely, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, Hishám, Al-hakem, 'Abdu-r-rahman II., and his son Mohammed.

Piratical expeditions of the Northmen.

In the days of 'Abdu-r-rahmán the Majús (Northmen) made their appearance upon the coasts of Andalus, and took possession of Seville. 'Abdu-r-rahmán having sent an army from Cordova against them, they left their ships, and engaged the Moslem forces, which they defeated after a severe contest; but on the arrival of new re-inforcements from Cordova, the Moslems again attacked them, put them to flight, and plundered and burnt some of their vessels. After this the Majús proceeded to Shidhúnah (Sidonia), where they stayed for two days, collecting plunder in the neighbourhood; but when they heard of the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's fleet at Seville, they again took to their ships, and sailed towards the coast of Liblah [Niebla], which they overran, carrying some of the inhabitants into captivity. Thence they went [by land] to Beja, and lastly to Lisbon, whence they put to sea, nothing more being afterwards known of them. This event[8] took place in the year 230 (beginning Sept. 17, A. D. 844), and Andalus was delivered from their ravages. 'Abdu-r-rahmán visited the places which they had entered, repaired the devastations they had committed, and, by increasing the garrisons, secured the country against any future invasion of those barbarians.

Arrivals from the East.

During the reign of this Sultán several illustrious men left the East to settle in Andalus. Among the rest was 'Alí Ibn Náfi', surnamed Zaryáb,[9] a celebrated musician and singer, who had been a *mauli* of the Khalif Mahdí, and a pupil of Ibráhím Al-maussilí. He came from 'Irák in the year 206 (beginning June 5, A. D. 821), and was so well received by the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán, that, according to Ibnu Khaldún, that Sultán rode out to meet him on the day of his entrance into Cordova, and honoured him extremely, distinguishing him above all his courtiers, and granting him several favours. Zaryáb settled in Andalus, and taught vocal

music to the people of that country, founding a school of his own. He left several children, the eldest of whom, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, inherited his talents, and diffused his science among the people of Andalus.

Account of Zaryáb the singer.

We have already [10] stated that owing to his master's jealousy Zaryáb was obliged to quit Baghdád. He then repaired to Western Africa, where his talents soon acquired him as great a reputation as he had enjoyed in the East. Having there heard of the magnificence displayed at the court of Al-hakem, and of the great favours which that Sultán conferred on all those whom he took under his protection, he resolved upon writing to him a letter, in which he related to him his adventure and dispute with Is'hák, and how that musician had given him his choice [between exile and bitter enmity]. He likewise acquainted him with his inventions in the art which he said his master had unduly appropriated to himself, and concluded by asking his leave to come to Cordova and devote himself to his service. Al-hakem was delighted at the offer, and sent a messenger to apprise Zaryáb that he might come whenever he pleased; that he wished very much for his arrival, and that he would not fail to reward his services as they deserved. The bearer of the message was a Jewish musician, of the name of Mansúr, who was attached in that capacity to the Sultán's household. Upon the receipt of this message, Zaryáb embarked with his family and children, and, sailing across the *Bahru-z-zokák* (the Straits of Gibraltar), landed at Algesiras. But when he had spent a few days only at that port, the news came of the death of Al-hakem; and Zaryáb decided upon returning to Africa: but the Jewish musician, Mansúr, who was with him at the time, dissuaded him from his undertaking, and prevailed upon him to offer his services to Al-hakem's son and successor, 'Abdu-r-rahmán. The Jew therefore addressed a letter to the Amír, acquainting him with Zaryáb's case; and 'Abdu-r-rahmán was so pleased, that he immediately answered, expressing his satisfaction at his arrival, and requesting him not to delay his departure. He then wrote to the governors of the districts and towns on his way to Cordova, to treat him with every honour and respect, and furnish him with an escort and provisions for his journey. When Zaryáb approached the capital, the Sultán sent one of his chief eunuchs to meet him with mules and provisions for himself and family. On his arrival at Cordova, which happened at night, owing to the women who came with him, Zaryáb was lodged in a splendid mansion, where he received every day whatever provisions he wanted for his maintenance and that of his family, besides a *khil'ah* or dress of honour, which the Amír sent him.

His reception.

Three days after this, Zaryáb was summoned to the royal presence; and 'Abdu-r-rahmán was so pleased at the interview, that he immediately assigned him a pension of two hundred dinárs per month on his treasury, and to each of his four sons,

'Abdu-r-rahmán, Ja'far, 'Obeydullah, and Yahya, twenty dinárs per month. He ordered besides that three thousand dinárs yearly should be paid to him by way of gratuity[11] at certain festivals: namely, one thousand dinárs at each of the two *'Ids*,[12] five hundred at *nauruz* (new year's day), and five hundred at *mahraján* (midsummer), and that he should be provided annually with three hundred *mudd* of grain; namely, two-thirds of barley, and another third of corn: and lastly, he gave him several houses, as well as part of the produce of certain duties raised in Cordova and the neighbouring gardens, besides lands; all which united brought him in a clear revenue of forty thousand dinárs.

He becomes a favourite of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

When all Zaryáb's requests had been granted according to the Amír's promise, and the latter saw that he had captivated the heart of the musician by his excessive liberality, he began to admit him to his privacy, and to invite him to evening parties, to drink palm-wine and sing to music. So delighted was 'Abdu-r-rahmán with Zaryáb's performance [on the first occasion], that he would listen to no other singer of the many who attended his court, and that he conceived an unbounded affection for him, going so far as to closet himself with him, and make him sit by his side, as if he were his equal, and allowing him to treat him with the greatest freedom. On such occasions, after listening to his songs for some time, 'Abdu-r-rahmán would ask him to tell him stories; and Zaryáb, who was deeply read and well informed, and who was, moreover, gifted with a prodigious memory, would entertain him with anecdotes of Kings and Khalifs, and the remarkable sayings of the wise, of which he possessed an inexhaustible store, only to be compared in extent with a boundless sea. Every day the Amír became more attached to him, and more astonished at what he related, until he would have him at his meals, and honoured him by allowing him to dine with him and with those among his sons who were then grown up. He then ordered his Kátib or secretary to draw up a deed, [which he signed,] by which he granted him all the pensions and gifts above mentioned; and when in the course of time his attachment for him became still stronger, he caused a private door to be made, by which Zaryáb might enter his apartment [unperceived].

They relate that Zaryáb used to say that the Jinn taught him music every night, and that, whenever he was thus awakened, he called his two slave girls, Ghazzalán and Híndah, made them take their lutes, whilst he also took his, and that they passed the night conversing, playing music, and writing verses, after which they hastily retired to rest. In like manner it is related of Ibráhím Al-maussilí, in his admirable work on melody entitled *Al-makhúri*,[13] that the Jinn held conversations with him; but God only is all-knowing.

Improves the lute.

Before Zaryáb's time the lute was, according to the old fashion, composed of

four strings only, which answered to the four elementary principles of the body, and expressed the four natural sounds. Zaryáb, however, added to it another red string, which he placed in the middle, by which addition the instrument was considerably improved, and a more harmonious sound than before produced. The arrangement stood thus: the treble or first string, which was dyed of a bright yellow, supplied in the lute the place of the bile in the human body: the next string to it, which was red, supplied the place of the blood; it was twice as thick as the treble, on which account he called it *muthanna*, *i. e.* double: the third was left undyed, and was consequently white, being intended as a representative of the phlegm in the human body; in size it was double the *muthanna* or second string, for which reason it was called *muthallath* or triple: the fourth, which was black, was intended to occupy in the instrument the same place as the black humours in the body of man; it was also called *bam*, and was the largest of all; in thickness it was double the third string. These four strings answered completely to the four natural sounds, harmony resulting from the balance of their opposite properties. The *bam*, being hot and dry, was opposed to the *muthanna*, which was hot and damp, and thus a balance was produced; the *zeyr*, being hot and dry, matched the *muthallath*, which was hot and damp; so that every nature met with its opposite property, until it was balanced, and the equilibrium was established, as in the body of man, by the counteraction of the contrary elements of which it is composed. One thing, however, was wanting, which was the soul, which co-exists with the blood; wherefore Zaryáb added by the side of the string representing the blood a fifth one, which he placed in the middle, that is to say, under the *muthallath* and above the *muthanna*, thus supplying the place of the soul in the human body, and improving the four notes of the lute.

The above was not the only improvement devised by Zaryáb in this department of music: he also introduced the use of eagles' talons instead of the wooden plectra which were formerly in use, and this he did on account of the soft down which covers the claw of that bird, its cleanness and lightness applied to the fingers, and the greater durability of the strings when touched by this method,—a consideration not to be neglected by a man who, like Zaryáb, made so frequent a use of his instrument.

Music, however, was not the only accomplishment of Zaryáb. He was likewise learned in astronomy, in geography or the division of the earth into seven climates, the various productions peculiar to each of them, their temperature, their intervening seas, the order and population of the several countries. He was deeply versed in every branch of art connected with music; and was, moreover, gifted with such a prodigious memory that he knew by heart upwards of one thousand songs

with their appropriate airs; a greater number even than that recorded by Batlomius (Ptolemy), who [first] established rules on the science of music, and wrote upon it. Zaryáb, moreover, was gifted with so much penetration and wit; he had so deep an acquaintance with the various branches of polite literature; he possessed in so eminent a degree the charms of conversation, and the talents requisite to entertain an audience; he could repeat such a number of entertaining stories; he was so acute and ingenious in guessing at the wants of his royal master,—that there never was either before or after him a man of his profession who was more generally beloved and admired. Kings and great people took him for a pattern of manners and education, and his name became for ever celebrated among the inhabitants of Andalus. We shall here give an instance of his immense popularity. At the time Zaryáb entered Andalus it was the fashion among the people of that country, both men and women, to wear the hair over the upper part of the forehead, and hanging down between the temples and the eye; but when they observed that Zaryáb, and his sons, and his wives, all wore their hair parted in the middle, and not covering the forehead, the extremities being placed behind the ears and falling over the temples, just in the manner used now by eunuchs and concubines, they all relinquished the old fashion, and adopted that which he had introduced.

He taught the people of Andalus to extract the *murtak* from the *murdásang* [14] or litharge, to take away the fetid smell of the arm-pits, and for the other purposes for which that substance is employed. Before his time the kings of Andalus used to have their clothes washed in water of roses and other garden flowers, the consequence of which was that they never looked quite clean. He taught them the use of salt [mixed with the above], through which the linen was made clear and white. When the experiment had been tried, every one approved of it, and praised Zaryáb for the invention. He was the first who gathered and ate the vegetable called *hilyaun*, and by the people of Andalus *asfaraj* (asparagus), which was unknown to the inhabitants of that country before his arrival. A dish called *at-tafáyá*, made of force-meat balls and small triangular pieces of paste, fried in oil of coriander-seed, was also of his invention; and to this day (says the author from whom this account is borrowed) a fried dish, greatly resembling the one above described, bears still in Andalus the name of *takalliyah Zaryáb* (the fried dish of Zaryáb). He likewise taught the people of Andalus to use vessels of crystal instead of gold and silver; to sleep on a soft couch of prepared leather in preference to cotton blankets; to dine from small leathern trays rather than from wooden tables, owing to the greater cleanliness of the former, it being easier to rub out the dirt from leather than from wood. Change of clothing according to the different seasons of the year was another of the improvements intro-

duced by Zaryáb. Before his time the inhabitants of Andalus began to leave off coloured or winter clothes, and to put on white or summer ones, on the day of *mahraján* (midsummer), which the people of that country call *'ansarah*,[15] and which falls on the 24th day of the solar month called Junoh (June) by the Christians. They kept on white or summer clothing until the first day of the solar month of Oktubir (October), that is to say, for a little more than three months; the remainder of the year they wore coloured or winter clothing. Zaryáb, however, was of opinion that in the season intervening between summer and winter, and which they called *rabi'* (spring), they should wear *jubbas*[16] of coloured silk, or made of the stuffs called *mulham* and *muharr;* and waistcoats of light materials without any lining, owing to their proximity to white or summer clothes, which the people used on account of their lightness and their similarity to the *mihshah*, or usual cloak of the lower classes. In the same manner he imagined that it would be convenient towards the end of summer and the beginning of autumn to put on a *mihshah*, like those of Meru [in Persia], and clothes of only one colour, and other similar articles of light-coloured dress, thickly lined and wadded, to be worn chiefly in the morning when the cold began to be sharp. On the approach of winter, however, people were to leave off the above articles of dress, to put on warmer clothing of different colours, lined, whenever the weather required it, with various kinds of fur.

The method which he employed with his disciples was this: whenever a youth came to him for the purpose of taking lessons in vocal music, he made him sit down on the round cushion called *masúrah*, and bade him exert the full power of his voice. If his voice was weak, he made him tie a turban round his waist,—a practice which is well known to increase the voice, as it thus meets with no impediment on its passage from the chest to the mouth. If the youth stammered, or could not well open his mouth, or if he had the habit of clenching his teeth whenever he spoke, he bade him put inside his mouth a small piece of wood three inches in width, which he was to keep there day and night until his jaws were well expanded. This being done, he made him cry out at the top of his voice, *Yá hassám* or *Ah!* telling him to protract the sound as much as possible: if he found that he uttered those words in a clear, powerful, and sonorous voice, he admitted him into the number of his pupils, and spared no trouble or fatigue to make him an accomplished singer; if the contrary, he took no further pains with him. But to return to 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Death of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí.

In Rejeb, 234 (March, A.D. 849), died the distinguished lawyer and traditionist Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, who, as before related, was most instrumental in introducing into Andalus the rite of Málik Ibn Ans. After reading the works of that Imám, under the tuition of Shabattún at Cordova, he was persuaded by his

master to leave his native country and visit the East, where he might take lessons from Málik Ibn Ans. Yahya, therefore, quitted Andalus at the age of twenty-eight, and arrived at Medína, then the residence of that illustrious divine, under whose guidance he immediately placed himself. They relate that whilst he was one day attending his lessons together with other pupils, an elephant happened to pass before the door of the house in which they were, and there was a cry, "Here is the elephant!" when all those present rushed out to see it, with the exception of Yahya, who kept his seat. When Málik saw this, he said to him, "Why dost thou not go out like the rest? surely there are no elephants in thy "country!"—"I came not from Andalus to the East," replied Yahya, "to look at "elephants; I came to see thee, who hast not thy like in my native country, and "to profit by thy learning and thy experience." Málik was very much struck by this answer, and is reported to have exclaimed, "This man is the wise man of Andalus!" an expression which is said to have given rise to that saying so common among the people of that country, "Yahya is the 'A'lim (learned man) of Andalus; 'Isá Ibn Dínár is its Faquih (theologian); and 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb, its Ulema (doctor)." Others give this differently, and call Yahya the *Muhadith*[17] (traditionist) of Andalus.

Ibn Abí-l-fayádh relates a very curious anecdote of this Yahya. He says, the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., having once assembled the chief theologians of Cordova in the hall of his palace with a view to consult them upon a case of conscience, stated that he had been guilty of entering his harem on one of the nights of Ramadhán, but that he had since most sincerely repented of what he had done, and wished to know how he could atone for his guilt, or what penance they would impose upon him. Yahya, who was one of those convoked, said, "Let two "consecutive months of fasting be thy penance, O Amír!" When the other theologians heard Yahya utter this decision, they made no observation whatever; but as they were going out of the palace one of them said to him, "Does not the "sect of Málik leave an option in similar cases?"—"Certainly it does," replied Yahya, "but had we left the Amír that gate to escape through, we should have "shown him the way to sin every day by infringing the law one day and repenting "the next; and therefore we have thought it best at once to impose on him the "severest chastisement, that he may not wilfully sin again." Accordingly he would remit nothing of his penance, which 'Abdu-r-rahmán kept most scrupulously, fasting all the time as he was prescribed. As we have stated elsewhere, Yahya took part in the revolt of the western suburb of Cordova against the Amír Al-hakem; he contrived, however, to escape the vengeance of the Sultán, and fled to Toledo, where he lived for some time in concealment, until Al-hakem, hearing

of his retreat, sent him a safe conduct, and he returned to Cordova. He left a son named 'Isá, who imitated him in learning and virtues, and who was the father of a numerous progeny well known in Cordova as the Bení Yahya. To this number belonged Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, who left Cordova for the East in 313 (beginning March 28, A. D. 925), and after passing many years at Cairo and Mekka, at both which places he met with many eminent divines, returned to his native city, where he enjoyed great reputation. The Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir appointed him to be Kádí of Elvira and Bejennah; after which he named him to the office of Kádi-l-kodá, or supreme judge at Cordova, in 326 (beginning Nov. 7, A. D. 937).

Death of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb.

In the month of Ramadhán of the year 238 (A. D. 853) died, at Cordova, the celebrated theologian Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb, the author of numerous works on all branches of science, but chiefly on traditional sayings, jurisprudence, and the ritual of Málik Ibn Ans, whose disciple he had been. The principal of these is his *Al-wádhehatu fí madh'hebi Málik* (clear demonstrations on the sect of Málik), a book which has always been, and must continue to be, in the hands of every true believer. He wrote also on rhetoric, grammar, and history; and some say that although he was only fifty-three years old when he died, he left nearly one thousand works on different subjects.

Their labours in introducing the sect of Málik.

We have elsewhere alluded to the introduction of the rite of Málik Ibn Ans and the rejection of that of Al-auza'í in Andalus, upon which event various opinions are entertained by the authors who have treated on the subject; but we shall here transcribe the words of the Háfedh Ibn Hazm relative to that occurrence. "There "are two religious sects, which, from the very period of their onset, were sur-"rounded with power and splendour, and spread rapidly among the people,—we "mean the sect of Abú Hanífah and the sect of Málik Ibn Ans; the former, because "when Abú Yúsuf was appointed Kádí, he was intrusted with full powers to name "all the Kádís in the countries subject to the rule of Islám, from the most remote "provinces in the East to the frontiers of Eastern Africa, and therefore he only "appointed those among his friends and disciples who professed his doctrines. "The same happened with Yahya Al-leythí among us; for that eminent theologian "having gained the favour of the Sultán, who approved of his doctrines, he was "consulted upon every occasion; and no Kádí was appointed without his consent, "with this singularity, that Yahya himself would never accept office; so that "in a very short time the administration of justice was completely in the hands "of the friends and disciples of Yahya, or those who, like him, professed the sect "of Málik. Man being naturally inclined to improve his position in this world, "when the students at law perceived that there was no other way of obtaining

" place than conforming with the doctrines of Yahya, they unanimously adopted his " innovations, and in this manner was the rite of Al-auza'í rejected, and that of " Málik Ibn Ans introduced into this country." Such are the words of Ibn Hazm, but we have already alluded in other parts of the work[18] to other causes for the propagation of that sect. God only knows the truth of the case!

Death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

'Abdu-r-rahmán died in the month of Rabí-l-akhar of the year 238 (June 22, A. D. 852), after a reign of thirty-one years.[19] He was born at Toledo in the month of Sha'bán of the year 176 (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 792); his mother's name was Haláwah. He is commonly designated under the surname of *Al-ausatt* (the middle one), to distinguish him from his great-grandfather, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel [the first], as well as from his great-grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidíni-llah [the third]. Owing to his success in war and his numerous victories over the infidels, he was called by his subjects *Abú-l-motref*, (the victorious).[20] He was well versed on all points of Mohammedan law, and learned in the philosophical sciences.[21] His reign was one of peace and splendour. Under his wise administration the revenue of Andalus was considerably increased. Ibnu Sa'íd says, that before his time the amount of taxes had never exceeded six hundred thousand dinárs, but that, soon after his accession, they were increased to one million. However, there are various and contradictory opinions as to the amount of the revenue possessed by the Sultáns of Andalus, and we ourselves have elsewhere given a different statement.[22]

Revenues of Andalus under his reign.

'Abdu-r-rahmán expended large sums in building palaces,[23] and laying out pleasure-gardens, which he supplied with water from the distant mountains, collecting what remained [after irrigation] in large cisterns.[24] He constructed every where bridges, and caused mosques to be erected in the principal towns of his dominions; his subjects imitating every where his passion for building. He likewise added two porches to the great mosque of Cordova, but died without completing the work, which was finished by his son Mohammed. Alluding to this, a poet of his court, named Abú-l-mothanna, once said,—

" Thou hast built to God the best of houses, one whose description no " mortal can attempt:

" To it the pilgrims resort from all parts of the world, as if it were the " sacred temple of Mekka.

" Indeed its *mihráb*, when examined all round, will be found to contain " *rokn* (angles) as well as *makám* (standing place)."[25]

Another poet has said, with still greater elegance,—

" The mosque which he has consecrated to God is without equal in the " world.

" Neither the mosque of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, nor that erected at Mekka by the
" best of messengers, Mohammed, [can be compared to it.]

" Indeed, its red and green columns shine like so many blocks of ruby and
" emerald.

" O thou, the firm believer in God, mayest thou live and prosper! may
" power and success for ever be thy lot!" [26]

'Abdu-r-rahmán is reported to have introduced some new regulations respecting royalty, one of which was, that he always veiled himself whenever he appeared in public.[27] He left two hundred children, one hundred and fifty of which were males, and the rest females.[28] He used a seal on which was engraved the following pious motto: " The servant of the merciful ('Abdu-r-rahmán) rests contented on the decrees of God." This gave afterwards occasion to the two following verses of a poet:

" The seal of the Amír shows him to be superior in wisdom to any of his
" predecessors, since the inscription on it is—

" The servant of the merciful awaits in conformity and satisfaction the
" decrees of his master." [29]

'Abdu-r-rahmán was the first who invented this motto, which the Sultáns of his posterity preserved: he was endowed with great penetration and wit. Among his remarkable sayings the following is one: " Authority and honour are eagerly " sought by people who know not their worth; hence the first thing they meet " with is disappointment."

His passion for women.

He was very fond of women, and especially of a mistress of his named Tarúb,[30] to whom he was passionately attached. She it was, who being angry with him, owing to some offence she had received at his hands, was never appeased until he caused the door of her apartment to be blocked up with bags of money. On another occasion he made her a present of a dress worth one hundred thousand dinárs; and, on his being remonstrated with, and told that such a jewel ought never to have been taken out of the royal treasure, he replied with this verse,—

" She who wears it is still of a higher value and greater estimation, more
" adorned by jewels, and of a nobler origin."

The following two verses were also composed by 'Abdu-r-rahmán in honour of this mistress:

" When the sun rises every day to give us light, it reminds me of Tarúb.

" I am the happiest of mortals, since I am successful in love and prosperous
" in war." [31]

Having once departed on an expedition to Galicia, and being a long time absent, he wrote to her the following lines:

"The enemy called me away from thy side, and I flew to the battle like the "arrow shot from the bow.

"How many deserts did I cross! and yet one obstacle after another came "to obstruct my path.

"Wherever I go I am tormented by the poison of absence; the stones even "are melted through compassion [at my grief].

"God is working [through me] the triumph of the true faith, which I am "spreading in spite of the worshippers of the crucified.

"Against the infidels I now march, and my invincible host covers the "mountains and the plains."[32]

His adventure with Tarúb.

The story of the money-bags, as related by a contemporary historian, runs thus: "Tarúb, fancying that she had been slighted by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, confined herself "to her room, and refused to come out to the Amír, who, being desperately in "love with her, was very much grieved at her resolution, and made all possible "endeavours to make up the quarrel. Seeing, however, that all his entreaties "were in vain, 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched one of his chief eunuchs with orders "to compel her to appear before him; but this attack she also resisted by shutting "the door of her outer apartment in the face of the eunuch, and declaring that "she would not stir out of her room, though it were to avoid death. The eunuch "then returned, and having informed 'Abdu-r-rahmán of the occurrence, as well as "of the girl's determination, asked his permission to break the door open; but, "instead of adopting such a violent measure, the Amír caused the door of her "apartment to be blocked up with bags of dirhems, after which he repaired thither "in person, and tried by kind words to soothe her anger, promising, if she would "come to a reconciliation, to present her with all the treasure heaped up before "her door. To this Tarúb consented, and opened her door accordingly, causing "the money-bags to be carried into her room: she then threw herself down on "her knees, and kissed 'Abdu-r-rahmán's feet. The money she kept; and although "it amounted to such a sum as it would have been wearisome to count, no "portion of it ever returned to the royal treasure."

'Abdu-r-rahmán also loved tenderly two concubines of his, whose names were Mudathirah and Ashifá, both of whom he had liberated and married. As to his mistress Kalam, she was an excellent scholar, who wrote a very good hand, recited poetry, knew many historical facts by heart, and had considerable learning in various branches of literature. She was likewise a proficient in music and singing, which 'Abdu-r-rahmán loved above all other recreations, as would appear from the manner in which he treated the musician Zaryáb. The histories of the time abound with anecdotes concerning this prince, which we omit here for the sake of brevity.

After the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, his son Mohammed succeeded him. The first act of his reign was to send forth an army under the command of Músa Ibn Músa, governor of Tudela, which ravaged the territory of Alava and the Castles, and took some fortresses. He also dispatched another army to the districts of Barcelona and more remote regions beyond that city, which wasted the land, took some of the fortresses belonging to the former district, and then returned.[33] In the mean while the rebels of Toledo, having sought and obtained the assistance of the Kings of Galicia and Biscay, Mohammed went out in person against them, and, having met them near the Wáda-salit (Guadacelete),[34] made them fall into an ambush which he had prepared, and slew twenty thousand Toledans and twenty thousand infidels.

Accession of Mohammed I.

His wars with the Christians.

With the rebels of Toledo.

In the year 245 (beginning April 7, A. D. 859) the ships of the Majús appeared again on the coast of Andalus, where they were met by Mohammed's fleet, which took from them two ships and sank some others, although in this encounter a great many Moslems fell martyrs for the faith.[35]

In the year 247 (beginning March 16, A. D. 861) Mohammed caused an invasion to be made into the territory of Banbilúnah (Pamplona), which country was then governed by a chieftain named Garsiah Ibn Unekoh,[36] (Garcia, son of Iñigo,) who had for an ally Ordhún Ibn Adefunsh (Ordoño I). After ravaging the districts round Pamplona, taking several fortresses, and subduing the whole country, the Moslems returned, bringing Fortún, one of the sons of Garcia, a prisoner to Cordova, where he remained twenty years in captivity.

In the year 251 (beginning Feb. 2, A. D. 865) Mohammed dispatched his son Al-mundhir with an army to the territory of Alava and the Castles, which he wasted, committing all manner of ravages and depredations. The Christian king, Ludherik[37] (Alfonso III.), having attempted to stop the progress of the Moslems, was defeated with great loss in killed and prisoners; indeed, the victory gained on this occasion was most splendid.

In the same year (A. H. 251) Mohammed in person led an army against the inhabitants of Galicia, whose country he traversed and wasted in every direction; and two years after, in 253 (beginning Jan. 10, A. D. 867), he also caused an incursion to be made into the territory of the infidels.[38]

In the year 254 (beginning Dec. 31, A. D. 867) the city of Merida was destroyed and deserted by its inhabitants; no vestige whatever remaining of that once opulent city. The cause of its destruction was the repeated insurrections of which the inhabitants had been guilty during the reign of this Sultán, as well as that of his father and predecessor.[39] A certain writer pretends to have heard in the East the following verses, predicting the fate of Merida, many years before that wealthy

city was destroyed and its inhabitants scattered over the rest of Andalus. The author of the verses is not known.

"Woe to Merida! the rebellious city which rears its presumptuous head
"against the lords of the age!
"Though its inhabitants [now] enjoy every luxury and comfort, it will soon
"be as dreary as a desert.
"Woe, woe to Merida! the day that the Sultán shall appear with his forces
"before her walls!"[40]

In the year 263 (beginning Sept. 23, A. D. 876) Mohammed again sent his son, Al-mundhir, to the theatre of war, and in the ensuing year (A. H. 264) to the territory of Pamplona, which he wasted. In 268 (beginning July 31, A. D. 881), having ordered him to attack the enemy, Al-mundhir invaded the Christian territory, and returned [to Cordova] victorious, after taking several castles, and collecting considerable spoil.[41]

Earthquake in Cordova.

In the same year (A. H. 268) a dreadful earthquake was felt in Cordova, accompanied by violent gusts of wind, which threw down houses, towers, and minarets. It began at the hour of *al-maghreb* (setting sun), and when the people were at prayers. It was attended with thunder and lightning, and, to complete the awful scene, large dense clouds overhung the city, and enveloped it in darkness. So loud and terrific were the claps of thunder, and so often repeated, that the people collected in the great mosque were seized with irrepressible fear; six of them dying on the spot, whilst the rest of the assembly began to fly in all directions, leaving their prayers unfinished. The Imám alone, and a few devout men, remained at their post, intent upon their devotions as before. Mean while the mountains were rent asunder, the castles and palaces were levelled with the dust; the birds left their nests in the branches of the trees, and the wild beasts forsook their dens; the inhabitants, fearing they might be buried under the crumbling roofs, fled to the open country, and there knelt down to invoke the mercy of the Almighty. It was a scene of unparalleled confusion and heart-rending calamity.

Death of Mohammed.

After a reign of thirty-five years, the Amír Mohammed died in the month of Safar[42] of the year 273 (July or August, A. D. 886). He was born in 207 (beginning May 26, A. D. 822). His mother's name was Kahtaz.

Mohammed was a lover of science, which he himself cultivated with success. When Baki Ibn Mokhlid returned to Cordova with the work of Ibn Abí Sheybah,[43] and began to expound the doctrines of that theologian, a great number of doctors raised their voices against him, condemned his opinions as dangerous and contrary to the spirit of the established religion, and went so far as to create such disturbances whenever he offered to lecture on the subject, that Baki could not be

heard in public. When the Amír Mohammed was informed of this he summoned Baki as well as his adversaries to his presence, and had the book entirely read to him, part by part, from beginning to end, that he might estimate its contents and decide upon its merits. No sooner was the reading completed than he sent for his chief librarian, and said to him, "Take that book, and have it transcribed for our "own use; its merits are such that we will not be deprived of it for a single "moment." He then addressed Baki in these words: "I see thy learning, and "approve of thy doctrines;" after which he issued orders that Baki should not be molested or opposed in the free delivery of his opinions. The histories of Andalus abound with anecdotes relating to this Baki, whose name has gone down to posterity as that of a man of matchless piety and immense learning. We shall here transcribe the words of an author.

Baki Ibn Mokhlid Ibn Yezíd, surnamed Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-kortobí, the author of the *Tefsír* [44] and *Mesnad*, was one of the most eminent traditionists of his time. When still young he left Andalus for the East, and visited the principal cities of Asia and Africa in search of learning. He went to Mekka, Medína, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdád, Kúfah, Basrah, &c., where he failed not to see and converse with the most eminent theologians, putting down in writing whatever he heard, until the number of his masters is said to have amounted to two hundred and thirty-four. He was exceedingly austere in his living, and exemplary in his conduct. Al-kusheyrí relates of him the following anecdote. "A woman came once "to Baki to say how her son had been taken prisoner by the Franks, and that she "could not sleep at night for love of him. 'I possess a small house,' said she, "'which it is my intention to sell, and with its produce to proceed to the country "where he is kept a prisoner, to obtain, if possible, his liberation; for my rest "is disturbed, and my joy is embittered for the love of him. I want thy advice on "this emergency.'—'Willingly,' said Baki; 'leave me for a moment, and I will "reflect upon what is to be done.' The woman retired, and Baki began to pray "fervently for the accomplishment of the mother's wish and the speedy liberation "of her son. Some time after this the woman made her appearance together with "her son, and spoke thus to Baki: 'May God have mercy on thee! thy pious "interference has been the means of liberating my son.' She then bade her son "tell him how he had obtained his liberty, upon which the youth said, 'I was the "king's slave, and used to go out daily with my brother slaves to certain works on "which we were employed. One day as we were proceeding all together to that "spot, I felt all of a sudden as if my fetters were being knocked off; I looked down "to my feet, when lo! I saw the heavy irons fall down broken on each side.

"Seeing this, the inspector who was with us came up to me, and charged me with "knocking off my irons, and trying to escape; but I assured him upon my oath "that I had entertained no such design, and that my fetters had fallen off suddenly "without my being aware of it, or knowing how it could be accomplished. He "then sent for the smith, and commanded him again to rivet the irons on my "feet, and to strengthen them with additional nails, which was done; but no "sooner did I rise on my feet than the fetters fell again. The Christians then "consulted their priests on the miraculous occurrence, and one of them came to "me and inquired whether I had a father. I said, 'I have no father, but I have "a mother.'—'Well, then,' said the priest to the Christians, 'God, no doubt, has "listened to her prayers; set him at liberty:' which they immediately did.'"

Al-mundhir ascends the throne.

Some time before his death, Mohammed had appointed his son Al-mundhir, surnamed Abú-l-hakem, to be his successor in the empire. Accordingly, no sooner had the Amír breathed his last than messengers were dispatched to his son, who was then absent with the army, apprising him of his father's death, and requesting him to repair to Cordova. Al-mundhir did so, and was publicly sworn on Sunday the third of Rabi'-l-awal (August 7, A. D. 886,) at the hour of noon.[45] The reign of Al-mundhir, however, was of short duration, and mostly spent in war with the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafsún, a man of Christian origin, who rose during the lifetime of his father, and whose craftiness and perfidy are sufficiently demonstrated in the histories of that time. Upon one occasion Al-mundhir besieged him in one of his strongholds, and so pressed him on all sides, that the rebel could not escape. Seeing himself completely surrounded, and having no hope of deliverance, 'Omar had recourse to the following stratagem. He sent a messenger to Al-mundhir, offering to surrender, and to reside at Cordova, on condition that his life should be spared, and that the Sultán would pledge his word not to molest him or deprive him of his property. Al-mundhir granted his request; and causing the necessary letters of forgiveness and safe conduct to be issued to him and to his followers, received them in his tent, and treated them with the greatest kindness. 'Omar then humbly asked for a certain number of beasts of burden to carry his baggage to Cordova; which was also granted, one hundred mules being put at his disposal, besides ten companies of cavalry to escort his family to that capital. Mean while several Kádís and theologians, who had attended the expedition, seeing the war at an end, took advantage of the convoy, and returned to Cordova; but 'Omar, who meditated treason, followed them at some distance with a band of desperate outlaws, like the hawk hovering over his prey; and when he saw the opportunity, he pounced upon the convoy, slew the guards, released his family and treasures, and again

fled to the mountains. With this man Al-mundhir had to fight many a pitched battle; but, after defeating him in several partial encounters, Al-mundhir fell a victim to his intrepidity, and was killed in a skirmish near Yobaster towards the middle of Safar of the year 275 (July, A. D. 888),[46] after a reign of two years all but fifteen days. He was then forty-six years old, having been born in 229 (beginning Sept. 29, A. D. 843). His mother's name was Athl.

Is killed in battle with 'Omar Ibn Hafsún.

Al-mundhir was a wise and enlightened sovereign: it was a common saying in his time,—" Al-mundhir has rendered Andalus a country of abundance and peace." Such were his ardour and abilities in the field, that he came off victorious in almost every encounter. The people of Toledo having sent him the customary tribute at the commencement of his reign, he returned it, saying, " You may keep it for the expenses of the war, for I shall soon be upon you, if God be pleased."

Al-mundhir was succeeded by his brother, 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed. According to Ibnu Khaldún, the revenue of Andalus, before the time of 'Abdullah, amounted to three hundred thousand dinárs; one-third of which went to pay the army, one hundred thousand to the salaries of governors and public officers, the remainder to the coffers of the Khalif. During the reign of 'Abdullah the above sum was considerably increased, and the overplus was spent by him in the civil wars and rebellions with which his reign was troubled, as he had to contend with enemies[47] in every corner of his empire.

Succeeded by his brother 'Abdullah.

'Abdullah was a very pious man; he regularly attended the mosque, and never made use of wine or other intoxicating liquors: he was eloquent and witty. Ibnu Hayyán has preserved us several of his verses composed extempore; among which are the following.

It was the custom of 'Abdullah's Wizírs, whenever they were consulted upon the affairs of the state, to present to him their written answer in a wooden case.[48] One of his Wizírs, named An-nadhr[49] Ibn Salamah, having once been consulted upon certain business, sent up his written opinion in the manner above described. Having perused it with attention, 'Abdullah did not approve of the advice, and wrote the following verses:

" Thou art, O Nadhr! always the same: no good whatever can be expected " from thee;

" Yet I always knew thee ready to sit in the shade, and partake of a good " dinner."[50]

The following [addressed to one of his women] are particularly praised:

" O Mohjah, my beloved! what gives thee pain? O throne of love! what " preys upon thy mind?

"O messenger of the eye! who has looked upon thee with an evil eye?

"Thou hast run away with my happiness, and taken it to the hall, there to "produce it before thy company."

Death of 'Abdullah.

After a reign of nearly five-and-twenty years, 'Abdullah died in the year 300 (A. D. 912). His mother's name was 'Ishár, and she lived to a great age, for she died only one year before her son.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Invasion of Galicia—of Navarre—of Alava—Theuda, Queen of Navarre—Battle of Al-handik—Defeat of the Moslems—Ample revenge taken by 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Christian nations court his friendship—Greek ambassadors arrive in Cordova—Other embassies—Reception of the Greek embassy—Conspiracy against 'Abdu-r-rahmán's life detected—Execution of his son 'Abdullah—Conquests in Africa—Death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Revenues of Andalus under his reign—Buildings erected by him—His Hájib and Wizírs—Present made to An-násir.

On the death of 'Abdullah, his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mohammed, who was put to death by his brother Al-mutref,[1] succeeded him in the empire. Although 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then young in years, and his uncles and grand-uncles[2] were still alive, yet not one of his relatives opposed his accession, but forwarded it strenuously [though to their prejudice] rather than disturb the public tranquillity. On his assuming the command, 'Abdu-r-rahmán found the country disturbed by numerous rebels, and distracted by the civil wars and private feuds of its powerful lords. He, however, succeeded in extinguishing the fire of discord, putting down rebellion, and subjecting the whole of Andalus to his authority. He had reigned five-and-twenty years when this was accomplished, and yet he reigned [afterwards] twenty-five years more, during which time the empire of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus reached the highest degree of power and splendour. He was the first sovereign of his family who assumed the titles of Khalif and *Amíru-l-múmenín* (commander of the faithful), and who surrounded his court with a magnificence and splendour which equalled, if it did not exceed, all the pomp and state displayed by the powerful sovereigns of the house of 'Abbás. 'Abdu-r-rahmán waged incessant war with the Christians: at first, he himself led his armies to the field, but having in the year 323 (beginning Dec. 10, A. D. 934) lost the battle of Al-handik, on which occasion God was pleased to afflict the Moslems with a most severe defeat, he abstained thenceforward from commanding his armies in person, although he invariably sent his troops every season[3] to invade the Christian territory. In this manner the Moslems subdued the country of the Franks much

Accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

beyond the utmost limits ever reached under the reign of any of his predecessors. The Christian nations beyond the Pyrenees extended to him the hand of submission, and their kings sent him valuable presents, to conciliate his favour. Even the Kings of Rome, Constantinople, and other distant parts, sent him ambassadors asking for peace and suspension of hostilities, and offering to subscribe to any conditions that he should dictate. The Kings of Galicia, Kashtálah (Castile), Pamplona, and other northern nations bordering on 'Abdu-r-rahmán's territory, repaired to his court,[4] kissed his hand in token of obedience, and solicited his friendship and good-will.

According to Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi [Abú 'Amru Ahmed] the accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán took place at the beginning of Rabi'-l-awal of the year 300 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 912); for in a work which that author wrote, entitled *Al-'ikd* (the necklace), he commemorates the above event in the following verses:

> " A new moon has begun; and the empire has received fresh strength and " vigour.
>
> " O thou [who rulest] by the grace of God, tell me, if I am deficient " [in praise], who can pretend to surpass thee?
>
> " For if the month of fasting (Ramadhán) be followed by its *fitr*, this day " is like a festival to the whole age."[5]

By the first of the above verses the poet means that 'Abdu-r-rahmán ascended the throne at the beginning of the moon of Rabi'-l-awal.

'Abdu-r-rahmán assumed the surname of An-násir lidín-illah (the defender of the religion of God), by which he is generally mentioned by the historians of his age.

One of the first acts of his administration was to ameliorate the condition of his subjects by suppressing many illegal taxes which had been imposed under the preceding reign. The fact is recorded by Ibnu Khaldún, who tells us that no sooner had 'Abdu-r-rahmán ascended the throne, than he abolished all taxes contrary to the spirit of the Sunnah or body of traditional law, and by causing justice to be equally and fairly administered, by encouraging agriculture and trade, laid the foundations of national prosperity.

Invasion of Galicia.

'Abdu-r-rahmán was indefatigable in his exertions to humble the pride of the Christians, whom he defeated and slaughtered on several occasions. In the year 308 (beginning May 22, A. D. 920), for instance, he invaded Galicia at the head of a considerable army, and ravaged that country. The King Ordhún Ibn Adefúnsh (Ordoño II., son of Alfonso), assisted by the King of the Franks and the King of the Basques,[6] advanced to defend his dominions, but in vain: 'Abdu-r-rahmán defeated them both, wasted their territories, reduced their strongholds, and demolished several of their fortresses.

Again, in the year 312 (beginning April 8, A. D. 924), he invaded the land of Banbilúnah (Navarre), penetrated far into the theatre of war, wasted the country, took and razed many fortresses, set fire to the towns, and put the inhabitants to the sword; and although the enemy fled to the mountains, and occupied the passes with a view to attack him on his retreat, they were unable to make the least impression upon him. Invasion of Navarre.

After this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán had to contend with some of his own subjects,[7] who had revolted against him and sought the assistance of the Christians. After defeating the rebels in several encounters, An-násir turned his victorious arms against the people of Alava, who had favoured the revolt, and took thirty of their fortresses. Of Alava.

In the year 322 (Dec. 21, A. D. 933), An-násir made an incursion into the mountainous districts [of Navarre], whence he marched on Pamplona. Queen Tútah (Theuda?),[8] dreading his vengeance, came out to meet him, and put herself under his power; upon which An-násir invested her son Garcia with the sovereignty of the land. This being done, An-násir turned towards Alava, and, scouring the plains, subdued and razed its fortresses.

Some time after this,[9] 'Abdu-r-rahmán invaded Galicia, where Ordhún Ibn Adefúnsh (Ordoño III.) reigned at the time. Not daring to meet him in the field, the Christian king shut himself up within the walls of Oshmah (Osma); but An-násir besieged him in that fortress, took and demolished Burghosh (Burgos) and several other strong places, and defeated the Christian forces in many encounters; after which he returned victorious to Cordova.

In the year 325 (beginning Nov. 18, A. D. 936), hearing that Tútah (Theuda), Queen of Banbilúnah (Pamplona), had infringed the treaty which subsisted between the two, An-násir invaded her kingdom, subdued the greater part of it, and compelled her to ask for peace; after which he returned triumphant to Cordova. Theuda, Queen of Navarre.

In the year 327 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 938), 'Abdu-r-rahmán undertook an expedition against the Galicians, which ended in the disastrous battle of Al-handik, in which the Moslems were defeated, numbers of them falling under the swords of their enemies. Since the reign of his grandfather 'Abdullah,[10] the Christians of Galicia had held possession of the city of Samúrah (Zamora), on the northern side of the river Dúroh (Duero), which they had fortified with the utmost care, and in which they had placed a numerous and well-appointed garrison. From this place the Christians were making continual incursions into the Moslem territory, leading the defenceless inhabitants of the opposite banks into captivity, and committing all manner of excesses and depredations. There was still another cause for the expedition. A rebellious chieftain, named Umeyyah Ibn Is'hák, Battle of Al-handik.

had taken refuge at the court of the Christian king; and being a shrewd and intelligent man, well versed in military affairs, he gave the enemy the best advice, and often conducted their armies into the very heart of the Moslem territory. This Umeyyah was the brother of Ahmed Ibn Is'hák, one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's Wizírs, whom that Sultán caused to be put to death for some civil offence of which he had been guilty. At the time of his brother's execution, Umeyyah was governor of a frontier fortress called Shantareyn (Santarem). No sooner did he receive intelligence of his brother's fate, than he fled with a handful of followers to the court of Ramiro, King of the Galicians, whose service he entered, guiding his armies to the defenceless points of the Mohammedan frontier, or to the passes and fords at which he could best assail the territories of Islám. However, whilst Umeyyah, who had all the time retained possession of Santarem, was one day enjoying the amusements of the chase, one of his own slaves, who had remained in charge of the fortress, rose and took command of the place, shut the gates against Umeyyah, and sent a messenger to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, apprising him of what had occurred. Umeyyah, in the mean while, fled to the court of his ally, the King of Galicia, who received him with the greatest kindness, and appointed him his Wizír. This was the motive of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's expedition.

As the historian Al-mes'údí has preserved us an account of this war, we shall here abridge his narrative. " 'Abdu-r-rahmán," says he, " having led his army " against Zamora, the capital of Galicia,[11] which he besieged, Radmir (Ramiro II.), " King of the Galicians, hastened to its relief, and encamped in the neighbourhood. " 'Abdu-r-rahmán's forces amounted to one hundred thousand men; other authors " make their number still more considerable. A contest soon ensued between " the two armies, in which the Moslems came off victorious, this being in the " month of Shawwál, 327 (July or August, A. D. 939), three days after the eclipse " of the sun which happened in the same month.[12] The garrison of Zamora, " having made a sally, were repulsed by the besiegers, who pursued them sword " in hand beyond the moat within the walls of the city. But, as the Moslems " were preparing to follow up the advantage, the Christians fell suddenly upon " them, and killed fifty thousand of their number."

Defeat of the Moslems.

The same writer says, in another part of his work, "The city of Zamora was " enclosed by seven walls of wonderful structure, the work of one of the early " kings [of Galicia]. The space between the walls was occupied by ditches[13] and " wide moats filled with water. The Moslems succeeded in forcing their way " through the first two enclosures, but when they came to the third, they were " furiously assailed on all sides by the Christians, who put to death every Moslem " they could overtake. Upwards of forty thousand men, others say fifty thousand,

" were drowned in the moats. This was doubtless one of the most signal defeats " ever inflicted upon our brethren of Andalus, either by the Galicians or by the " Basques; and the victory would have been still more complete, had King Ramiro " pursued the remnant of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's army, which, panic-struck as it was, " he would have had no difficulty in annihilating. But by alarming Ramiro with " the fear of an ambush, and alluring him with the rich spoil left by the Moslems " in their camp, Umeyyah Ibn Is'hák prevented him from following up the victory. " Some time after, Umeyyah applied to 'Abdu-r-rahmán for a safe conduct, and, " having obtained it, fled the court of Ramiro, and arrived at Cordova, where he " was graciously received by the Khalif." [14]

" Burning to revenge this disaster, An-násir continued to send yearly expe- " ditions under the command of his generals, who invariably came off victorious, " gaining many battles, in which the Galicians lost twice as many men as those " who had fallen on the side of the Moslems at the battle of Al-handik. In short, " at the moment we write (A. H. 330) the Moslems have regained their superiority " over Ramiro, the King of the Galicians."

Ample revenge taken by 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Thus far Al-mes'údí. Other writers have preserved details of this battle, the year in which it was fought being well known among the people of Andalus as *'A'mu-l-handik* (the year [of the battle] of Al-handik). We have already said, that ever after this defeat An-násir abstained from leading his armies in person, but that he persevered in the laudable purpose of waging war with the infidels, by directing the governors of the districts on the frontiers of his empire to make incursions into the Christian territory.

On the death of Garcia, son of Sancho, King of the Basques, his mother Tútah (Theuda) succeeded him as regent and guardian of his son. Having shortly after infringed the treaty subsisting between her and the Khalif, it was decided to chastise her for her bad faith. Accordingly, in the year 325 (beginning Nov. 18, A. D. 936) An-násir invaded her dominions, wasted all the territory round Pamplona, and compelled the faithless queen to implore peace.

When the Christian nations saw 'Abdu-r-rahmán's repeated successes, they were filled with terror; and all hastened to send ambassadors to him, with a view to obtain his friendship and propitiate his good-will. Accordingly, in the year 336 (beginning July 22, A. D. 947) an embassy arrived in Cordova with presents from Constantine, the Emperor of Constantinople. The day in which the ambassadors made their entrance into the capital was a day of festival, and great crowds of people collected by order of 'Abdu-r-rahmán to meet them.

The Christian nations court his friendship.

Ibnu Khaldún says that the Khalif's troops received new arms for the occasion, and were completely equipped; the royal apartments were decorated with the

utmost profusion and magnificence, the great hall of the palace was hung with the richest curtains and draperies, and spread with the most costly carpets, while the throne was surrounded on all sides by the sons, brothers, uncles, and other relatives of the Khalif. The Wizírs, and the officers attending on the royal person, were all drawn out, keeping their proper places in the utmost order. The ambassadors were then introduced to the presence of the Khalif, and were struck with astonishment at the splendour and magnificence displayed before them. They approached the throne, and delivered their credentials into the hands of the Khalif, who commanded the learned of his court to address the assembly in speeches in which they should commemorate the superiority of Islám [over every other religion] and the power of the Khalifate, and return thanks to God for the mercies he had dispensed [to the true believers], through the manifestation and support of the true religion, and the humiliation and discomfiture of its enemies. But when the learned men who were present prepared to execute his commands, all failed in their attempt; and they were so overpowered by dread of the august assembly, that they fixed their eyes on the ground, and kept silence. If any speaker rose to address the assembly, he stammered, and was soon reduced to silence by the terror that this most imposing scene produced in his mind. Seeing this, An-násir intrusted the task to Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, a learned man lately come from 'Irák,[15] and one of the literary characters attached to the suite of his son Al-hakem, the heir-apparent to the throne. Knowing his high literary reputation, An-násir chose him in preference to any other; but he likewise failed, through want of the necessary resolution. Then rose Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd, a native of Fahsu-l-balútt, who, though not accustomed to speak extempore, and not in the least prepared for the occasion, made a most able speech, wherein he developed and explained admirably the subject given to him, and delivered extempore on the same subject a long poem, with which the assembly was extremely delighted: the astonishment he produced by such an extraordinary performance was so great, that a murmur of approbation ran through the assembly, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion; and An-násir appointed him on the spot to the office of *Kádí-l-jam'áh* (chief justice), in which he greatly distinguished himself by his profound knowledge and eloquence. As the harangue which Mundhir delivered on this solemn occasion is given at large by Ibnu Hayyán and other historians, we need not quote it here.

Greek ambassadors in Cordova.

On the departure of the Greek ambassadors, Hishám Ibn Hudheyl accompanied them, with a magnificent present, and with instructions to conclude an alliance, and strengthen the friendship between the two monarchs. At the expiration of two years Hishám returned to Cordova, having faithfully executed the commission intrusted to him. Hishám came attended by ambassadors from Constantine.

Other embassies.

After this arrived another embassy from a King of the Sclavonians, whose name was Dhúku,[16] as well as from the King of the Alaman (the Emperor of Germany), and from a King of the Franks beyond the Jebál Al-bort (Pyrenees), named Ukoh (Hugo), besides a similar one from another King of the eastern confines of France, called Kaldoh.[17] These ambassadors were received by An-násir in great pomp and state, and he ordered that the officers of his household and others should go out to meet them. On the return home of the Sclavonian ambassadors, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent along with them Rabi', the Bishop,[18] who reached the court of Hoto (Otho), and returned after an absence of two years.

In the year 344 (beginning April 26, A. D. 955) Ordhún (Ordoño II.) also sent an embassy to ask for a continuation of the peace; which was granted to him: and in 345 [19] (beginning April 14, A. D. 956) he again sent to request that Ferdeland, Count of Castile (Ferran Gonzalez), should also be comprised in the treaty; to which An-násir also consented.

Garcia, son of Sancho,[20] had succeeded to the kingdom of Galicia after the death of his father Sancho, son of Fruela; but the Galicians having risen against him, under the command of the above Ferdeland, Count of Castile, this chief, who was one of the greatest men in the country, declined that dignity in favour of Ordoño, son of Ramiro [21] (Ordoño IV.), who was accordingly placed on the throne in his stead. But as Garcia, son of Sancho, was the grandson [22] of Theuda, Queen of Navarre, this princess took his part, and presented herself to An-násir in the year 347 (beginning March 24, A.D. 958), imploring the continuance of peace with herself and her son Sancho, son of King Ramiro; [23] and requesting at the same time that he would assist her grandson Sancho, son of Garcia, to reconquer his kingdom, and to take the field against his enemies. For this purpose, Theuda and the two princes [24] repaired to the court of An-násir, by whom they were received in state; and not only did the Khalif grant the queen and her son the peace which they asked, but he also sent an army to replace Garcia [25] on the throne of Galicia; which was speedily accomplished, after depriving Ordoño of it, and causing the Galicians to swear allegiance to him. Seeing this, Theuda dispatched an embassy to thank An-násir, and likewise sent her letters to all the provinces [inhabited by the Christians], acquainting the people with that event, and with the treacherous conduct of Ferdeland, the Count of Castile. The inhabitants believed her statement, and reprobated the conduct of that chieftain; and An-násir, moreover, ceased not to protect and assist him [Sancho] till he died.

With the ambassador of Kaldoh,[26] King of the eastern part of France, who, as related, arrived at the court of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, there came also an ambassador from the King of Barcelona and Tarragona,[27] to solicit peace; which was granted. After

this another embassy arrived, sent by the King of Rúmah (Rome), also soliciting An-násir's friendship. The above narrative is borrowed from Ibnu Khaldún, somewhat abridged: we shall now proceed to extract passages from other writers.

Ibnu Hayyán and others state that the empire of An-násir arrived at the highest summit of glory and splendour; that the Greeks and Christians came to him from all parts, courting his friendship, soliciting peace, and sending him immense treasures. " No nation," continues Ibnu Hayyán, " heard of him that " did not send him ambassadors. The Kings of the Greeks, those of the Franks, " and Majús (Northmen), all sent ambassadors to his court, who invariably returned " satisfied and contented. Among the embassies dispatched by infidel kings to " 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the most celebrated was that of the ruler of Constantinah the " Great (Constantinople), who made him a most splendid present, and courted his " friendship." We have already stated, on the authority of Ibnu Khaldún, that the ambassadors of the Greek monarch arrived in the year 336 (beginning July 22, A. D. 947); Ibnu Hayyán places their arrival in the month of Safar of the year 338 (August, A. D. 949): which of the two dates is the right one, God only knows. We shall here transcribe the passage of Ibnu Hayyán relating to the arrival and reception of the Greek ambassadors in Cordova.

Reception of the Greek ambassadors.

" No sooner," says that diligent historian, " was the Khalif An-násir informed " of the landing of the ambassadors sent by the Emperor of Greece at Bejénnah [28] " (Pechina), than he began to make preparations for their reception, intending " to receive them with due honour and attention, and with the greatest possible " display. Accordingly he issued orders that Yahya Ibn Mohammed Ibn Leyth [29] " and other distinguished people of his court should immediately proceed to that " place (Pechina), and should wait upon the ambassadors, taking care that they " should be provided with every necessary for their journey to the capital. When " they approached Cordova, several generals, followed by their respective bodies " of troops fully armed and equipped as in time of war, went out to meet them; and " when they came still nearer, two of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's chief eunuchs went out " to them, with orders from their master to treat them with the utmost attention " and respect, thereby intimating how much he desired to honour them; for the " eunuchs of those days were amongst the highest functionaries at court, being " exclusively employed in the service of the Khalif or in that of his harem, and " being, moreover, intrusted with the custody of the royal palace. The ambassadors " and their suite were lodged in a country-house called *Munyah Nasr*, which " belonged to the Amír Al-hakem, the presumptive heir to the throne, and was " situated in the suburb on the opposite (eastern) bank of the Guadalquivir. " Here no one, whether noble or plebeian, was allowed to visit them or hold any

" communication with them, a certain number of Hájibs or chamberlains being " selected from among the *maulis* and chief servants of the Khalif's household to " keep off all intruders. A guard of sixteen men was moreover stationed at the " gate of the palace, who relieved each other four by four, day and night. 'Abdu-r- " rahmán then left the palace of Az-zahrá, where he was living at the time, and " removed to his palace in Cordova, previous to the reception of the Greek " ambassadors. Having appointed Saturday, the eleventh of the month of Rabi'-l- " awal of the above-mentioned year (338), and fixed upon the vaulted hall in his " palace of Az-zahrá as the place where he would receive their credentials, orders " were issued to the high functionaries of the state and to the commanders of the " forces to prepare for the forthcoming ceremony. The hall was beautifully deco- " rated for the occasion, and a throne glittering with gold and sparkling with gems " was raised in the middle of it. To the right of the throne stood five of the " Khalif's sons in the following order: next to him his eldest son Al-hakem, the " presumptive heir to the empire; next to Al-hakem, 'Abdullah;[30] then 'Abdu-l- " 'azíz Al-asbagh; and lastly, Merwán. To the left of the Khalif stood his sons " Al-mundhir, 'Abdu-l-jabbár, and Suleymán; 'Abdu-l-malek, being ill at the time, " was not present at the ceremony. Next to them were the Wizírs, each at his post " to the right or left of the throne. Then came the Hájibs or chamberlains, the " sons of the Wizírs, the freed slaves of the Khalif, and the Wákils or officers of his " household. The court of the palace had been previously strewn with the richest " carpets and most costly rugs; silk awnings of the most gorgeous description had " every where been thrown over the doors and arches. Presently the ambassadors " entered the hall, and were struck with astonishment and awe at sight of the " magnificence displayed before them, and the power of the Sultán before whom " they stood. They then advanced a few steps, and presented the letter of their " master, Constantine, son of Leo, Lord of Constantinah the Great (Constan- " tinople). The letter was written in Greek upon sky-blue paper,[31] and the " characters were of gold: within the letter was an enclosure, the ground of which " was also sky-blue, like the first-mentioned, but the characters were of silver; it " was likewise written in Greek, and contained a list and description of the presents " which the Lord of Constantinah sent to the Khalif. Upon the letter was a seal " of gold, of the weight of four mithkáls, on one side of which was a likeness of the " Messiah, and, on the other, those of the King Constantine and his son. The letter " was enclosed in a bag of silver cloth, over which was a case of gold with a " portrait of King Constantine admirably executed on stained glass. All this was " enclosed in a case[32] covered with a cloth of silk and gold tissue. On the first " line of the '*Inwán* or introduction was written, 'Constantine and Romanin

" (Romanus), believers in the Messiah, Kings of the Greeks,' and in the next, " 'To the great and exalted in dignity and power, as he most deserves, the noble " in descent, 'Abdu-r-rahmán the Khalif, who rules over the Arabs of Andalus. " May God prolong his life!'

" Wishing to render this solemn ceremony as imposing as possible, 'Abdu-r- " rahmán ordered that all his Khattíbs (preachers) and poets should attend, that " they might [in the presence of the Greek ambassadors] address the assembly " concerning the power and splendour of his empire, and the consolidation of the " Khalifate under his reign. For this purpose he instructed his son and heir " Al-hakem to select from among the poets of his court, accustomed to extempore " speaking, those who could best accomplish that difficult task.

" Accordingly, Al-hakem commanded a dependent of his, named the Faquih " Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr Al-kasiniání, to prepare for the occasion, and to " compose an eloquent harangue to be pronounced before the Khalif on that " day. Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr was perhaps the person best qualified for the task, being " a man of immense rhetorical learning and taste, and deeply learned in the Arabic " language; he therefore prepared to execute the commands of Al-hakem, and " on the appointed day repaired to the hall of audience. Scarcely, however, had " he begun to address the assembly, when the sight of the imposing ceremony, " the dead silence kept by all present, the splendour and magnificence which " surrounded the throne of the Khalif, made such impression on him, that his " voice faltered, his tongue clove to his mouth, and he could not articulate a " single word, and fell senseless on the ground. The task of addressing the " assembly was next intrusted to Abú 'Alí Isma'íl Ibnu-l-kásim Al-kálí Al- " baghdádí, the author of the *Amálí* (dictations) and *An-nuwádir* (novelties), " then a guest of the Khalif, having lately arrived from 'Irák, who was reputed " to be a prince in the science of rhetoric, and an ocean of language. 'Get up,' " said one of the assembly to him, 'and raise the fallen man.' Abú-l-kálí rose, " and began addressing the assembly in a clear and intelligible voice: he thanked " and praised God as he deserves, invoked his blessing on the Prophet Mohammed, " but, all of a sudden, he stopped for want of a word which did not occur to " him, and thus put an end to his peroration."

Such is the account which Ibnu Hayyán gives of this occurrence. Ibnu Khaldún says that it was Abú 'Alí who received in the first instance instructions to address the assembly, and who went to the palace prepared with an harangue: this assertion is corroborated by the author of the *Mattmah* [Ibn Khákán]; but, as Ibnu Hayyán derived his information from men who were present at the ceremony, we hesitate not to give the preference to his version. Be this as it may, it appears certain

that when Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd perceived the failure of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, he got up, and, taking up the subject where the unsuccessful speaker had left it, delivered a peroration, composed of both prose and verse, which to this day stands unequalled as a literary composition; and that 'Abdu-r-rahmán was so pleased with the performance, that he appointed him preacher and Imám to the great mosque; and some time after, the office of Kádí-l-jam'áh or supreme judge of Andalus being vacant by the death of Mohammed Ibn 'Isa, he named him to that high post, and made him besides Mokri (reader of the Korán) to the mosque of Az-zahrá.

Conspiracy against Abdu-r-rahmán's life detected.

In the year 339 (beginning June 19, A. D. 950) a conspiracy was discovered at Cordova, the object of which was to put to death the Khalif An-násir and his son Al-hakem, the presumptive heir to the empire. At the head of it was 'Abdullah, one of the Khalif's sons, who, from his ascetic habits and secluded life, had received the epithet of Az-záhid [the austere]. Intelligence of his wicked designs having been conveyed to his father in time, he ordered him into his presence, and had him executed, together with the principal conspirators, on the day of 'Idu-l-adháhí (festival of the victims) of the year 339 (May 13, A. D. 951). It is said that a celebrated theologian, named Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr,[33] had instigated this unfortunate youth to the attempt on his father's life, and that when that individual heard that the conspiracy had been discovered, he destroyed himself. Others say that Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr was innocent of the crime imputed to him; but God only knows: the fact is, that he ended his days in prison on the same day in which 'Abdullah was executed.

Execution of his son 'Abdullah.

Conquests in Africa.

Andalus was not the only country where the arms of 'Abdu-r-rahmán were successful; his armies subdued also a considerable portion of Africa, and established in that country the rule of the Bení Umeyyah. The causes which led to that glorious event are variously stated by the historians; but the appearance of the Fátimites in that country, the inveterate hatred which the race of Umeyyah entertained against them, and the mighty consideration of not allowing countries bordering upon Andalus to fall into the hands of those conquerors, are given as the real motives which induced the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán to send his fleets and armies to the assistance of the Bení Idrís, the Bení Sáleh, and other princes attacked, and which led ultimately to the establishment of his rule over the greater portion of Eastern and Western Africa.

In A. H. 305 (beginning June 23, A. D. 917), 'Abdullah, the Shiite, after reducing the whole of Eastern Africa under his sway, sent his general Mossálah Ibn Habús Al-meknásí against Yahya Ibn Idrís, Sultán of Fez, whom he defeated, and afterwards besieged in his capital. Although Mossálah was then unable to reduce Fez, he returned to Maghreb [Western Africa] in A. H. 309 (beginning

May 11, A. D. 921), took that city, and put Yahya Ibn Idrís to death.[34] A relative of the deceased, named Al-hasan, but who was better known under the surname of Al-hojjám,[35] succeeded some time after in expelling from Fez the governor appointed by Mossálah, and seating himself on the throne of his ancestors. His reign, however, was not of long duration: Músa Ibn Abí-l-'áfiyyah, who was governor of Western Africa for the Fátimites, attacked him in 311 (April 20, A. D. 923), took his capital from him, and put him to death. Again, in 341 (May 28, A. D. 952), the dynasty of the Beni Idrís regained possession of a great portion of their former dominions, with the exception of Fez, which remained in the hands of a general named Maysúr the Shiite.

Subsequently to this, Abú-l-'aysh Ahmed, a prince of the family of Idrís, seeing his dominions invaded by the Fátimites, swore vassalage to An-násir, and sent to implore his assistance. An-násir, however, would not send him any troops unless the Idrísite gave him as hostages the ports of Tangiers and Ceuta. Abú-l-'aysh having refused to comply with his demand, An-násir dispatched a fleet, which ravaged the coast, and compelled that sovereign to accept the terms offered to him. Once master of those two important fortresses, An-násir extended his sway over the surrounding country, until his power was firmly established in Western Africa, and his rule was obeyed from Tihart to Sijilmésah. From every part of that wide-spread region princes and lords came to the court of An-násir to kiss his hand, in token of obedience and vassalage, and to implore his powerful aid and protection. The princes of the Zenátah and other Berber tribes, the Beni Idrís, and other powerful families which held sway in Western Africa, hastened to court his friendship, and offered to hold their respective dominions in his name.

"In the year 305 (beginning June 23, A. D. 917)," says the historian whose words we transcribe, "several members of the royal family of Sa'íd Ibn Sáleh, "King of Nokúr, who had been put to death by the Shiites of Africa, took refuge "in Malaga, Bejénnah, and other sea-ports in the south of Andalus. No sooner "was the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán informed of their arrival, than he sent them "splendid robes and costly presents, and issued orders that they should every "where be treated with the respect due to their rank, giving them their choice "between going to Cordova or any other part of his dominions, or remaining "where they were. With the exception, however, of one or two who accepted "the Khalif's invitation, and visited him in his capital, the remainder preferred "fixing their residence in Malaga, owing to the proximity of that port to their "lost dominions, in which they hoped to be re-instated. 'Abdu-r-rahmán promised "to aid them against the Shiites of Africa whenever the opportunity should "arrive. Accordingly, in the year 306 (beginning June 13, A. D. 918), an

" expedition was fitted out in Malaga, and after a short contest Sáleh Ibn Sa'íd " was seated on the throne of his father. When the letters announcing this " victory arrived at Cordova, 'Abdu-r-rahmán caused them to be publicly read " in all the mosques of Andalus; and he immediately sent re-inforcements, " as well as provisions, military stores, and money, to maintain the new king " in his conquest."

In the year 332 (beginning Sept. 3, A. D. 943), Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'Isa, the Idrísite, Kádí-l-jam'áh or supreme judge of Fez, arrived in Andalus for the purpose of joining in the war against the infidels. We have already alluded, in another part of this work, to the hospitable manner in which he was entertained by the Khalif.[36] There came also to Cordova during this reign two other members of the royal family of Idrís, whose names were Hasan, son of Al-kásim, better known under the surname of Janún (Kanún?), and 'Isa Ibn Hanún Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim. They made their entry into Cordova on Monday the 12th of Shawwál of the year 333[37] (May 27, A. D. 945). They were kindly received and hospitably entertained by 'Abdu-r-rahmán until the month of Safar of the ensuing year (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 945), when both returned loaded with presents to their native country.

" On Saturday the 9th of Rejeb of the year 341 (Nov. 28, A. D. 952)," says the historian Ibnu Hayyán, " Hasan, son of Ahmed Al-fádhel, son of Ibráhím, " son of Mohammed, and Mohammed, son of 'Isa, son of Ahmed, son of Ibráhím, " both descendants of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, arrived in Cordova; and on Wednesday, " the 26th of Rabi'-l-akhar of the ensuing year (Sept. 7, A. D. 953), 'Isa, Abú-l- " 'aysh,[38] Yahya Ibn Hasan, and Hasan Ibn Mohammed, also belonging to the " royal family of Idrís. They fixed their dwelling in Cordova, and left a numerous " posterity. Yahya died in 349 (beginning March 2, A. D. 960), and Hasan in " the following year: both were buried in the cemetery called *Makbaru-r-rabadh* " (of the suburb) at Cordova; the chief Kádí of that capital, Mundhir Ibn " Sa'íd Al-bolútti, reading the funeral service over their bodies, by the command " of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. As to Abú-l-'aysh, it is well known that he met with his " death in an encounter with the Christians of the north."

Death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

'Abdu-r-rahmán died at Az-zahrá on the second or third day of the month of Ramadhán[39] of the year 350 (October, A. D. 961), of a paralytic fit, at the age of seventy-three. He was born in the year 277 (beginning April 24, A. D. 890), and was only twenty years old when his father Mohammed was put to death. His mother's name was Moznah. In addition to the honourable appellation of An-násir lidín-illah (the defender of the true faith), 'Abdu-r-rahmán received from his subjects the surname of *Abú-l-motref* (the victorious). Never was the Moham-

medan empire more prosperous, or the true religion more triumphant, than under his reign. The infidels of Andalus were driven back to the mountainous districts of the north, where they insured their safety only by paying tribute to the Commander of the Faithful. Commerce and agriculture flourished; the sciences and arts received a new impulse, and the revenue was increased ten-fold. Notwithstanding the costly magnificence with which 'Abdu-r-rahmán surrounded his person,—the unusual number of troops which he constantly kept in his pay,—the multitude of eunuchs, Sclavonians, and other servants employed about his palace,—the bounteous gifts which he distributed to the learned, and the splendid buildings which he caused to be erected in various parts of his extensive dominions, in Africa as well as in Andalus,—it is said, that when he died he left in the coffers of the treasury the enormous sum of five millions of dinárs.

Revenue of Andalus under his reign.

The amount of the revenue under this reign has been estimated by several contemporary writers at six millions two hundred and forty-five thousand dinárs; namely, five millions four hundred and eighty thousand arising from the land-tax levied in the towns and districts, and seven hundred and sixty-five thousand being the amount of indirect taxation, and duties imposed upon goods. As to the sums which entered the royal coffers, being the fifth of the spoil taken from the infidels, they were beyond calculation, and cannot be estimated, as no precise account of them was kept in the treasury books.

Buildings erected by him.

Of this immense sum one-third went to pay the troops and the public officers; another third was destined for the Khalif's own use, and the remainder was spent in public buildings. Many, indeed, were the works of public utility which this just and enlightened monarch caused to be erected in various parts of his extensive dominions. As to his capital, Cordova, he is well known to have embellished it and widened its precincts, so that it equalled, if it did not surpass, in size and splendour the proud metropolis of the Beni 'Abbás. His addition to the great mosque of Cordova, and the construction of the palace of Az-zahrá in the vicinity of that capital, are two splendid erections, which will transmit the name of 'Abdu-r-rahmán to posterity. Of both those buildings we have elsewhere given as accurate a description as it was in our power; and therefore we need not now return to the subject.

It is said that after the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán a paper was found in his own hand-writing in which those days which he had spent in happiness and without any cause of sorrow were carefully noted down, and on numbering them they were found to amount only to fourteen. O man of understanding! wonder and observe the small portion of real happiness the world affords, even in the most enviable position! The Khalif An-násir, whose prosperity in mundane affairs

and whose widely-spread empire became proverbial, had only fourteen days of undisturbed enjoyment during a reign of fifty years, seven months, and three days. Praise be given to him, the Lord of eternal glory and everlasting empire! There is no God but He! the Almighty, the giver of empire to whomsoever he pleases!

As above stated, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the first sovereign of the house of Umeyyah in Andalus who assumed the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (commander of the faithful). The authors of the time say that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán saw the state of weakness and abjectness to which the Khalifate had been reduced, and perceived that the Turkish freedmen in the service of the Beni 'Abbás had usurped all authority and power in the state,—when he heard that the Khalif Al-muktadir had been put to death, in the year 317 (beginning Feb. 13, A. D. 929), by one of his *maulis*, called Múnis Al-modhaffer,[40] he no longer hesitated to assume the insignia of the Khalifate, and call himself *Amíru-l-múmenín*.

Assumes the title of Khalif.

'Abdu-r-rahmán has been described by the historians of the age as the mildest and most enlightened sovereign that ever ruled a country. His meekness, his generosity, and his love of justice became proverbial: none of his ancestors ever surpassed him in courage in the field, zeal for religion, and other virtues which constitute an able and beloved monarch: he was fond of science, and the patron of the learned, with whom he loved to converse, spending those hours which he stole from the arduous labours of the administration in literary meetings, to which all the eminent poets and learned men of his court were admitted. The histories of the time are filled with anecdotes, which show his love of justice, and his respect for the learned; but we shall only transcribe the following as a proof of what has been said of this good Khalif.

Character of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

Wishing once to buy a house in Cordova for one of his concubines named Hadhiyyah, whom he loved passionately, he fixed upon a very suitable residence belonging to the children of Zakariyyá, the brother of Najdah. The house was situated close to [the street of] the sawyers, in the eastern suburb, and separate from every other building except a bagnio, with a very extensive reservoir of water, which adjoined it on one side. It happened, however, that the children of Zakariyyá, the brother of Najdah, were at that time orphans under the tutorship of the Kádí Mundhir. Having previously sent people to value the house, and the price suiting him, An-násir dispatched a man to the executor of the father's will, with orders to treat in his own name, and purchase the house for him. Upon application, the executor stated that he could not proceed further in the matter without consulting the Kádí himself as tutor of the children, without whose authority the sale, he was well aware, could not be effected. Accordingly the Khalif sent to the

Anecdote of his justice.

Kádí Mundhir to treat about the purchase of the house, but Mundhir answered thus to the messenger: "Tell the Commander of the Faithful, thy master and " mine, that the property of an orphan cannot be sold except for three reasons; " necessity, impending ruin, or the offer of more advantageous terms than those on " which it was at first obtained. As to the first, my wards are not in want, and " therefore they need not sell their property; neither is ruin to be apprehended " at present, the house being in good condition, and wanting no repair; as to an " advantageous sale, that is the very thing I and my wards desire: and if the " Commander of the Faithful chooses to give them such a sum as may make " their advantage quite manifest, I have no objection whatever to authorize the " executors to sell the property; if not, I shall never give my consent to the " transaction." On the receipt of this answer, the Khalif immediately perceived that the refusal to sell the house was merely intended to make him more anxious for its acquisition, and he therefore desisted from any further negotiation. Mundhir, on the other hand, feared lest the Khalif should take a resolution that might be prejudicial to his wards: he ordered the executor to pull down the house, which was done according to his instructions, and made him sell the ground and materials to the agent of the Khalif, for a price higher even than the valuation made by the officers of the Sultán. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, however, having been informed of the transaction, and how the house had been pulled down previous to the sale, summoned the executor to his presence, and asked him whether the charge brought against him was true, and what reasons he had for acting thus. The executor acknowledged the fact; but gave as an excuse that he had been instructed to do so by the Kádí Mundhir. Upon this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent for the Kádí, and, when he was introduced to his presence, spoke to him thus: "Is it true that thou " orderedst the house of the brother of Najdah to be pulled down?"—"I did," was Mundhir's answer. "And what was thy reason for doing so?"—"I was " guided by those words of the Almighty, (may his name be exalted!) 'As to " the vessel, [it belonged] to certain poor men who did their business on the sea; " and I was minded to render it unserviceable, because there was a king behind " them who took every sound ship by force.'"[41] 'Abdu-r-rahmán said nothing further, and from that moment treated Mundhir, if possible, with greater deference and respect than before.

This Mundhir Al-bolútti was the most learned theologian of his day. He was deeply versed in all branches of law and literature, and was besides renowned for his probity and his justice. He was born, as before said, at a small town close to Cordova, called Fahssu-l-bolútt (the field of the oak-trees), in the year 265 (beginning Sept. 2, A. D. 878). He filled the office of Kádí-l-jam'áh (supreme

judge) of Andalus during the whole of An-násir's reign, after whose death he was confirmed in it by his son and successor Al-hakem. He died in 355 (beginning Dec. 27, A. D. 965), and left many splendid works on the *Sunnah*, or body of traditional law, on religious duties, and against the opinions of philosophers. He was likewise an excellent poet; and the works of Al-fath,[42] Ibnu Sa'íd, Ibnu Hayyán, and others, are filled with extracts from his poems.

Many other illustrious characters graced the court of An-násir, or flourished under this reign, whose names only would fill a whole volume; as Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, the author of the *'Ikd* (necklaces); Khalaf Ibn 'Abbás Az-zahráwí, the celebrated physician; 'Abdullah Ibn Yúnas Al-morédí; Abú Bekr Az-zubeydí; Mohammed Al-khoshaní; Ibráhím Ibn Ahmed Ash-sheybání:[43] but, brevity being the chief object of our narrative, we shall pass them over in silence, keeping for some other time the mention which they so justly deserve. We cannot, however, refrain from mentioning here one of the most distinguished, namely, Kásim Ibn Asbagh Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Abú Mohammed; he was a native of Baena, a town belonging to the jurisdiction of Cordova. One of his ancestors had been a freedman of the Khalif Al-walíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek. After taking lessons at Cordova from Bakí Ibn Mokhlid, Mohammed Ibn Wadhdháh, Mutref Ibn Kays, Asbagh Ibn Khalíl, Ibn Meysarah, and others, Kásim departed for the East in company with Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Aymen,[44] and with Mohammed Ibn Zakariyyá Ibn 'Abdi-l-'ala. This was in the year 274 (beginning May 27, A. D. 887). In the course of his travels Kásim visited Mekka, Kúfah, and Basrah, where he attended the lectures of the most eminent professors and theologians of the time, such as Al-mubarrad, Ibn Koteybah, and others. He afterwards went to Cairwán, and returned to Andalus, leaving behind him his two travelling companions. Kásim was deeply versed in the science of traditions, as well as in history; he shone above all in grammar, poetry, and law, being often consulted upon difficult points. He made a collection of all the traditional stories contained in the *Sunan* of Abú Dáúd. The cause of his writing that work was as follows: "Having arrived in 'Irák with his friend Mohammed Ibn Aymen in the year 276 "(beginning May 5, A. D. 889), they found that Abú Dáúd, in search of whom "they had come, had died shortly before their arrival in that country. Hearing "this, both friends conceived at the same time the idea of writing a work on the "*Sunan*, following the chapters of the book of Abú Dáúd, in which they might "introduce such traditional sayings of the Prophet and his companions as each "of them had learned from his different masters. This idea being carried into "execution, each produced an excellent work, which is well known now, and "very much esteemed by students." Subsequently to this, Kásim Ibn Asbagh

Of Kásim Ibn Asbagh.

published an abridgment of his own work, which he entitled *Al-mujtani bi-s-sunan* (a selection from the *Sunan*). He began it in the month of Moharram, 324 (Dec. A. D. 935), and dedicated it to the Amír Al-hakem, the son and successor of An-násir, whose preceptor he was. It is divided into four parts, and contains two thousand four hundred and seventy traditional allegations.

Kásim Ibn Asbagh was born on Monday the twelfth day of the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, 247 (Feb. A. D. 862).

His Hájib and Wizírs.

Músa Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jodeyr was An-násir's Hájib: his Wizírs were 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Jeh'war, 'Abdullah Ibn Ya'la, and Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Shoheyd. The latter made his sovereign a present so remarkable for the invaluable articles, costly rarities, &c., of which it was composed, that it became proverbial; it being a common saying among the people of Andalus, when they wished to extol the beauty and value of an object, *Ahsan min hadyati-bn-Shoheyd* (handsomer even than the present of Ibn Shoheyd). As Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Khaldún, and other historians have preserved a list of the articles, &c., composing this present, we shall here transcribe their narrative, and will begin with Ibnu Khaldún, who introduces it in his account of the Bení Umeyyah, as a proof of the great power and unmatched splendour and riches of that dynasty when they ruled over Andalus. That diligent historian has also noted the date of the day in which the present was made, namely, on the twenty-second day of Jumáda-l-awal of the year 327 (March 16, A. D. 939). Here follow his words:

Present made to An-násir.

"So magnificent was the present which Ibn Shoheyd made on this occasion to "the Khalif An-násir that it became famous for its magnitude all over the Mo-"hammedan world; and that even now the memory of it subsists among the people "of this country. No Sultán of Andalus, it is generally agreed, ever received "a similar one; and it is added, that An-násir and his courtiers were so struck "by its magnificence, that they unanimously declared that such a trait of generosity "stood unparalleled in history. Together with the present, Ibn Shoheyd sent an "elegant epistle or dedication, in which he expressed his gratitude for the honours "conferred on him by An-násir, and thanked that Khalif for his favours. The "epistle itself was a model of eloquence, and people eagerly transcribed it or "procured copies of it. An-násir was so much pleased both with the letter and "the present, that he exalted Ibn Shoheyd in honour and dignity over his fellow "Wizírs, and doubled his salary, which he raised to forty thousand dinárs of "Andalus, besides one hundred thousand dinárs as a gratuity in the great festivals "of the year.

"He also doubled his functions as well as his salary, for which reason he was "called *Dhú-l-wizárateyn* (the holder of the double Wizírate); Ibn Shoheyd being

" the first functionary of Andalus on whom that title was conferred, in imitation, " no doubt, of Sá'id Ibn Mokhlid, Wizír of the Bení 'Abbás at Baghdád, [who " was so called]. To all these honours An-násir added another distinction, namely, " that his seat in the council-room should be raised higher than those of the " other Wizírs, and that his name should be the first in the list of the government " pensioners: in short, his authority and influence at court became immense. The " following is the list of the articles, &c., of which the present was composed:

" Five hundred thousand mithkáls of coined gold;[45] four hundred pounds of " virgin gold, worth, in exchange, forty-five thousand dinárs; and silver bullion to " the amount of two hundred *bidr*.[46] (Ibnu-l-faradhí mentions only five hundred thousand dinárs.)

" Twelve pounds of Indian aloes, capable of bearing an impression like wax; one " hundred and eighty pounds of aloe-wood, of the best quality;[47] and one hundred " of another sort, resembling the *muntaki*."[48] (However, Ibnu-l-faradhí, who refers to the letter, and to the list of the articles, &c., sent by Ibn Shoheyd, says four hundred pounds of the best aloe,[49] in which there was a piece weighing one hundred and twenty pounds.)

" One hundred ounces of pure musk,[50] of the best quality." (Ibnu-l-faradhí, quoting the above document, says two hundred and twelve.)

" Five hundred ounces of pale amber, of the species which preserves its quality " without previous preparation. Of this, one piece was to be seen of wonderful " dimensions, perfect in shape, and weighing one hundred ounces." (Ibnu-l-faradhí says one hundred ounces in all, and one piece of the weight of forty ounces.)

" Three hundred ounces of the purest camphor, of the best quality; thirty " pieces of silk cloth, of various colours and patterns, printed and embroidered " with gold, and suitable only for the Khalif's dress; ten pelisses, lined with " the most costly martens'[51] fur, from Khorassán."

Ibnu-l-faradhí's account differs materially from this. He says, " Of robes of " various colours, intended for the Khalif's own use, partly white, and partly of " other colours, thirty; five cloaks or outer garments, of the same kind and shape as " those used by the Faquirs of the Sha'ybí sect,[52] and destined also for the Khalif's " own use; ten pelisses of the best martens' fur, seven of which were white, and " came from Khorassán, and the remainder of various colours [came from other " countries]; six square 'Irákian dresses, also fit for the Khalif; forty-eight " *milháf* (cloaks)[53] worked in flowers, for daily use; and one hundred more, of " the same manufacture, to sleep in at night."

The reader must have observed that with the exception of the thirty pieces of

silk cloth, not one of the above articles of dress is mentioned by Ibnu Khaldún; but we do not hesitate to adopt the account of Ibnu-l-faradhí, which, from the fact of that author having derived his information from the list itself as well as from the keeper of the presents, is unquestionably entitled to more credit.

"Ten heavy chests containing one hundred sable skins." (In this statement both authors agree.)

"Six 'Irákian tents,[54] and forty-eight horse-cloths made of silk worked with "gold, manufactured at Baghdád; four thousand pounds weight of spun silk; "and one thousand more of raw silk, of various colours, for spinning; thirty pieces "of the stuff called *kaziun*[55] for saddles." (Ibnu-l-faradhí agrees with the above account; but he observes that the manufactured silk did not make part of the present, but went directly into the hands of the *Sáhibu-t-tiráz*, or master of the royal robes, who received it from Ibn Shoheyd, and entered it in the books of the wardrobe.)

"Thirty woollen carpets of different colours and patterns, each measuring twenty "cubits in length; one hundred rugs,[56] intended for kneeling on at prayer time, "of the finest texture and choicest patterns." (Ibnu-l-faradhí adds, 'made in the same way as the carpets.')

"Fifteen silk cushions of the stuff called *nukha*, having the face of it shorn." (This, Ibnu-l-faradhí observes, was also a stuff for carpets of the finest quality, and such as was only used by very rich people.)

"Of arms and weapons there were, eight hundred suits of armour for horses, "to adorn them in processions and public exhibitions." (Ibnu-l-faradhí says only one hundred; but he adds that they were of the most extraordinary workmanship, and highly finished.)

"One thousand shields manufactured at Sultániyyah; one hundred thousand "arrows of the best kind.

"Fifteen select Arabian steeds of the choicest qualities, and destined for the "Khalif's own riding." (Ibnu-l-faradhí says one hundred more, fit for military incursions, and trained for war.) "Twenty mules for the Khalif's own riding, "fully caparisoned and bridled, and having the seats of the saddles covered with "a species of 'Irákian velvet, called *ghaffárí*." (Ibnu-l-faradhí says one hundred steeds, namely, fifteen barbs for the Khalif's own riding; five more of the same class, but chosen among the rest for their superior qualities, most splendidly harnessed and bridled, and having the seats of the saddles covered with 'Irákian velvet, also for the Khalif's own riding; the remaining eighty were suitable for servants and attendants. Besides the mules above mentioned, Ibnu-l-faradhí counts five ambling mules remarkable for their swiftness and easy pace.)

"The slaves were as follows: Forty choice male slaves, and twenty females, with "their clothing and apparel all complete. The latter were provided, besides, with "all their jewels, ornaments, and musical instruments." (In this both authors agree.)

"Ten *kintars* (hundred weights) of lump sugar, of dazzling whiteness, and "without a speck in it."

"And lastly," says Ibnu Khaldún, "he presented his sovereign with a valuable "villa, and the lands attached to it, in the sowing of which many thousands of "*mudd* of grain had been expended by the giver. The stone only for the several "buildings erected on the estate had cost eighty thousand dinárs in one year. "There were besides twenty thousand trees of the finest and most durable wood, "very straight, and in the best condition, the actual value of which was fifty "thousand dinárs."

So far Ibnu Khaldún; but Ibnu-l-faradhí, who, as we have stated elsewhere, saw and transcribed the epistle which Ibn Shoheyd sent along with the present, has preserved some details which we think worthy of insertion in our present narrative. He says, after mentioning the male and female slaves,—"For a long time before, "Ibn Shoheyd, who accompanied or commanded almost every expedition sent "against the Christians, had destined a certain portion of his share in the spoil to "purchase handsome captives of both sexes, as he himself informs us in his epistle, "where he says that he bought them with the produce of victory, and through the "favour dispensed to him by the Amír."

The epistle ended thus, according to Ibnu-l-faradhí: "And when I heard that my "illustrious master (may God grant him his help!) had deigned to cast his eye "over the estate in the Kanbániyyah,[57] I immediately directed the Sultán's agent, "Ibn Bakiyyah, to purchase it from the owner; and I did not rest until I heard "that he had completely succeeded, and that the deeds were already drawn in the "Khalif's name. The same thing was done with respect to another estate in the "vicinity of Jaen, called Sheyrah.[58] When I heard that it had been described to "the Khalif, who was pleased to inquire about it, I never ceased importuning "the owner of it until he sold it to me, with all its buildings, plantations, fields, "woods, and waters; the whole being duly transferred to Ibn Bakiyyah, who, "I hope, will reap the next harvest thousands of *mudd* of every kind of grain. "When, moreover, I ascertained that it was the Khalif's wish to build upon the "latter estate, I immediately gave all my attention to forestall his wishes, and "thought of the many spots which his gracious majesty had been pleased to visit, "in order to perpetuate his memory in their buildings. (May God prolong his "life, and reward him [afterwards] even beyond his expectations!) Knowing

"that the foundations, the pillars, and the greater portion of the house were "built of free-stone, I conceived and fixed upon a plan of improvement, which I "caused immediately to be executed; having spent in one year only what I "received from his servant, Ibn 'A'ssim, for twenty consecutive years [as the "amount of my salary], since the total expense incurred in the building amounted "to about eighty thousand dinárs, without counting the produce of the estate "during that time, which was likewise spent in the object, nor the sale of timber, "which is so abundant that when his servant Ibn Khalíl wanted upwards of three "hundred and twenty thousand trees [for the purpose of building], and could only "procure about two thousand every year, I undertook to furnish him the remainder "out of this estate, which I did; the value of the timber which I then delivered "into his hands being, at the lowest estimate, between fifty and sixty thousand "dinárs."

The donor of the above present, Abú 'A'mir Ahmed[59] Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Omar Al-'adí, belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Andalus. His ancestor Shoheyd had been present at the conquest of that country by Tárik Ibn Zeyád. His father 'Abdu-l-malek had served in the armies of 'Abdullah, and gained great reputation by his courage and his talents; and by him Ahmed was early trained to arms, and acquired that superiority in military affairs which made him the scourge of the infidels and the idol of the Moslems. He was so successful in his expeditions against the Galicians and Franks, that he amassed considerable riches, and was enabled to present the Khalif An-násir with a gift such as no subject ever before presented to his master.

Ibn Bessám relates of him, that he had once a Christian page so exquisitely handsome that no human eyes ever saw the like of him before. This page he once introduced to An-násir, who no sooner cast his eyes on him than he said to Ibn Shoheyd, "Where and how didst thou acquire such an inestimable jewel?" "It came to me," answered Ibn Shoheyd, "by the blessing of God." "By the Lord!" replied An-násir, "were any one to make me a present of the stars, or let me choose between the moon and this page, I should not hesitate for an instant:" upon which, Ibn Shoheyd, having prepared a suitable present, sent it to 'Abdu-r-rahmán along with his page, to whom he said on parting, "Go, my son; thou "must form part of the present I destine for the Commander of the Faithful. "Were it not for the love I bear him, I would sooner have parted with my soul "than with thee."

The same author [Ibn Bessám] relates another curious anecdote respecting An-násir, which he pretends to have received from a man who held it from another, who had it from the Khalif's own lips. Wishing on a certain day to be bled,

An-násir sat himself down under a pavilion in the palace of Az-zahrá, which overlooked the whole city, and sent for his chief physician, who, having come immediately, took out his lancet, and bound the hand of the Khalif, preparatory to his bleeding him. He was going to operate, when lo! there came a starling,[60] which perched itself on a beautiful golden vase in the room, and uttered the following two verses, which it continued to repeat all the time the operation lasted.

" O bleeder! take care how thou treatest the Commander of the Faithful;
" For wert thou to open one of his arteries, the life of the world might
" escape through it." [61]

An-násir was exceedingly pleased at these verses, and he much admired the wit contained in them. Having then inquired who had taught the starling, and dispatched him on such an errand, he was informed that the bird belonged to his wife Marjánah, the mother of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the presumptive heir to the throne, who, having previously trained the bird to repeat the verses, had sent him on at the time when An-násir was going to be bled; upon which the Khalif made Marjánah a present of upwards of thirty thousand dinárs.

We should never finish, were we to transcribe here the innumerable anecdotes respecting this Khalif, which are scattered like so many loose pearls over the writings of the Andalusian poets and historians, and will therefore proceed to give a notice of his son and successor, Al-hakem.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of Al-hakem II.—Ceremonies attending his proclamation—Appointment of a Hájib—Al-hakem's wars with the Christians—Piratical incursions of the Northmen—Ordoño IV. visits Cordova—Preparations made by the Khalif for his reception—Ordoño introduced to the royal presence—His address to Al-hakem—The Khalif's answer—Arrival of ambassadors from Catalonia—and from Navarre—The Countess of Castile arrives at court—Transactions in Africa—Settlers in Andalus under his reign—Al-hakem's love of science—His passion for books—Library founded by him—Notice of literary men living at his court—Character of Al-hakem—His death.

Accession of Al-hakem II.

On the day after the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, his son Al-hakem, surnamed Abú-l-'ássin and *Al-mustanser-billah* (he who implores the help of God), ascended the throne. It was on a Thursday.[1] Immediately after his accession, Al-hakem surrounded his person with all the pomp and magnificence of the empire, and sent down his letters to the provinces, apprising the people of his elevation, and calling upon them to swear allegiance to him. On the same day he began to give his attention to the regulation of his empire and the strengthening of his power, to the inspection of the royal palaces, and the review and equipment of the troops. The Sclavonians of the palace were the first to take the oath of allegiance to him: first came the eunuchs of the palace, as Ja'far, the master of the horse and of the royal robes, and other superior officers generally employed in the household of the greatest Khalifs, who were ordered to proceed immediately to swear in all the Sclavonians under their orders; then followed the remaining officers of the royal household, who were inferior in rank to the above-mentioned, whether kátibs, servants, *mukaddams* (captains), or *'arífs* (officers), all of whom tendered their respective oaths.

Ceremony attending his proclamation.

The people of the palace having been all sworn in, Al-hakem commanded his chief Wizír, Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán, to proceed immediately to the residence of his own brother, Abú Merwán 'Obeydullah,[2] who kept aloof [from the ceremony], and bring him, without accepting of any excuse, to his presence, for the purpose of exacting from him the customary oath of allegiance. He dispatched in like manner Músa Ibn Ahmed Ibn Jodeyr on a similar errand to his second brother, Abú-l-asbagh 'Abdu-l-'azíz. The two messengers, having taken with them a body

of troops, repaired to the house of the two princes, and escorted them to the palace of Az-zahrá, where every thing was prepared for the approaching ceremony, and where a great concourse of courtiers and nobles had already assembled from every part of the city, to pay their respects to the new sovereign. All the brothers of Al-hakem, who were then eight in number, arrived at the palace at night, and were lodged [according to their rank] in the two wings[3] of the palace. The ensuing morning they took their station in the eastern and western halls, whilst the Khalif sat on his throne under the central gilded pavilion, one of those in the southern part of the palace opening upon the marble terrace. The ceremony having commenced, the royal brothers came first: they approached the throne, and inaugurated Al-hakem, reading the formula of inauguration, and taking the customary oath, with all its sanctions and restrictions. Then came the turn of the Wizírs, and of the sons of the Wizírs, and of their brothers, who were quickly followed by the Shortah or body-guard, and by the servants of the palace. This done, the brothers of the Khalif, the Wizírs, and the nobles, took their respective seats to the right and left of the throne, with the single exception of 'Isa Ibn Foteys, who stood in one corner of the hall, that he might swear in the people as they entered. The neighbouring apartments were as usual filled with public functionaries and courtiers who had a right to be present at such ceremonies.

In the hall where the Khalif sat, stood the great eunuchs of the palace, in lines beginning at the right and left sides of the throne, and extending to the end of the apartment, each man keeping his own place according to his rank or dignity. They were all dressed in white tunics, the inner garments[4] being of mourning; and they were armed with swords. Next to them were the servant eunuchs, covered with mail, and having glittering swords in their hands; these were drawn up in two lines over the terrace. On the adjoining parapets were the eunuchs of the guard, with spears in their hands, and the Sclavonian eunuchs, dressed in white, and armed with swords. These were followed by other Sclavonian eunuchs of inferior rank; and after these latter came the archers of the guard, with their bows and quivers. Next to the Sclavonian eunuchs were the black slaves, splendidly arrayed, and covered with glittering arms; they wore white tunics, Sicilian helmets on their heads, and held in their hands shields of various colours; their weapons, moreover, were ornamented with gold. They were drawn up in two lines [from the terrace] to the last parapet. At the gate of As-suddah (*Bábu-s-suddah*) were the chief door-keepers, and outside of it the horse-guard of black slaves, extending in lines to the gate of the domes (*Bábu-l-akbá*). Next to them was the body-guard, composed of the Khalif's own *maulis* or freed slaves, also on horseback; and after them the rest of the army, and of the slaves, and the archers, succeeding

each other until the lines reached without interruption to the gate of the city leading to the country. The ceremony being over, the Khalif granted the people leave to retire, with the exception of his brothers, the Wizírs, and the officers of the household, who were directed to stay at the palace of Az-zahrá until the body of An-násir should be carried to the palace of Cordova, there to be interred in the cemetery of the Khalifs.

Appointment of a Hájib.

Al-hakem made no alteration in the administration as left by his father An-násir. He confirmed every one of the Wizírs named by his father, and appointed for his Hájib Ja'far Al-asklabí (the Sclavonian), who is said to have presented him on the day of his nomination with sundry precious objects, a list of which is given by Ibnu Hayyán in his *Muktabis*. The present consisted of one hundred Frank mamelukes, mounted on swift horses, and armed and equipped for war with swords, spears, shields, targets, and Indian caps; upwards of three hundred and twenty coats of mail, of different kinds; three hundred steel helmets; fifty Indian helmets of wood; some European helmets not of wood, called *At-teshtanah;* three hundred European javelins; one hundred shields of Sultániyyah; ten suits of armour, of solid silver, inlaid with gold; and twenty buffaloes' horns, gilt.

His wars with the Christians.

"No sooner was the death of An-násir divulged," says the historian Ibnu Khaldún, "than the Galicians began to make attacks upon the Moslem frontiers. "In order to check their progress, Al-hakem put himself at the head of his army, "and invaded the dominions of Ferdeland Ibn Ghondisalb [Ferran Gonzalez], "besieged Shant Eshtiban (San Estevan de Gormáz), which he took by force of "arms, and afterwards destroyed, returning victorious [to Cordova]; upon which "the Galicians desisted from their projects, and sought to make their peace with "the Moslems."

After this, Al-hakem dispatched his *mauli* Ghálib to make war on the Galicians. Having arrived at Medínah Sélim (Medinaceli), which was the focus of the war, Ghálib was opposed by a considerable army of the Christians; but he fought with them, putting them to flight, and causing them great loss. After which the Moslems penetrated into the dominions of Ferdeland, which they overran and wasted.

Sancho, the son of Ramiro, King of the Basques (Navarre), having broken the treaties by which he was bound [to preserve peace], Al-hakem sent against him At-tojibí [Yahya Ibn Mohammed],[5] the governor of Saragossa, with a large body of troops. Seeing this, the King of the Basques implored the help of his neighbour, the King of the Galicians, who hastened to his assistance; but At-tojibí, having met and defeated their united forces near Kúriah (Coria), ravaged the districts round that city, and returned home victorious.

After this, Al-hakem directed his generals Ahmed Ibn Ya'la and Yahya Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí to make an incursion into the territory of Barcelona, which was accomplished; the districts round that city being overrun and wasted by the Moslems. He likewise sent Hudheyl Ibn Hishám and his *mauli* Ghálib into the dominions of the *Komes* (Count) of Castile, which they ravaged.

Great indeed were the victories gained over the Christians during the reign of Al-hakem, and repeated the incursions made by the generals of his frontiers into the enemy's territory. We may give as an example the conquest by Ghálib of the town of Kalherah, in the country of Al-bashkans (Basques), which place Al-hakem caused to be peopled by Moslems, as well as the taking of Kottúbiah[6] by the Káyid (governor) of Oshkah (Huesca); on which occasion the Moslems gained considerable spoil in money, arms, provisions, and military stores, exclusive of the sheep, cattle, and mares which they caught in the adjoining plains, of the grain and fruits of all kinds which they reaped, and of the innumerable captives, of both sexes, which they made.

In the year 354 (beginning Jan. 6, A.D. 965) Ghálib made an incursion into Alabah (Alava), accompanied by Yahya Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí and Kásim Ibn Motref Ibn Dhí-n-nún. The three generals scoured the country, and rebuilt Hisn-Ghormáj[7] (San Estevan de Gormáz), which had been destroyed on a former occasion by the Christians.

Piratical incursions of the Northmen.

In the same year (A.H. 354) the ships of the Majús (Northmen) appeared on the coast of the ocean. Having landed close to Lisbon, they overran and ravaged the neighbouring country; but the inhabitants, having risen to arms, fought with them, and drove them to their ships. No sooner was the intelligence of their disembarkation brought to Cordova, than Al-hakem in person repaired to the districts invaded, and provided for the defence of the coast, ordering his *Káyidu-l-bahr* (admiral of the sea), named 'Abdu-r-rahmán [Ibn] Romáhis,[8] to fit out the fleet and attack them: but it was not necessary; for news soon arrived of their having been defeated every where by the inhabitants of that coast, and their having put to sea in great haste and confusion.

Ordoño IV. visits Cordova.

After this, happened the arrival in Cordova of Ordhún Ibn Adefonsh (Ordoño IV.), King of the Galicians. As before related, An-násir had supported his cousin Sancho, son of Ramiro, and assisted him in reconquering his kingdom, which Ordoño had usurped, compelling the Christians to return under his sway; upon which Ordoño had sought and obtained the assistance of his father-in-law Ferdeland (Ferran Gonzalez), Count of Castile. Finding, however, that this chieftain was unable to reseat him on the throne, and that Al-hakem continued to bestow on

Sancho the same protection which his father An-násir had so graciously granted to him, he resolved upon appearing at court, and placing himself under Al-hakem's protection. The Khalif received him with all the pomp and state before exhibited on similar occasions, ordering his troops out on the day of his arrival, and commanding the officers of his household to go out to meet him some distance from the capital, as may be read in the work of Ibnu Hayyán, who has preserved an account of this and the preceding arrivals, and of the interview which the Christian king had with Al-hakem. That historian says, that the Khalif bade him sit down, promised him his assistance against his enemies, put on him a *khil'ah* or dress of honour, and wrote a deed with his own hand, by which he engaged to aid him against his cousin Sancho, on condition that he should acknowledge himself the vassal of Islám, and forsake the alliance of the Count of Castile. Ordoño swore to fulfil the stipulated conditions by placing his right hand on the deed, and gave his son Garcia as an hostage. He was then dismissed with presents and horses for himself and followers, being escorted by the principal Christians who lived in Cordova under the protection of the Khalif, that they might the better establish his authority over his subjects, and reseat him on his throne. His son Garcia remained in Cordova according to the stipulation. The following particulars are borrowed from Ibnu Hayyán.

Towards the end of Safar of the year 351 (March, A. D. 962), the Khalif Al-hakem sent out two of his *maulis*, named Mohammed and Zeyád, sons of Aflah An-násirí, with a portion of his guard, to meet Ghálib An-násirí, governor of Medínah Sélim (Medinaceli), who was then escorting to Cordova King Ordhún Ibn Adefonsh (Ordoño IV.) This Ordhún, assisted by some small bands of Galicians, who followed his banners, had been trying for some time to excite dissension in the state, and had disputed the throne with a cousin of his, son of his uncle, Sancho Ibn Radmir (Sancho the Fat), who had reigned before him. Seeing that every attempt to seize on the throne had failed, the accursed Christian bethought him of repairing to the court of Al-hakem, without either previously asking his leave, or making any stipulation. The cause of that sudden resolution was his having heard that Al-hakem was preparing an expedition to march that very year against him;[9] and not being in a condition to resist him, he decided upon parrying, if possible, the blow aimed against him, and throwing himself upon the mercy of the Khalif, hoping to be able to incline him to his favour. Accordingly, although he had no safe conduct or security whatever from the Khalif, he placed himself at the head of twenty of his followers, and crossed the Mohammedan frontier. Ghálib An-násirí,[10] a *mauli* of Al-hakem, who was then

governor of Medinaceli, having on the arrival of the Christian at that city inquired the object of his journey, Ordhún told him that he wished to go to Cordova for the purpose of swearing vassalage to the Khalif; upon which Ghálib offered to escort him thither at the head of a body of cavalry.

Preparations made by the Khalif for his reception.

No sooner was Al-hakem informed of their arrival than he sent forward the two sons of Aflah with an army to meet them. Having come up with Ordoño's retinue, the generals of the Khalif encamped for a whole day, after which they struck their tents and proceeded to Cordova. At their approach Al-hakem sent out Hishám Al-mus'hafí with a numerous army completely armed and equipped [as for war]. They advanced straight to the gate of Cordova, and passed close by the gate of the palace. On his arrival at that piece of ground between the *Bábu-s-suddah* and the *Bábu-l-jenán* (the gate of the gardens), Ordhún inquired of one of his escort where the tomb of An-násir lidín-illah ('Abdu-r-rahmán III.) was; and this being pointed out to him opposite the place where he stood within the *raudhah* or cemetery attached to the royal palace, he immediately dismounted, took off his cap,[11] and having approached the spot pointed out to him, he went upon his knees and prayed fervently for a length of time. After this he put on his cap, and continued his march towards the dwelling assigned to him by the Khalif, which was the palace called *An-ná'urah* (of the water-wheel). Preparatory to the reception of his guest the Khalif had caused the palace to be strewn with every variety of carpet and cushion, and provided with every description of furniture: his commands were fulfilled in a manner that left nothing to wish for, the Christian king and his suite being treated with the greatest attention and respect. In this manner Ordoño spent the whole of Thursday and Friday. When Saturday came, Al-hakem signified his wish to see the Christian, and accordingly every necessary preparation was made for the forthcoming ceremony. The troops were fully equipped and armed as in time of war; the Sclavonian guard was splendidly attired for the occasion; the Ulemas, theologians, Kátibs, and poets were ordered to appear in the audience-hall, whilst the Wizírs and other high functionaries of the state received orders to be each at his post at the appointed hour.

He is introduced into the royal presence.

When the day came, Al-hakem appeared seated on the royal throne in the eastern hall of his palace of Az-zahrá, which opened into the terrace, having on each side his brothers, nephews, and other relatives, as well as the Wizírs, Kádís, civil magistrates, and distinguished theologians, and other high functionaries, all sitting in rows according to their rank or station. Among them was the supreme judge of Andalus, Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd Al-bolútti. Presently Ordoño made his appearance in the hall, being introduced by Mohammed Ibnu-l-kásim Ibn Tamís.[12] The upper part of his dress consisted of a tunic of white brocade, of Christian manufacture,

and a surtout[13] of the same quality and colour. He wore on his head a Christian cap ornamented with costly jewels. Ordoño came from his dwelling [in Cordova] to the city of Az-zahrá attended by a select party of the chief Christian residents in Cordova, as Walíd Ibn Khayrún,[14] who was the judge of the Christians in Cordova, 'Obeydullah, son of Kasím Al-matrán (bishop)[15] of Toledo, and others. When close to the palace, Ordoño and his suite entered into a passage formed on each side by bodies of infantry placed in such admirable order that the eyes were dazzled at their uniformity, and so thickly set that the mind was bewildered at their numbers. Such was, moreover, the brightness of their armour and weapons, and the variety and richness of their uniforms, that the Christians were actually stupified at what they saw, and repeatedly crossed themselves in utter amazement at the imposing scene; they looked on with their heads down, their eyelids contracted, and their eyes half-closed [through astonishment] until they arrived at the outer gate of the palace of Az-zahrá, called *Bábu-l-akabá* or 'the gate of the domes,' where all those who had gone out to meet Ordoño dismounted. The Christian king and the counts of his suite continued on horseback until they came to the interior gate called *Bábu-s-suddah,* when all received orders to dismount, and to proceed on foot, with the exception of Ordoño and Mohammed Ibn Tamís, who passed mounted under the gateway. These two alighted at the gate of the central southern pavilion[16] in the building called *Dáru-l-jandal* (the house of the stones) upon a raised platform, the steps of which were covered with silver cloth. In that very spot Ordoño's rival and enemy, Sancho, the son of Ramiro, had alighted when he came to visit 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidín-illah. Ordoño sat himself on the platform, and his suite sat before him [waiting for Al-hakem's pleasure]. Presently one of the Khalif's officers made his appearance, bringing the permission for Ordoño to proceed; which he did on foot, followed by his suite. In this way he advanced towards the terrace. Arrived in front of the eastern hall, where Al-hakem was, Ordoño stopped, uncovered his head, took off his *bornús,*[17] and remained for some time in an attitude of astonishment and respect, under the impression that he was now approaching the radiant throne of the Khalif. Being motioned to proceed, he moved on slowly between the two lines [of soldiers] drawn up along the length of the terrace, which he traversed, until he came to the door of the pavilion where Al-hakem sat. When he had arrived before the throne, he threw himself on the floor, and remained for some time in the most humble position; he then stood up, advanced a few paces, again prostrated himself, and repeated this ceremony several times, until he arrived at a proper distance from the Khalif, when he stretched out his hand, and Al-hakem gave him his. After this he went backwards, without turning away his face, to a

seat covered with gold cloth, which had been prepared for him at about ten cubits' distance from the royal throne, being all the time awe-struck at the imposing scene. Such among his counts and followers, moreover, as had been allowed to enter the royal presence, advanced from behind him with repeated prostrations, and approached the throne of the Khalif, who gave them his hand to kiss; after which they all walked backwards, and placed themselves at each side of their king. Among them came Walíd Ibn Khayrún, who, as before stated, was the Kádí or judge of the Christians living in Cordova, and who acted as interpreter for King Ordoño on the occasion.

Al-hakem kept silence for a while in order to allow Ordoño time to sit down and compose himself; and when he perceived that the Christian had somewhat recovered [from his fright] he broke silence and said, "Welcome to our court, "O Ordoño! may thy hopes be realized and thy wishes fulfilled! Thou wilt "find in us the best advice and the most cordial reception, much beyond thy "expectations." When these words were translated to Ordoño by his interpreter, his countenance expanded and brightened up with joy; he came down from the raised couch on which he sat, and humbly kissing the earth before the Khalif, exclaimed, "I am the slave of the Commander of the Faithful, my lord and His address to Al-hakem. "master; and I am come to implore his favour, to witness his majesty, and to "place myself and my people under his protection. May he be pleased to grant "me his powerful patronage, and consent to receive me into the number of his "slaves! I hope that I come to him with a just demand and with a pure inten- "tion." The Khalif answered, "We look upon thee as one most deserving of "our consideration and esteem, and we are ready to grant thee that preference "and advantage over the people of thy sect which may render thee happy and "content. Let us therefore hear the true cause that brought thee to our court, "that we may place thee within the pale of our authority." No sooner was the Khalif's answer made known to King Ordoño than he again prostrated himself, and remained for some time deeply absorbed in prayer. He then proceeded to state his case thus: "I need not remind thee, O Khalif, that my cousin Sancho, "son of my uncle Ordoño, came once to this city to implore against me the "help of thy glorious father and predecessor, the Khalif An-násir, who hesitated "not to grant him the assistance he sought, as the most powerful Kings and "greatest Khalifs are wont to do to all those who seek them and rely on them. "Yet the appearance of Sancho at this court was a compulsory act; his subjects "detested his rule, and so offensive was his behaviour towards them that they "chose me for their king, although, God knows, I had not the least wish to "become such, and had taken no steps whatever to arrive at the throne. How-

"ever, I did so at the solicitation of my subjects; upon which my cousin was "obliged to fly the country, and take refuge in this city. It then pleased thy pre- "decessor (may God have mercy on him!) to restore Sancho to his lost kingdom, "and to grant him his powerful aid, without paying regard either to the offers of "vassalage I made to him or the rich presents which from time to time I sent to "him. This I bore with resignation, for truly the Commander of the Faithful was "then, as thou art now, my liege lord. Such was the manner in which my cousin "came to Cordova; whereas I am come of my own free will, without having been "compelled to do so by my subjects, or having been expelled from my kingdom "by them, as he was. I am come confidently to place myself, my people, my "castles, and such among my subjects as obey my rule, under the command of "the Khalif, that he may decide between us two in his great wisdom." The

The Khalif's answer.

Khalif replied,—"We have listened to thy words and understood their meaning, and "certainly we will soon show thee greater favour, and our benefits shall come down "on thee more profusely even than those of my father ever did on thy enemy. "True, thy cousin Sancho came to our court first, and put himself under the "protection of this our empire; but that is no reason why we should neglect "thee on his account. We will therefore diminish none of our favours, and thou "shalt return to thy country happy and content; we will collect together for thee "the scattered portions of thy kingdom; we will make thee Lord of all the districts "which once acknowledged thy sway and are now in the hands of thy cousin; "we will give thee our letters patent declaring our decision upon thy right [to "the throne] and that of thy cousin; we will, in short, deprive him of his usurped "dominions, and favour and protect thee greatly beyond thy most sanguine "expectations. We take God to witness of the truth of our words." Again did Ordoño prostrate himself before the Khalif, expatiating in praise of his kindness and generosity. He then rose to retire, walking backwards so as not to turn his face from the Khalif. Having thus arrived where the eunuchs were waiting for him, Ordoño was conducted to the western hall opening upon the terrace, where he plainly exhibited on his countenance the reverential awe with which he had been struck, and his utter astonishment at the magnificence and splendour displayed before him, as indicative of the power and strength of the Khalifate. In passing through the hall, the eyes of Ordoño fell on the vacant throne of the Commander of the Faithful: unable to repress his feelings, he advanced slowly towards it, and, having prostrated himself before it, remained for some time in the most humble position, as if the Khalif were sitting on it. He was next conducted by the eunuchs to a pavilion in the northern extremity of the [western] hall, where he was told to sit down on a raised cushion covered with gold brocade.

Whilst there, the Hájib Ja'far Al-mus'hafí approached him from another part of the palace; seeing which, Ordoño rose from his seat, went up to him, made him a most profound bow, and attempted to kiss his hand, but Ja'far withdrew it, and, addressing him in the most friendly terms, embraced him, and then sat down by his side, and began to converse with him, promising him good success in his enterprise, and assuring him that the Khalif would most certainly fulfil his promise; hearing which, Ordoño's joy was doubled.

After this, at a signal made by Ja'far, a dress of honour, which the Khalif had destined for Ordoño, was produced. It consisted of a tunic [18] of gold tissue, and a bornús of the same material, with a belt [19] of the purest gold, set with pearls and rubies of such magnitude and beauty that the eyes of the barbarian rested complacently on them; and whilst Ja'far was dressing him, he fell down on his knees and prayed aloud [for the Khalif's preservation]. This being done, Ja'far sent for every one of the Christians who came in Ordoño's suite, and gave each a dress according to his rank; after which they all left the room with the greatest humility, returning thanks for the signal favour they had just received. After traversing the same halls and the open terrace through which he had come, Ordoño, followed by the Christians of his suite, arrived at the central pavilion where he had alighted, and where by the Khalif's order a generous steed richly caparisoned, and having the saddle and bridle ornamented with pure gold, was prepared for him. Ordoño mounted, and, accompanied by Ibn Tamís, returned to his dwelling in the palace of the Rissáfah,[20] which had been provided with every article suitable to one of his rank,—furniture, beds, earthenware, &c. In this palace Ordoño and the Christians of his suite stayed until the moment of their departure, receiving daily the choicest provisions for their consumption, and being otherwise provided with every comfort or luxury. For a long time after, the people of Cordova talked of nothing else than the rejoicings of that day, and the glorious manifestation of Islám. The orators and poets, who were present at the ceremony, failed not, as was the custom on such occasions, to deliver extempore speeches or poems allusive to the scene they had witnessed; but as it would take us far from our subject to quote any of those compositions here, we shall omit them for brevity sake.[21]

In the mean while his cousin Sancho, the son of Ramiro, seeing the tempest gather over his head, sent a message to the Khalif, in his own name as well as in that of the counts and bishops of Galicia and Zamora, offering his submission, and imploring him to accept of it, and to continue to him the favours and protection which his father, An-násir, had dispensed to them. Upon which Al-hakem consented to grant his request, on condition that he would demolish all the fortresses

and castles on the frontiers of his dominions and close upon the Moslem territory; [which was done.]

Arrival of ambassadors from Catalonia;

Some time after this, the kings[22] of Barcelona, Tarragona, and other cities, solicited a renewal of the treaty of peace, as it existed before, sending as presents twenty Sclavonian eunuchs,[23] twenty *kintars* of sable-skins, five *kintars* of martens' fur, ten suits of Sclavonian armour, one hundred Frankish swords, and other articles, which the Khalif accepted, granting their request on condition of their dismantling all the fortresses in the vicinity of the Moslem frontier, from which marauding parties usually started,—of their lending no assistance to the people of their faith in their wars with the Mohammedans,—and lastly, of their endeavouring to deter other Christian nations from joining their forces against the Moslems.

and from Navarre.

Then came ambassadors from Garcia, the son of Sancho, King of the Basques (Garcia of Navarre), with a number of bishops and counts of that country, to solicit peace; which was likewise granted, notwithstanding the procrastination and deceit which that monarch had lately manifested; upon which they all returned to their country rejoiced and satisfied.

The Countess of Castile arrives at court.

The mother of Count Ludherik Ibn Beláshk (Rodrigo Velasquez) went also to the court of Al-hakem. This Ludherik was a powerful chieftain, whose states bordered[24] upon Galicia. Having first dispatched the great officers of his court to meet the Christian princess, the Khalif received her in state, granted the peace she requested on behalf of her son, and gave her a large sum of money to be distributed among her attendants, besides a rich present for herself. The day of her entrance into Cordova was a day of festival, great crowds of people flocking to witness the imposing sight. She came mounted on a swift mule, the saddle and bit of which were richly ornamented with gold, and the covering made of silk cloth, also embroidered with gold. The audience being over, the princess bade farewell to return to her country; but before her departure [for Castile] she had another audience of the Khalif, who received her as graciously as before, and made her suitable presents for her journey.

Transactions in Africa.

After the death of Abú-l-'aysh, the Idrísite, who, as before related, was killed in an encounter with the Christians of Andalus, his brother, Al-hasan Ibn Kanún, whom he had appointed to govern during his absence, succeeded him in the kingdom.[25] Al-hasan persevered in his allegiance to the Bení Umeyyah, and caused the *khotbah* to be said in their name in all the mosques of his dominions. Subsequently to this, Balkín Ibn Zeyrí Ibn Menád As-sanhájí, a Berber chieftain residing in Eastern Africa, who had embraced the religious opinions of the 'Obeydites, invaded also Western Africa, and completed the work begun by Jauhar,

by putting an end in that country to the rule of the Bení Umeyyah. This state of things continued until Mu'izz Ibn Ismá'il, the Fátimite,[26] having heard that the power of the Cordovan Khalifate was daily waxing stronger, decided upon sending into Western Africa his general, Jauhar, to stop the progress of their arms. Ya'la Ibn Mohammed Al-yeferení, chief of the tribe of Yeferen, whom An-násir had put in command of Tangiers, went out to meet the Shiite general, but was defeated and slain. Jauhar then laid siege to Fez, which he reduced, putting to death the governor appointed by An-násir, after which he returned to Eastern Africa. When this disastrous news reached Cordova, all good Moslems were greatly afflicted; for the appearance in the neighbouring country of a power so hostile to the principles of the *Sunnah* or traditional law could not but deeply concern all those who wished for the glorious manifestation of Islám in its full purity. Accordingly, in the year 362 (Oct. 11, A.D. 972), Al-hakem sent his *mauli*, Ghálib, to Africa, at the head of considerable forces, with instructions not to return to Andalus until he had completely exterminated all his enemies. Ghálib's first step was to invest the impregnable fortress of Hajaru-n-nasr,[27] wherein Al-hasan Ibn Kanún had shut himself up with his women and his treasures. Having reduced it, and taken Al-hasan prisoner, Ghálib proceeded to Fez, which he entered without opposition, re-establishing in that capital, as well as in all Western Africa, the supremacy of the Bení Umeyyah. After this, Ghálib prepared to return with his royal captive to Cordova. Having left Fez about the end of Ramadhán, 363 (June, A.D. 974), he proceeded to Ceuta, where he embarked with all his suite. On his landing at Algesiras he dispatched a messenger to Al-hakem, informing him of the victories he had gained, and of the princes of the house of 'Alí who came [like so many prisoners] with him. Al-hakem had no sooner heard the message than he issued orders that all the civil functionaries of his court, all the Kádís and theologians, accompanied by their respective *tabakát* (classes of students), and strong detachments from every division of the army, should go out to receive and greet the victor. The Khalif himself went out some distance from the capital, attended by his courtiers, the principal officers of his household, and his Sclavonian guard, mounted on milk-white steeds richly caparisoned and covered with glittering mail. "The spectacle was truly grand and imposing," says that most judicious and entertaining of all historians, Ibnu Hayyán; "Ghálib "rode a beautiful chestnut horse; he was armed *cap-à-pié* in a suit of steel armour "inlaid with pure gold. At his right was Al-hasan Ibn Kanún, who had no "sooner perceived Al-hakem in the distance, than he dismounted and proceeded "on foot to kiss the hand of the Khalif, who received him most graciously, and "pardoned him his offences, as well as those of the other [prisoners] who came

" with him, whose number was very considerable, and distributed suitable presents " among them."

Settlers in Andalus under this reign.

We have already mentioned the arrival, under his father's reign, of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, the author of the *Kitábu-l-amálí* (the book of dictations), who came from Baghdád, and who, being welcomed and distinguished by An-násir, settled in Cordova, and imparted his immense learning to the people of Andalus. He became also a favourite of Al-hakem, who failed not to profit by his instruction. Al-kálí, however, was not the only person of eminence who left the East to settle in the dominions of Al-hakem; for the fame of his repeated successes both in Africa and in Andalus, of his liberality to the learned, and of the tranquillity which prevailed in the territories subject to Islám owing to his wise measures and to his zeal for the administration of justice, induced numbers of illustrious Moslems to repair to Andalus. We shall here mention a few.

Abú Bekr Al-azrak, a descendant of Moslemah, son of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán: having left Cairo, his native city, for Africa in the year 343 (beginning May 4, A. D. 954), he arrived at Cairwán, where the Shiites were then all-powerful; but as he refused to embrace the cause of those sectarians, he was persecuted and confined in a dungeon at Mehediyyah. He was afterwards released, and crossed over to Andalus in 349 (March 2, 960), and arrived in Cordova, where he settled, and was [afterwards][28] kindly treated by Al-hakem. Abú Bekr was a learned and virtuous man. He was born in 329 at Cairo; he died at Cordova in the month of Dhí-l-k'adah of the year 385 (Dec. A. D. 995).

Thafar Al-baghdádí, the chief of the scribes of his time, came from Baghdád, and settled in Cordova. He was one of the many excellent scribes who lived in that capital about the same time, and whom Al-hakem kept in his pay, as Al-'abbás Ibn 'Omar As-sikilí (from Sicily), Yúsuf Al-bolúttí,[29] and their disciples. Being one of the best for correctness and beauty of hand-writing, soon after his arrival in Cordova the Khalif took him into his service, and employed him in transcribing books, of which duty he acquitted himself in a most admirable manner.

Ismá'il Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alí Al-korayshí, a descendant of 'Abd Ibn Zam'ah, the brother of Sawádah, the mother of the believers and wife of the Prophet. (May the favours of God be on her!) On the occupation of Egypt by the 'Obeydites, he left Cairo, his native city, and went to Western Africa, whence he crossed over to Andalus, and settled at Seville. He became celebrated for his works on various subjects.

Al-hakem's love of science.

The Khalif Al-hakem surpassed every one of his predecessors in love of literature and the sciences, which he himself cultivated with success and fostered in his

dominions; indeed he is well known to have converted Andalus into a great market whereto the literary productions of every clime were immediately brought for sale. He would besides employ merchants and agents to collect books for him in distant countries; to which end he would remit to them large sums of money from his treasury, until the number of books thus conveyed to Andalus exceeded all calculation. He would likewise send presents of money to celebrated authors in the East, with a view to encourage the publication of works, or to obtain the first copies of them. In this manner, knowing that Abú-l-faraj, of Ispahán, who belonged to the [royal] family of Umeyyah, had written a work entitled *Kitábu-l-aghání* (the book of songs), he sent him one thousand dinárs of pure gold; upon which the author forwarded him a copy of his work, even before it had appeared in 'Irák.[30] He did the same thing with Abú Bekr Al-abharí Al-málekí, who published a commentary on the *Mokhtassar*[31] of Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem; and with other illustrious authors of his days. Al-hakem, moreover, collected round him and employed in his own palace the most skilful men of his time in the art of transcribing, binding, or illuminating books; and such literary treasures were amassed in Andalus as no sovereign ever possessed before or after him, if we except the library which is said to have been collected by [the Sultán] An-násir, son of Al-mustadhí-billah,[32] of the house of 'Abbás. This immense collection of books remained in the palace of Cordova, until, during the siege of that capital by the Berbers, the Hájib Wádheh, who was a freedman of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, ordered them to be sold, the remainder being shortly after plundered and destroyed on the taking of that city by the Berbers. So far Ibnu Khaldún, whose narrative we have abridged; but in order to give an idea of the number of books collected by Al-hakem we shall here transcribe the words of Ibnu-l-abbár in his *Tekmílah* (complement): "Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm says, I was told by Talíd, the eunuch, "who was the keeper of the library and repository of the sciences in the palace of "the Bení Merwán, that the catalogue only of the books consisted of forty-four "volumes, each volume having twenty sheets of paper, which contained nothing "else but the titles and descriptions of the books."[33]

His passion for books.

Another historian, after transcribing the above passage, says, "Al-hakem was "the most virtuous and liberal of men; and he treated all those who came to "his court with the utmost kindness. He amassed such a collection of books "that it is impossible to estimate even approximatively either their value or their "number, some writers stating that they amounted to four hundred thousand "volumes; and that when they were removed [from the palace] six months were "expended in the operation. Al-hakem was a man of irreproachable conduct; "he was learned, and had a quick understanding: his tutors in the various sciences

Library founded by him.

" were, Kásim Ibn Asbagh, Ahmed Ibn Dahim,[34] Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám " Al-khoshaní, Zakariyyá Ibn Khattáb, and Thábit Ibn Kásim. The latter gave " him permission to cite him [in his writings]; and Al-hakem did so, as well " as a great number [of other doctors]. He caused works on all subjects to be " conveyed to Cordova from every country, however remote, lavishing his treasures " in the acquisition of them, until the number of books thus collected was such " that they could no longer be contained in his libraries. He was, moreover, so " fond of reading, that he preferred the pleasure of perusing his books to all the " enjoyments which royalty can afford; by which means he considerably increased " his learning, doubled his information, and improved his taste. In the knowledge " of history, biography, and genealogy, he was surpassed by no living author of " his days. He wrote a voluminous history of Andalus, filled with precious " information; and so sound was the criticism which he displayed in it, that " whatever he related [as borrowed from more ancient sources] might be con- " fidently believed to be a fact."

" To give an idea of Al-hakem's immense erudition," says the historian Ibnu-l-abbár, " it will only be necessary to record here a well-ascertained fact—though, " strange to say, neither Ibnu-l-faradhí nor Ibn Bashkúwál have mentioned it in " their works—namely: that not one book was to be found in Al-hakem's library, " whatever might be its contents, which the Khalif had not perused, writing on " the fly-leaf, the name, surname, and patronymic of the author; that of the " tribe or family to which he belonged; the year of his birth and death; after " which followed such interesting anecdotes about the author or his work as " through his immense reading he had derived from other writers."

Notice of literary men living at his court.

We shall conclude our account of Al-hakem by mentioning a few only of the most eminent authors who flourished under this reign, and who contributed by their works to diffuse the rays of science throughout Andalus.

Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún Al-'odhrí, the celebrated physician, was one of the most eminent men of Al-hakem's court. In order to improve his learning in medicine and botany, in both of which sciences he was already very proficient,[35] he travelled to Egypt, where he obtained for some time the direction of an hospital. He then returned to Andalus, and was greatly distinguished by Al-hakem, who appointed him his chief physician.

Ibn Mufarraj [Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed]. This was a learned theologian, who wrote for the use of the Khalif several treatises on the legal decisions of Az-zahrí [Mohammed Ibn Moslem] and on those of Al-basrí [Abú Sa'íd Al-hasan Ibn Yesár]. The poet Ibn Mughíth[36] made likewise for the Khalif's own library a collection of the verses of the Bení Umeyyah, similar in size and design to that

which As-súlí had previously made of those of the Bení 'Abbás. Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf At-táríkhí, better known by his surname of Al-warrák (the paper-merchant), wrote by the command of Al-hakem several works on the history and topography of Africa.[37] 'Isa Ibn Mohammed Abú-l-asbagh became celebrated for his excellent history of Elvira and the lives of eminent men, natives thereof. Abú 'Amru Ahmed Ibn Faraj,[38] a native of Jaen, compiled from the most authentic sources a voluminous history of Andalus, dwelling principally on the commendable deeds of the Sultáns of the house of Merwán (the Bení Umeyyah); and lastly, Ya'ísh Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Mohammed Abú 'Othmán,[39] who had been a disciple of the celebrated Kásim Ibn Asbagh, of Baena, was also the author of a general history of Andalus. Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Hishám Al-makúwí, Yúsuf Ibn Hárún Ar-rámedí, Abú-l-walíd Yúnas Al-bathaliósí, Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Ibráhím Al-hamdání, were all distinguished poets of Al-hakem's court, and enjoyed the favour of that Khalif. Mohammed Az-zubeydí, the author of the celebrated *Kitábu-l-'ayn*, one of the best Arabic dictionaries that exist, whom Al-hakem appointed preceptor to his son Hishám; Ibnu-s-síd, who wrote a valuable treatise on the language, besides another work on the same subject in the form of a dialogue, consisting of upwards of one hundred volumes; Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, who, besides his historical cyclopædia, entitled *Al-'ikd* (the necklace), composed many excellent works which are to this day the delight of the lovers of literature; and several other authors of note, whose names we omit for the sake of brevity, flourished under this reign.

Character of Al-hakem.

Al-hakem was a just and enlightened ruler; he attended public worship every Friday, and distributed alms to the poor. Being himself very strict in the observance of religious duties, he caused all the precepts of the *Sunnah* to be enforced throughout his dominions. Perceiving that the use of wine and other spirituous liquors forbidden by law had become quite common in Andalus, owing to the tolerance or negligence of former Sultáns, he ordered that all the vines in his dominions should be rooted up; but upon being told by one of his wisest counsellors that many poor people would be ruined in consequence of the measure, and that, moreover, if the people were inclined to sin they might import wine from the Christian countries, or make it themselves with figs and other fruits possessing inebriating qualities, he recalled the order, although he directed the Kádís and other public officers to inflict summary punishment on all those who were convicted of dealing in spirituous liquors, or of having used them at weddings and other festivities. In taste for building he was surpassed by none of his predecessors, if we except perhaps his father An-násir. His addition to the great mosque of Cordova—in which he is reported to have spent no less than one hundred and

sixty-one thousand dinárs out of his own share in the spoil taken from the infidels of Andalus—would of itself be a deed highly meritorious in the eyes of his God and Creator. He lavished, besides, countless treasures in the construction of mosques, houses of reception for the poor, hospitals for the sick, and colleges for the youth; and he ornamented his capital, as well as other large cities in his dominions, with baths, inns, markets, fountains, and other works of public utility.

His forbearance in the exercise of power, and his extreme attention towards learned or pious people, has become proverbial, and we shall give a remarkable instance of it in the words of an author named Abú-l-kásim Ibn Mufarraj. "I was "of a contrary opinion to that followed by the Faquih Abú Ibráhím on several "points of law and traditions, and yet I was in the habit of attending the lectures "which he delivered on those sciences at a mosque close to his house, of which "he was Imám. The mosque was called the mosque of Abú 'Othmán, and it "stood to the north-west of the royal palace; the hour was between the two "prayers of noon and sun-set, and the concourse of Talbes [students] and others "on that day happened to be greater than usual. We were all listening in silence "to what Abú Ibráhím had to say, when behold! in came one of the eunuchs "of the palace belonging to the class of the letter-bearers, who brought a message "from the Khalif Al-hakem. On entering the mosque the eunuch stooped, saluted "Abú Ibráhím, and addressed him thus: 'O Faquih! the Commander of the "Faithful (may God prolong his life!) wishes to see thee, and he is waiting for "thee; so make haste: make haste; quick, quick!'—'I hear the Sultán's order,' "said Abú Ibráhím, 'and would willingly obey it, were it not that I am prevented "and cannot [at present] use speed. Go back to thy master and mine, (may "God pour his favours on him!) and tell him how thou hast found me in one "of the houses of God, (may his name be exalted!) surrounded by a number of "students, to whom I am recounting traditions respecting his uncle (the Prophet). "Tell him that these students are attentively listening to my words and profiting "by my lesson, and that it behoves me not to interrupt the subject upon which "I am lecturing to them until the sitting be at an end and the hour come for "my dismissing them. Tell him that this consideration only prevents me from "repairing immediately to his presence, and that the very moment that I feel "free from this assembly of people who are here retained by the bonds of the "Almighty and are trying to obtain his grace, I will go to him in person, if God be "pleased.' Having spoken thus, Abú Ibráhím resumed his lecture, and the eunuch "went away not a little astonished at the answer he had received, and greatly "concerned about the time he had spent in the delivery of his message. Having, "however, communicated to Al-hakem the answer made by Abú Ibráhím, the

" eunuch returned shortly after to the mosque in all haste, and said, ' O Faquih! " I have faithfully reported thy answer to the Commander of the Faithful, and " he has directed me to say that he hopes God will reward thee for the good " thou art doing to religion, and to the Moslems who are profiting by thy lessons; " and that when thou hast put an end to thy lecture, thou art to go to him straight. " I have been commanded to stay here until thou hast done, in order to conduct " thee to his presence.' Abú Ibráhím replied, ' Very well—only that I am too " weak and too old to walk to the *Bábu-s-suddah,* and moreover it is very painful " for me to ride, owing to my advanced age, which has considerably weakened " all my limbs. *Bábu-s-sanâ'ah* (the gate of the fabric), which is the nearest " gate of the royal palace from here, is shut. If the Commander of the Faithful " will condescend to have it opened, in that case I may easily walk to his palace " without any injury to my person. I therefore desire thee to return to the Sultán " and acquaint him with this my determination, in order that I may hear his " pleasure and act accordingly. Go! I see thou art a steady, well-meaning youth, " and I wish thee all sorts of prosperity.' The eunuch took his departure, and " returned some time after, saying, ' O Faquih! the Commander of the Faithful " has granted thy request, and ordered the *Bábu-s-sanâ'ah* to be opened for thy " reception; he himself is waiting for thee close to it, and through it I left the " palace to come here. My instructions this time are to remain by thee, until " thou hast finished thy present occupation, and to remind thee of the object of " my visit.'—' I will do so shortly,' was Abú Ibráhím's reply. The eunuch then sat " down, and waited until Abú Ibráhím had finished his lecture, and had expounded " according to his daily practice without suppressing one sentence. The lecture " being over, Abú Ibráhím got up and went to his dwelling, where he washed and " dressed; after which he repaired to the presence of Al-hakem, entered the palace " by the gate of Saná'ah, dispatched the business for which he had been called, " and went out by the same gate, which was immediately locked after his " departure."

Abú-l-kásim Ibn Mufarraj continues: " I happened that very evening, after " quitting the mosque in which Abú Ibráhím had been lecturing, to pass by the " gate of Saná'ah, which by the order of the Khalif was continually kept shut, " and, to my great astonishment, I found it wide open, as the eunuch had stated, " and filled with servants and porters bustling and moving to and fro under " the gate-way, and expecting the arrival of Abú Ibráhím. Great was my surprise " when I witnessed such a scene, and for a long time after I spoke of nothing " else [to my friends] than of what I had seen." So far Ibn Mufarraj, whose anecdote we have introduced here to show the reader how the Sultáns and the

learned of those times behaved towards each other. (May God bless their souls!)

Death of Al-hakem.

Al-hakem died on the second day of Safar, A.H. 366 (Sept. 29, A.D. 976), at the age of sixty-three,[40] and after a reign of upwards of fifteen years. He was born in the year 303 (beginning July 16, A.D. 915); his mother's name was Marján. He left no other male children except Hishám, whom he designated for his successor some time before he died. We have already stated that he used the appellative Abú-l-'ássin, and that on his accession to the throne he assumed the pious surname of Al-mustanser-billah (he who implores the assistance of God).

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Hishám II.—Conspiracy in favour of his uncle Al-mugheyrah detected—Execution of Al-mugheyrah—Origin of Al-mansúr—Administration of Ja'far Al-mus'hafí—Intrigues of Al-mansúr—His alliance with Ghálib—who is appointed Hájib—Al-mus'hafí falls into disgrace—Is imprisoned and put to death—Al-mansúr's disagreement with Ghálib—Death of that chief—Al-mansúr seizes the treasures of Hishám—Takes Berbers into his pay—Builds himself a castle—Usurps the royal power—Campaigns of Al-mansúr against the Christians of Andalus—Destruction of Leon—Transactions in Africa—Taking of Barcelona—Zeyrí Ibn Menád sends an embassy to Cordova—Visits that capital—Returns to Africa—Quarrels with Al-mansúr—Is forcibly dispossessed of his government—Dies in exile—Campaigns in Andalus—Invasion of Galicia—March of the Mohammedan army—Taking and destruction of Santiago—Death of Al-mansúr.

On the death of Al-hakem, his son Hishám, surnamed *Al-muyyed-billah* (the assisted by God), who was only nine years old at the time,[1] succeeded to the throne. A man, however, named Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, whom Al-hakem had promoted from the rank of Kádí to that of Wizír to his son,[2] succeeded by his intrigues in usurping all the authority of the state, and reigning, as it were, in his name. Accession of Hishám II.

According to Ibnu Khaldún, Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir rose in favour with Al-hakem. When that Khalif died and was succeeded by his youthful son Hishám, it was Mohammed who accepted and fulfilled the commission of putting to death Al-mugheyrah, the brother of Al-hakem, who aspired to the throne. This Al-mugheyrah, who was the son of the Khalif An-násir, was at the head of a considerable party in Cordova, who preferred him to his nephew Hishám on account of his more mature age and greater experience in affairs of government; but with the assistance of Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí, who had been Al-hakem's Hájib (chamberlain), of Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, and of the Sclavonian eunuchs of the palace, whose chiefs at the time were Fáyik and Júdhar,[3] Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mír surprised Al-mugheyrah in his dwelling and put him to death two days after the death of Al-hakem, when Hishám was proclaimed without opposition. This being done, Ibn Abí 'A'mir formed the design of seizing

the person of Hishám and usurping his authority. To this end he began to plot against the great officers of the state, and to raise dissensions among them, setting them against each other, and employing one to kill the other. As he himself belonged to one of the tribes of Yemen, that of Ma'áfer, being the descendant of one 'Abdu-l-malek, who entered Andalus with Tárik and took a prominent part in the conquest of that country, he had no difficulty at all in attaching to his interests the chiefs of the Yemenite faction, which was then all-powerful. Through their means he rose gradually into importance and became completely the master of Hishám; he forbade the Wizírs to approach the person of their sovereign except on particular days, when they were allowed merely to salute him and then depart. He moreover lavished his gifts on the army, honoured and exalted the learned, and destroyed all those who opposed him. He was wise, provident, brave, had great military talents, and unparalleled zeal for religion. All those functionaries of the state who opposed him and resisted his authority, he destroyed one by one, either by depriving them of the offices they held, or by making them slay each other. All this he did under Hishám's own signature and by his orders; and he contrived so well, that within a short time after his elevation he rid himself in some way or other of all those who stood in his way. His first attacks were directed against the Sclavonian eunuchs of the palace, who formed part of the Khalif's body-guard. Having instigated the Hájib Al-mus'hafí against them, this functionary expelled them all from the palace, although their number exceeded eight hundred. He then contracted an alliance with Ghálib, the *mauli* of the Khalif Al-hakem, whose daughter he married, and by courting his friendship and showing great obsequiousness towards him, he succeeded in obtaining his assistance against Al-mus'hafí, whose influence in the state he ultimately destroyed. Against Ghálib he employed Ja'far Ibn Alí Ibn Hamdún, Lord of Masílah, and general of the Shiites [of Africa], who had a considerable body of Berbers and Zenátah at his command, the same individual who had opposed the authority of Al-hakem at the beginning of that Khalif's reign.[4] Ja'far he slew with the assistance of 'Abdu-l-wadúd Ibn Jeh'war Ibn Dhí-n-nún, and other grandees of the state, who were the chiefs of the Arabian party.

Conspiracy in favour of his uncle Al-mugheyrah detected.

Ibn Bessám, copying Ibnu Hayyán, says, "When the Khalifate of the Bení "Merwán in Andalus came to Al-hakem, the ninth Imám of that family, an event "took place which produced the most serious consequences. Among other virtues "Al-hakem possessed that of paternal love in such a degree that it blinded his "prudence and induced him to appoint a son of his, who was then a child, to "be his successor, in preference to any of his brothers or nephews, all men of "mature age, well versed in the management of affairs and in the command of

" the armies, capable of making their mandates obeyed, and of maintaining " themselves in power.

" It has been observed," continues Ibn Bessám, " that the empire of the Bení " Umeyyah was never so prosperous nor so durable as when the sons succeeded " the fathers; for when it descended to the brothers,[5] and they inherited it one " from another, it declined and showed visible symptoms of decay. Perhaps Al- " hakem foresaw this, and wished to avoid the troubles that might arise, and he " accordingly designated his son Hishám for his successor. However this may be, " no sooner had Al-hakem breathed his last, than two of his Sclavonian eunuchs, " named Fáyik and Júdhar, foreseeing the troubles and calamities that might arise " from such a measure, conceived the idea of having his brother, Al-mugheyrah, " raised to the throne instead of the youthful Hishám. 'Methinks,' said Fáyik " one day to Júdhar, 'we shall never be able to carry our plans into execution " as long as Ja'far Al-mus'hafí lives; he must die.'—'And are we to begin our " undertaking,' answered Júdhar, 'by assassinating an old man, who is our master " and our protector?'—'By Allah! I see no other way,' replied Fáyik. They " then sent a message to Ja'far, to announce to him the death of Al-hakem, and " at the same time to communicate to him their plans respecting Al-mugheyrah, " requesting him to give his opinion and advice on the subject. Al-mus'hafí's " answer was thus conceived: 'It is for you two to act, and for me to follow; your " offices as master of the household and governor of the palaces give you respec- " tively great authority.' Upon which the two eunuchs agreed to carry their project " into execution. Al-mus'hafí, however, left the palace, and, having assembled the " troops and their officers, announced to them the death of Al-hakem, and informed " them of the plans of Fáyik and Júdhar to place Al-mugheyrah on the vacant " throne, to the prejudice of Hishám, the appointed heir. 'If we remain faithful to " our master's son,' said Al-mus'hafí to them, 'the empire is in our hands; if, on " the contrary, we consent to have another sovereign, we shall lose all power and " authority in the state.' The soldiers answered unanimously, 'Thy opinion is also " ours.' Al-mus'hafí then hastened to dispatch Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir with " a body of troops to the residence of Al-mugheyrah, with instructions to put " him to death. Ibn Abí 'A'mir found Al-mugheyrah in complete ignorance of " what had occurred; he told him of his brother's death, and how his nephew, " Hishám, had been seated on the vacant throne. At the receipt of this intel- " ligence, Al-mugheyrah was thunderstruck; but soon after recovering, he said, " 'I hear and obey the orders [of my new master].' Not knowing how to act, " Ibn Abí 'A'mir sent a written message to Al-mus'hafí, acquainting him with " what had occurred, and asking for further instructions. The answer was,

Execution of Al-mugheyrah.

" 'Seize him, and put him to death; if thou do not like the commission, I will " send another to execute it.' Al-mugheyrah was accordingly strangled."

Origin of Al-mansúr.

The man who executed this sentence, and who was destined to render Islám triumphant, was the son of 'Abdullah, son of 'A'mir, son of Abú 'A'mir, son of Al-walíd, son of Yezíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek Al-ma'áferí;[6] that is to say, of the tribe of Ma'áfer, a branch of Himyar. Mohammed was born in A. H. 327, (A. D. 939). His mother's name was Boreyhah, and she was the daughter of Yahya Ibn Zakariyyá Ibn Bartal At-temímí. All those writers who have treated of him, such as Ibnu Hayyán, in the history he wrote of the 'A'mirite dynasty,[7]—Al-fath, in his *Mattmah*,—Al-hijárí, in his *Mas'hab*,—and Ash-shekundí, in his *At-taraf*,—agree that Al-mansúr was originally from a town called Toresh [Torres ?], in the neighbourhood of Algesiras. His ancestor, 'Abdu-l-malek, was one of those noble Arabs who entered Andalus at the same time with Tárik Ibn Zeyád. His father, 'Abdullah, surnamed Abú Hafss, was born at Algesiras, but removed when young to Cordova, where he learned [sacred] traditions from Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lubábah, Ahmed Ibn Kháled, Mohammed Ibn Foteys,[8] and other eminent theologians of his time; composing also various works on the subject. 'Abdullah left Andalus for the East, where he fulfilled all the duties of a pilgrim. He was an honest and virtuous man, very religious, and he led a very austere life, keeping aloof from kings and great men. He died in Africa as he was returning from his pilgrimage; some say at Tripoli, others at a place called Arkádah.[9] The year of his death is not stated, but it is generally believed that he died towards the close of An-násir's reign.

When still young, Al-mansúr travelled to Cordova, where he studied and settled. Having established a shop or office close to the gate of the royal palace, he for some time earned his livelihood by writing letters or petitions for such among the servants of the royal household as stood in need of them. At last, one of the Sultan's wives, named Sobha,[10] who was the mother of Hishám, happening to want a confidential secretary, one of the eunuchs of the palace, who was an intimate friend of Al-mansúr, recommended him to that princess, who at first employed him in writing several things she wanted, and afterwards appointed him her secretary. Being a shrewd and intelligent man, Al-mansúr had no difficulty in gaining the favour of the princess, who introduced him to her husband, the Sultán Al-hakem, requesting him to confer on her protégé some lucrative appointment. Al-hakem then made him Kádí of a town; and as Al-mansúr distinguished himself in that capacity, he was shortly after promoted to the office of collector of tithes and duties upon inheritances at Seville. He then returned to Cordova, where he so contrived to gain the heart of Sobha, by the rich presents he made her, and

his attention to her service, that no man in Cordova enjoyed so much favour. His next office was that of master of the mint, which he filled for some time. An interesting anecdote has been preserved, showing his kindness and his excessive liberality even towards strangers, which happened at the time he was at the head of that establishment. Mohammed Ibn Aflah, one of Al-hakem's pages, had once occasion to go to the mint for the purpose of selling some silver ornaments which he possessed. "I had spent at my daughter's wedding," said the page to the author who preserved the anecdote, "more money than I could well afford, so "that I was actually reduced to poverty, and had nothing left save a bit and bridle "ornamented [with silver],[11] which I took to the mint, in order to obtain its value "in money. Being introduced to Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who was at that "time master of the mint, and whom I found sitting behind piles of coined "dirhems, I made known to him my errand, and told him how I had been reduced "to poverty by my daughter's wedding. Having listened attentively to my "account, he seemed greatly rejoiced; and having weighed bridle, iron, leather, "and all, he gave me the weight in dirhems, with which he filled my cap. I "could hardly believe my senses: such a trait of generosity on the part of "Mohammed towards a stranger, whom he had never seen, so far captivated "my heart, that had he then asked me to enter into a conspiracy to deprive "my master Al-hakem of the throne, by Allah! I really think I should have "accepted his proposition. I need not add, that, upon counting down the money, "I found there was enough to pay my daughter's dowry; which I did, and had "besides a large sum left for my own private use."

It was also during his occupation of that office that Al-mansúr caused a palace of silver to be wrought, which he presented to Sobha. It was carried to the dwelling of that princess on the heads of several men; and she was so pleased with the present that from that day forward she became his patron, and that she again introduced him to the presence of her lord and master, Al-hakem, who spoke to his courtiers about it, and exclaimed, "By Allah! this youth (meaning Al-"mansúr) has won the hearts and affections of our women with his presents." It is also related that Al-hakem, who was greatly addicted to astrology and the science of divination, fancied that Ibn Abí 'A'mir (Al-mansúr) was the man mentioned in [the book of the] prophecies. He used to say to those among his courtiers who followed the same pursuits, "Do you not observe the tawny colour of his "hands?" On another occasion he said, "If he has a sabre-cut on the head, he "is doubtless the man announced." And so it was; for God Almighty decreed that some time after the death of Al-hakem, Al-mansúr should receive some such wound in a scuffle with Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, as we shall hereafter

relate. This conversation passed in Al-hakem's lifetime, and before Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir had reached the summit of eminence at which he afterwards arrived. Al-mansúr in the mean time did not neglect to make himself agreeable to the Hájib Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí, whose protection and good-will he also secured.

On the death of Al-hakem, his son Hishám Al-muyyed, who was then twelve years old, succeeded him. The Rúm (Christians) having collected their forces, and made some hostile demonstration upon the frontiers, Al-mus'háfí, who still retained the post of Hájib, sent Al-mansúr with an army against them. God Almighty permitted that the Christians should be defeated, and that Al-mansúr should return victorious from the expedition. This circumstance gained him the affections of the people; and as he was a shrewd and intelligent man, and very liberal [to those who seemed disposed to serve him], he began gradually to open for himself a path to power. To rid himself of the Sclavonian guard, he united himself with Al-mus'hafí, against whom he afterwards employed Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, whose daughter Asmá he married; the nuptial festivity being celebrated with a pomp that surpassed any thing of the sort in Andalus. He next destroyed Ghálib, by raising up against him an enemy in Ja'far, the African, the same prince in whose praise the celebrated poet, Ibn Háni,[12] composed one of his best *kassídas*. In like manner he employed against Ja'far another chieftain named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Hishám At-tojibí.[13] In short, such were his craftiness, foresight, and courage, that the historian Ibnu Hayyán has filled one volume with nothing but the enumeration of the well-planned expedients he put into practice, in order to obtain the supreme power. Such is the abstract of Al-mansúr's origin and the principal incidents of his life, as derived from the works of Ibnu Sa'íd and other historians; but what follows will, perhaps, throw greater light on the career of that celebrated usurper.

Administration of Ja'far Al-mus'hafí.

By the murder of his uncle, who was dispatched in the manner above related, Hishám saw himself firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors, and [Ja'far] Al-mus'hafí had the entire control of affairs. Ja'far began his administration by showing great zeal for the welfare of the people, as well as great humility and forbearance in the exercise of his functions. He laid aside all unnecessary pomp, and sat along with the Wizírs and other members of the council on a seat similar to theirs. These, however, may be called his only good acts; for soon after he began to distribute the offices of the state [among his friends and relatives], and to retain the public treasures for himself. Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who was in character the very reverse of Al-mus'hafí, observed a different conduct. To the avarice and exclusiveness of that Hájib he opposed the most unbounded liberality, and to his reserve and haughtiness of temper the most

agreeable and prepossessing manners, by which means he so captivated the affections of the people, that Al-mus'hafí bethought him of taking him for his partner in the administration, and appointing him to the post of Wizír. The zeal and talents with which Mohammed fulfilled the duties of his office, and his renewed attention to Sobha, the mother of Hishám, soon procured him the favour of that princess, and he accordingly rose in power and influence. By his courtly demeanour and fascinating manners, he so gained the affections of Sobha, that he became the most esteemed officer of the royal household; and an order from the Khalif Hishám came down enjoining his Hájib Al-mus'hafí to consult him upon the most arduous affairs of the government, and not to do any thing without his previous consent. In obedience to that command, Al-mus'hafí admitted Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir to his privacy, and treated him as a kind father would his own son, concealing nothing from him, and consulting him upon all business submitted to his consideration. But whilst Al-mus'hafí acted thus towards Mohammed, and relied confidently on him, the latter was secretly betraying him, and trying to destroy him in the princess's favour,[14] by always following a contrary advice, and charging him with the result of such measures as were not agreeable to the people.

Intrigues of Al-mansúr.

Mohammed persevered in this path [of intrigue and deception] until he succeeded in working the ruin of Al-mus'hafí, and opening for himself the way to exclusive power, as we shall presently relate. Certain of Al-hakem's officers[15] being an obstacle to his ambitious views, he exiled some, and put others to death, until he had scattered and dispersed them all, intrusting their offices to creatures of his own, or to people in whom he could confide. He did the same with the Sclavonian guard, which he dissolved and scattered through the country, putting to death the most influential among them, or those who appeared most obnoxious to his views. But as the events which we have just rapidly sketched have been fully related by many diligent historians of those times, we will proceed to give a few particulars from the most authentic and approved writers.

His alliance with Ghálib.

According to Ibnu Hayyán, there existed between the Hájib Al-mus'hafí and Ghálib, the governor of Medinaceli, the Sheikh of the *maulis*, and the champion of Andalus,[16] a bitter enmity and great rivalship, which caused them always to be at variance with each other. Ghálib being a very influential man, Al-mus'hafí saw his power gradually diminish and his orders continually disobeyed [by Ghálib], until having complained of him to his fellow Wizírs, he was advised to try every means of conciliation and to make his peace with him. No sooner was Al-mansúr informed of Al-mus'hafí's determination, than, fearing his reconciliation with Ghálib, he applied himself to court the friendship of the latter, with a view

to accomplish the ruin of Al-mus'hafí through his means. It happened soon after, that Ghálib went out of Cordova to take the command of the army on the frontiers, whilst Al-mansúr also left that capital upon his second expedition against the infidels. Having met together on their return from their respective campaigns, the two generals held a conference together, and pledged themselves to effect in common the ruin of Al-mus'hafí. Al-mansúr returned to Cordova victorious and laden with spoil, by which his fame spread far and wide, and his reputation as a general increased. An order then came down from the Khalif Hishám, removing Al-mus'hafí from the office of Wálí-l-medínah,[17] which he held at the time, and giving it to Al-mansúr, who was also invested with a *khil'ah* or dress of honour by his sovereign's hands; all this being done without Al-mus'hafí being previously made aware of it. By obtaining the command of the *shortah*, or police force, Al-mansúr opened for himself the gate [to power]. His next care was to put in practice all manner of stratagems against Al-mus'hafí, to isolate him [from his friends], and to curtail his influence, until he succeeded in leaving but a small share of real power in his hands. All this he accomplished with the help of Ghálib, who, as before related, had agreed to connive with him at the destruction of Al-mus'hafí.

Meanwhile Al-mansúr filled the functions of his office (Wálí-l-medínah) in so satisfactory a manner that the citizens of Cordova had no reason to regret the loss of their former governors and magistrates. The greatest tranquillity and order prevailed [through the city], and justice was speedily administered to the delinquent. He continued, moreover, to court the friendship of Ghálib, and to conciliate his favour by every means in his power. Al-mus'hafí, on the other hand, being made aware of the plans which Al-mansúr was forming for his destruction, wrote a letter to Ghálib, asking for a reconciliation, and applying, at the same time, for the hand of his daughter Asmá for his son 'Othmán. Ghálib consented, and the proposed marriage was about to be celebrated, when Al-mansúr, who happened to hear of it, stirred himself and wrote to Ghálib, cautioning him against Al-mus'hafí, reviving his envy and hatred of that personage, and telling him to guard against some treacherous act of his. He did more: he persuaded the relatives and clansmen of Ghálib to write to him on the subject, until that chieftain, yielding to their solicitations, broke off all negotiations with Al-mus'hafí, and gave Al-mansúr the hand of the very daughter [Asmá] whom he had promised to 'Othmán. This alliance was concluded in the month of Moharram of the year 367, on the night of *nauruz* (new year's day), August, A. D. 977, the marriage being celebrated with unusual pomp and magnificence: the bride was first conducted to the royal palace, where the Khalif Hishám received her in state, accompanying her after-

wards to the bridegroom's dwelling. These marks of distinction increased the power and influence of Al-mansúr, and doubled the number of his followers and adherents, until, compared with him, Ja'far became a mere cipher.

Ghálib is appointed Hájib.

After this the Sultán [Hishám] appointed Ghálib to the office of Hájib (chamberlain), conjointly with Ja'far Almus'hafí, who, despairing of ever being able to supplant his rival, gave up all resistance, and ceased to oppose him in the affairs of the administration. Al-mansúr, on the contrary, opposed him secretly, as well as in public, detaching all his partisans, and gaining them over to his party, until Ja'far was actually deserted by all his friends, and had to go alone morning and evening to the palace, enjoying none of the prerogatives and power of his office, which was merely nominal; a deserved punishment for the murder of Al-mugheyrah and his help to Hishám's accession!

Al-mus'hafí falls into disgrace.

Subsequently to this, Al-mansúr [Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir] instigated his sovereign Hishám against Al-mus'hafí, his children, relatives, friends, and every thing appertaining to them. A close account was demanded from them of all sums [belonging to the state] which had passed through their hands; and on the slightest pretext they were fined heavy sums, and reduced to poverty. By this means Al-mansúr succeeded in ruining and destroying that powerful family. A nephew of Al-mus'hafí, named Hishám, was the first to feel all the weight of his vengeance. This youth had accompanied Al-mansúr in his third expedition against the Christians; and as that general was returning to Cordova with a great number of heads stored in bags, as trophies of his victory, he stole one of the bags, and rode off to the capital, where he bethought him of presenting them to his sovereign before the arrival of his general. No sooner was Al-mansúr made aware of the fact, than he had the youth seized and confined in a dungeon, where he was afterwards put to death. As to Ja'far, he soon shared the fate of his nephew; for when Al-mansúr had ruined him and reduced him to poverty, so much so that he was compelled to sell him his house in the Rissáfah, which was one of the most magnificent residences in Cordova, he persecuted him for two consecutive years, keeping him sometimes in prison, and sometimes out of prison,—sometimes residing at court, at other times exiled,—always fined in heavy sums of money, until he annihilated him entirely and broke his spirit, when he was cast into one of the dungeons of Az-zahrá, where he ended his days, according to some authorities, from the effects of poison administered to him; and, according to others, from grief and disappointment.

Is imprisoned and put to death.

Treating of this unfortunate Wizír, the author of the historical work entitled *Raudhatu-l-azhár wa bahjatu-n-nafus wa nozhatu-l-abssár* (the flower-garden, the delight of the mind, and the recreation of the eye),[18] says, " When, in pursuance of

" Al-mansúr's orders, Al-mus'hafí was arrested and confined in one of the dungeons " of Az-zahrá, those among his friends and relatives, who had accompanied him " thither, took an affectionate leave of him, and, with tears in their eyes, gave " him the embrace of separation. 'Friends!' said Al-mus'hafí to them, 'this " is the last time that you will see me alive; for the moment is come when " a prayer must needs be fulfilled, which I have been expecting for upwards of " forty years.' His friends having expressed a wish to know what the prayer was, " Al-mus'hafí informed them how, during the reign of An-násir, he had been " instrumental in committing to prison a man, who remained long in confinement. " 'One night,' said Al-mus'hafí, 'I dreamed that I heard a voice saying to me, " Take such a one out of prison, and whatever prayer he may happen to make in " thy behalf will be attended to. I did as I was commanded, and liberated the " man. Having then made him come to my house, I acquainted him with my " dream, and asked him to form a prayer; upon which he said, I ask God that " whoever was concerned in my committal to prison may himself perish in the " narrowest dungeon! After this, friends!' added Al-mus'hafí, 'there can be " no doubt that the man's prayer is about to be fulfilled, since I was one of " those who put him in prison, although I afterwards repented of the deed when " it was too late.'"

However, Al-mus'hafí, as before related, died in prison, when his body was given up to his friends for interment; for the following anecdote has been preserved by one of the Kátibs of Al-mansúr, named Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl. "I once " accompanied Mohammed Ibn Moslemah to Az-zahrá for the purpose of delivering " the body of Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí to his friends and relatives, according " to the instructions given us by Al-mansúr. We proceeded to the apartment " of the deceased, whom we found stretched on his bed, and covered with an " old tattered cloak which one of the gaolers had thrown over him. The body " was then washed upon the back of a door, which had been torn from its hinges " from one of the rooms; after which it was carried to the burial-place, followed " by none save the Imám of the mosque, who had been engaged to recite the " funeral prayer over him, and by such among his sons as happened to be in " Cordova at the time. The sight of such a scene made me reflect upon the " inconstancy of fortune; I recollected having once seen Ja'far ride from his " own dwelling to the royal palace, followed by a numerous suite of relatives and " adherents. The streets and markets through which he passed were thronged " with people of every description, who were desirous to see him or had some " petition to present to him. I myself having a memorial to place in his hands, " made my way through the crowd, and delivered it to one of the Kátibs or

" secretaries who rode by his side. Shortly after this, Al-mansúr became the " enemy of Ja'far, had him imprisoned, and made him follow him in all his " campaigns, treating him with the greatest contempt. I happened, in one of " our expeditions to Galicia, to pitch my tent close to that of Ja'far. I recollect " very well that Al-mansúr had issued orders that no fires should be lighted " that night in the camp, for fear the enemy should discover our position, and " defeat his plans of attack; and, by Allah! I saw Ja'far with a little brazier " of charcoal, which he dexterously concealed under his clothes, blowing now " and then into it, lest the fire should go out. I saw more; I saw 'Othmán, " the son of Ja'far, carrying to his tent, and actually bending under the weight " of it, a large trough full of flour kneeded with water, the only food which he " and his father had to keep themselves from starvation. I then heard 'Othmán " repeat the following verses:

'I strove in vain for a change of my fortune; I saw it return as often 'and faithfully as the free maiden to the appointed meeting.

'By Allah! the days roll on, but I cease not to be tormented by the 'agonizing thought of my evil fate.

'Days [these are] which invariably bring round a succession of calamities, 'and from which all happiness and joy have taken their departure:

'Nights, the wearisome hours of which no pastime beguiles; and in which 'my misfortune itself sees nothing [pleasant] to be angry at.

'But what are days but clouds, which pour down their contents sometimes 'to benefit and sometimes to injure the earth?' "[19]

Thus died Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí: as to Ghálib An-násirí,[20] he soon shared a similar fate. Having accompanied Al-mansúr in one of his campaigns, both generals happened to ascend to the top of a castle for the purpose of reconnoitring the neighbouring country. A dispute having arisen between Al-mansúr and Ghálib [as to the best plan to be adopted], the latter grew exceedingly angry, and said to Al-mansúr, "Thou dog! it was thou who spoiledst the monarchy " and dismantledst the fortresses [on the enemy's frontier], with a view to the " usurpation of the royal power." He then drew his sword and attacked Al-mansúr, whom he wounded on the head; and he would undoubtedly have killed him, had not some officers, who were present, prevented him by seizing his arm. Fearing lest he might renew the attack upon his person, Ibn Abí 'A'mir precipitated himself from the top of the ramparts; but God permitted that he should find something in the air which broke his fall, and prevented his destruction. His followers then took him up and conveyed him to his tent, where they took care of him until he was entirely recovered. Ghálib, moreover, went over to

Al-mansúr's disagreement with Ghálib.

the Christians, and made common cause with them; upon which Ibn Abí 'A'mir, at the head of the Moslem forces, attacked and routed him, until destiny permitted that Ghálib should die, and that Ibn Abí 'A'mir should obtain by his death that for which he had been toiling. Thus did Al-mansúr rid himself of all those who proved an obstacle to his ambition.

Death of that chief.

Some time after these events, some coolness was visible in the relations between Hishám and Al-mansúr, owing to the calumnies of ill-intentioned people. Being aware that the mischief could proceed from no other than the servants of the palace, Al-mansúr directed his attacks to that quarter, and he scattered them, or ruined them, leaving none in place except those in whom he could trust, or those from whom he had nothing to fear. He then learned that some of the women of the harem had secretly laid their hands on the treasures of the Khalif, which were always kept within the palace; he ascertained that Sídah (the queen mother) Sobha, the sister of Ráyik,[21] whose feelings towards him were changed, had taken large sums of money out of the royal coffers, having upon one single occasion abstracted no less than one hundred sealed jars containing gold and silver, which by her commands had been removed on the shoulders of the Sclavonian servants, after substituting in their room one hundred others, filled with drugs and other things, taken from the palace of the Khalifs, causing labels to be fixed to them similar to those on the jars which had been removed: she then managed to deceive the city governor, so that she was enabled to take the greater part of her plunder out of Cordova unobserved. The amount of money in gold and silver thus taken out of the royal treasury is said to have been eighty thousand dinárs. Ibn Abí 'A'mir having become informed of all these particulars, summoned to his presence a number of the household, and informed them how the Khalif Hishám, by his natural disposition, was averse to the hoarding of treasures, and that he was besides very much given to devotion, and that should the coffers of the state be drained [through his want of care], great detriment to the public cause would ensue: he therefore advised them to transfer the said treasures to a place of safety where they might be kept; and they were accordingly removed to a strong castle, called Az-záhirah, which Ibn Abí 'A'mir had caused to be built at some distance from Cordova. Five millions and seven hundred thousand dinárs in specie is said to have been the amount of treasure which was taken from the royal palace on this occasion. Sobha, too, was obliged to restore all the sums which she had taken from the treasury and had not yet removed from the palace. Ibn Abí 'A'mir became as intimate as ever with the Khalif Hishám, and made himself known to him for his virtue and his zeal in upholding the foundations of the state; the tongue of envy became dumb, and the plans of the malevolent were defeated.

Seizes the treasures of Hishám.

Having in this manner rid himself of all those who stood near the throne or from whom he might apprehend opposition in the government, Al-mansúr turned his attention towards the army, which he began to remodel so as to place it entirely at his own disposal. For this end he sent people to Africa, to enlist a number of Berbers and Zenátah, whom he divided into companies, the command of which he gave to African chiefs of the tribes of Senhájah, Maghráwah, Bení Yeferen, Bení Birzál, Meknésah, and others. This being done, he seized the person of Hishám and concealed him from the sight [of his subjects]: he then usurped all the authority in the state, and from his private dwelling in Cordova he filled the world with the greatness of the Khalifate and the reverential awe which it inspires, having his absolute will in all things; declaring and carrying on war against the infidels and others, and enjoying all those prerogatives which appertain only to royalty. In order the better to strengthen himself in the position which he had taken, he removed the Arabs from all posts of honour and distinction, and advanced the Berbers, the Zenátah, and others, whom he had invited from Africa. In this manner he accomplished his purpose, usurping the sovereignty, and ruling with absolute sway. He moreover built himself a strong castle and a palace to reside in, which he named Medínat Az-záhirah,[22] into which he conveyed all the treasures and military stores [of the state], and where he sat, as above related, on the throne of the kings, and caused himself to be addressed in royal style, assuming the titles of Al-hájib and Al-mansúr (the chamberlain, the victorious). All letters, proclamations, and commands, were moreover issued in his own name: he ordered that a prayer should be offered up for him from the pulpit after the usual one for the Khalif Hishám. The rights and insignia of the Khalifate were entirely obliterated, and nothing remained to Hishám Al-muyyed except the putting of his name on the coins and on the skirt of the royal robes called *tiráz*, two prerogatives which Al-mansúr also enjoyed at the same time; for he caused his own name to be struck on the silver and gold coins,[23] and to be woven into the stuff called *tiráz*. All other rights and prerogatives were dexterously, and by degrees, snatched from the helpless monarch, who preserved only such a share of authority as his powerful Hájib was pleased to allow him. Al-mansúr moreover formed into an army the Berbers and Mamelukes, and surrounded his person with a multitude of slaves and foreigners, by the help of whom he maintained himself in the position [which he had usurped], and was enabled to overwhelm all those who offered him any opposition, or who attempted to compete with him; and through whose means he accomplished whatever he undertook. He led his armies to the theatre of war, and fought during his administration fifty-six pitched battles, in which he invariably came off victorious; since upon no occasion was the army he

Takes Berbers into his pay.

Builds himself a castle.

Usurps the royal power.

commanded, or even a detachment of it, defeated by the enemy; and never did his banner vanish before them. He sent over his forces to Africa, where he excited dissension among the native tribes and the princes [ruling over them] until they destroyed each other and he became the absolute ruler of Western Africa, the chiefs of the tribe of Zenátah submitting to him and acknowledging his sway. He sent over to Africa his son, 'Abdu-l-malek, against the Bení Khazr and their chief Zeyrí Ibn 'Atiyah, at that time Lord of the Maghráwah and ruler of Fez. Having heard that the Berber chieftain, who had formerly been on very good terms with him, had spoken disrespectfully of him on several occasions, and had often alluded to the state of confinement and seclusion in which he kept his sovereign Hishám, Al-mansúr determined upon chastising him: for which end he prepared a large expedition, the command of which he intrusted to his eldest son, 'Abdu-l-malek, who defeated the rebel and deprived him of his states, as will be related hereafter.

But to proceed with our narrative. " Soon after the death of Al-hakem," says Ibnu Hayyán, " the Christians collected their forces and attacked the Moslems " on the frontiers, extending their incursions till within sight of Cordova; owing " chiefly to their not having found in Al-mus'hafí either the resources or the vigour " which ought to have been opposed to them. They say that upon one occasion " the people of Kal'ah Rabbáh (Calatrava) having complained to him of the frequent " inroads which the Christians were making into their territory, he ordered them to " destroy the bridge[24] upon their river (the Tagus), under the impression that he " would thereby prevent the incursions of the enemy. But this measure was far " from producing the desired effect; and, although the army was then numerous, " and the coffers of the state were well filled, [yet the Christians continued their " incursions.] This was one of Al-mus'hafí's errors. Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, " on the other hand, having received intelligence from Calatrava, advised Ja'far " to collect his army and march against the enemy, reminding him at the same " time of the eternal chastisements reserved for those who do not wage war against " the infidels. Moved by his arguments, the Hájib summoned the Wizírs to a " council of war, and having taken their advice, decided upon making an incursion

Campaigns of Al-mansúr against the Christians of Andalus.

" into the enemy's territory; the command of the army being intrusted to Mo- " hammed [Al-mansúr], who received the sum of one hundred thousand gold dinárs " [for the payment of the forces]. Mohammed departed at the head of the army, " and having reached the *Thager Al-jaufí* (the north-western part of the province " of Toledo), laid siege to a fortified town called Al-hámmah, entered and plundered " its suburb, and, after an absence of fifty-two days, returned to the capital " triumphant, bringing with him a number of captives and considerable spoil.

"The news of this success filled the inhabitants of Cordova with joy, and gained "Mohammed the hearts of the soldiers, who, perceiving his virtues and his talents, "were eager to die in his service."

In the year 372, (beginning June 25, A. D. 982,) Al-mansúr made an incursion into the land of the Galicians, with a view to the destruction of Ashtorikah (Astorga) and Liúnish (Leon), two populous cities of those districts. The Christians, however, having received timely intelligence of the immense preparations made by Al-mansúr, deserted those cities, and fled to the mountains with such valuables as they could remove; upon which Al-mansúr gave up his undertaking, and, after laying waste the country, returned to Cordova. In the spring of the ensuing year (April—June, A. D. 984,) Al-mansúr made a sudden irruption into Galicia (Asturias) and marched without opposition to Liúnish (Leon), which he invested and took, putting the inhabitants to the sword. He next ordered the demolition of the fortifications; but finding that, owing to the strength and thickness of the walls, the operation was likely to last some time, he gave up his purpose, and proceeded to Ashtorikah (Astorga), which he also took.

Destruction of Leon.

"In the year 375," (beginning May 23, A.D. 985,) says one of the historians of Africa, "Al-mansúr sent over his cousin Abú-l-hakem 'Omar with a powerful "army against Al-hasan Ibn Kanún, the Idrísite, who had taken possession of "the city of Basrah in Maghreb (Western Africa). After besieging him for some "time, Abú-l-hakem compelled his enemy to surrender at discretion and throw "himself upon the mercy of Al-mansúr; who was accordingly consulted as to "Al-hasan's future destiny. But Al-mansúr, tutored by experience,[25] would not "listen to the voice of mercy, and sent orders for the execution of the unfortunate "prince, whose head was accordingly forwarded to Cordova."

Transactions in Africa.

In the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 374 (May, A.D. 985,) Al-mansúr left Cordova on a campaign to Catalonia, this being his twenty-third[26] expedition to the land of the infidels. He had previously made immense preparations, and great levies of troops, causing the *jihád* or holy war to be proclaimed throughout the dominions of Islám. In order to provision his army, he directed his march through the eastern provinces: he thus passed through Jaën, Elvira, Bastah (Baza), and Tudmir. From the latter place he went to Valencia, and, after allowing some rest to his troops, he entered the dominions of Boreyl (Borel), King of the Franks, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, pursuing him till in sight of his capital (Barcelona), which he besieged and took by the sword on Monday the 15th of Safar, A.H. 375 (May, A.D. 985). As usual, Al-mansúr took with him to this expedition a number of poets and authors, that they might record his high deeds during the campaign. As their names have been preserved by a

Taking of Barcelona.

diligent historian of that age, who also attended the expedition, we shall repeat them here, in order that our readers may form an idea of the pomp and splendour with which Al-mansúr generally marched, and the cultivation of letters during his administration. They were as follow: Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Hasan At-tabí;[27] Abú-l-kásim Huseyn Ibn Al-walíd, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-'aríf;[28] Al-wadhdháh Ibn Shahíd; 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ahmed; Abú-l-'ala Sá'id Ibn Al-hasan Al-laghúyí (the rhetorician), the author of the *Fossúss* (gems) and other works; Abú Bekr Ziyádatullah Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hasan Al-yemení (a native of Yemen); 'Omar Ibn An-najm[29] Al-baghdádí (from Baghdád); Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Al-korayshí Al-'abbássí; 'Abdu-l-azíz Ibnu-l-khattíb [surnamed] Al-mahdúd;[30] Abú 'Omar Yúsuf Ibn Hárún [Al-kindí] Ar-rámedí;[31] Músa Ibn Tálib; Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán;[32] Yahya Ibn Hudheyl Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Hudheyl, [surnamed] Al-makfúf (the blind?); Sa'd Ibn Mohammed; the Kádí Ibn 'Amrún Al-korayshí Al-merwání; 'Alí An-nakkás[33] Al-baghdádí (from Baghdád); Abú Bekr Yahya Ibn Umeyyah Ibn Wahb; Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Az-zubeydí,[34] the author of the *Mokhtassar fí-l-loghah*, or compendious dictionary of the Arabic language, and many other excellent works on rhetoric, grammar, and history; Ahmed Ibn [Mohammed Ibn] Darráj Al-kastálí (from Cazalla), surnamed the Mutennabí of Andalus; Abú-l-faraj Maneyl Ibn Maneyl[35] Al-estijí (from Ezija); Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-bassír; the Wizír Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Shoheyd, the author of the *Hánútu-l-'attár;* Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Hajúr; Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Al-korayshí, originally from the East; Abú 'Obeydah Hossán Ibn Malek Ibn Hání;[36] Táhir Ibn Mohammed, better known by the surname of Al-muhandas (the geometrician); Mohammed Ibn Motref Ibn Shakhís;[37] Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdillah Ash-shantareyní (from Santarem); Walíd Ibn Moslemah Al-morédí; Ghálib Ibn Umeyyah Ibn Ghálib; Aghlab Ibn Sho'ayb[38] Abú-l-fadhl; Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wahháb; Ahmed Ibn Abí Ghálib Ar-russáfí; Mohammed Ibn Mas'úd Al-balehí;[39] 'Obádah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mái-s-semá; 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí-l-fehr Al-albírí (from Elvira); Abú-l-hasan Ibn Al-madhí Al-bajelí; the Kátib 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Sahl; the Wizír 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Idrís Al-jezírí (from Algesiras), surnamed Abú Merwán; Kásim Ibn Mohammed Al-jayyéní (from Jaen); the Wizír Hasan Ibn Malek Ibn Abí 'Abdah.

Zeyrí Ibn Menád sends an embassy to Cordova.

"In the year 381," (beginning March 19, A.D. 991,) says the diligent historian Ibnu Hayyán—who, as is well known, has dwelt longer on the events of that time than on any other comprised in his voluminous work—"there arrived in "Cordova an embassy from Zeyrí Ibn 'Atiyah Al-maghrawí, Lord of the Zenátah, "with a valuable present consisting of various rarities and productions of Africa;

" among which were two hundred generous steeds; fifty camels of the species called " *mehriyyah*, which are renowned for their fleetness; one thousand shields covered " with the skin of the *lamt* or hippopotamus; several loads of bows and arrows " made in the country of Záb,[40] many civet-cats,[41] giraffes, and other quadrupeds of " the desert, as rhinoceroses, elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, and so forth;[42] " one thousand loads of the best dates; one hundred and fifty ostrich-feathers; " eight thousand pounds weight of the purest ivory,[43] and other curiosities of that " country. There were besides several loads of bornuses and other articles of " woollen cloth manufactured in Africa." The object of the ambassadors was to announce to Al-mansúr the extensive conquests which their master, Zeyrí, had just made in Western Africa, the greater portion of which he had reduced, causing the Khalif Hishám to be proclaimed in all the mosques thereof. The news of this success filled the inhabitants of Cordova with delight, and Al-mansúr dismissed the ambassadors with suitable presents and a letter for the Lord of the Zenátah, wherein he granted him in Hishám's name the investiture of all those dominions which he had wrested from the enemies of the house of Umeyyah.

The ensuing year (A.H. 382, beginning March 8, A.D. 992) Zeyrí Ibn 'Atiyah in person visited Al-mansúr in Cordova. This time he brought with him a present still more valuable than the former, containing, among other inestimable objects, a bird that could speak both Arabic and Berber, a musk bull, a wild ox, in shape resembling a horse (the gnu?), and several other extraordinary quadrupeds; two immense lions in iron cages, many loads of dates of the best quality and unusual size. Zeyrí came attended by three hundred black slaves, all mounted on horseback, and three hundred more on foot, besides a large retinue of followers from his own tribe. He was received in state and with due pomp by Al-mansúr, who lodged him in the palace which had belonged to Ja'far Al-mus'hafí, honoured and distinguished him greatly during his stay in Cordova, conferred on him the title of Wizír, made him a valuable return for his present, and confirmed him in the possession of his African states. But whilst Zeyrí was in Cordova news came that the chief of the Bení Yeferún,[44] named Yadu Ibn Ya'la, taking advantage of his absence, had suddenly marched to Fez and entered the *'Idwatu-l-Andalus*, (or that part of the city peopled by the Andalusians,) where he fortified himself. Zeyrí returned in all haste to Africa, and, having put himself at the head of his forces, marched against his adversary, with whom he had many sharp encounters, until at last he defeated and slew him, and regained possession of the capital in the year 383 (beginning February 25, A.D. 993).

Visits that capital.

Returns to Africa.

In the course of time, however, Zeyrí Ibn 'Atiyah betrayed the cause which he had espoused, and became the bitterest enemy of Al-mansúr. What induced

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never have done, were we to enumerate all the expeditions undertaken by Al-mansúr to chastise the rebellious Christians of Andalus, and to establish among them the supremacy of Islám. Suffice it to say, that during the long period of his administration, he never failed to conduct his army twice every year, either against the Franks or against the Galicians; and that in all his campaigns, which appear to have been fifty-two in number, God Almighty was pleased to grant victory to his arms, and to send down confusion and disappointment on the obdurate unbelievers. We cannot, however, dismiss this interesting subject without transcribing from the work of Ibnu Hayyán his account of Al-mansúr's fiftieth [47] expedition into the land of the infidels, which ended in the taking and destruction of their capital, as it will afford our readers an idea of the march and arrangements of Al-mansúr's armies, and the prosperous issue of all his military undertakings.

Invasion of Galicia.

" Shant Yakoh (Santiago) is a city in the most remote part of Galicia, and " one of the sanctuaries most frequented, not only by the Christians of Andalus, " but by the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent, who regard its church " with veneration equal to that which the Moslems entertain for the Ka'bah at " Mekkah; for their Ka'bah is a colossal idol (statue) which they have in the " centre of the church. They swear by it, and repair to it in pilgrimage from " the most distant parts, from Rome as well as from other countries beyond [that " city]; pretending that the tomb, which is to be seen within the church, is that " of Yákob [48] (James), one of the twelve apostles, and the most beloved by 'Isa " (Jesus). May the blessing of God and salutation be on him and on our Prophet! " The Christians call this Yákob (a word which in their language means Ya'kúb) " the brother of Jesus, because, while he lived, he was always with him. They say " that he was Bishop of Jerusalem, and that he wandered over the earth preaching " the religion [of Christ], and calling upon the inhabitants to embrace it, until " he came to that remote corner of Andalus; that he then returned to Syria, where " he died at the age of one hundred and twenty solar years. They pretend likewise " that after the death of Yákob his disciples carried his body and buried it in that " church, as the most remote part where he had left traces [of his preaching]. " None of the Moslem sovereigns [who preceded Al-mansúr] had ever thought " of penetrating as far as that city, or reducing it under the sway of Islám, owing " to its inaccessible position, the strength of the spot on which it is situated, and " the many dangers to be encountered on the road to it. The undertaking was " reserved for Al-mansúr.

March of the Mohammedan army.

" That general left Cordova in the summer of the year 387, on Saturday, the " 23rd of Jumáda-l-akhar (July 3, A.D. 997), this being his forty-eighth [49] ex- " pedition against the unbelievers. Al-mansúr entered the enemy's territory by

" the city of Kúriah (Coria). On his arrival at the city [capital] of Galicia [50] he " was met by a considerable number of the Christian counts, who acknowledged " his authority, with their respective forces, all mounted and equipped [for war]. " Having joined the Moslem troops, all together crossed the Christian frontier.

" Al-mansúr had previously given orders that a considerable fleet, well manned " with experienced mariners, and having a body of infantry on board, should " be fitted out at a port of the western coast of Andalus, called Kasr Abí Dánis.[51] " He had also caused provisions, arms, and every kind of military stores [for " the use of his army] to be put on board as evidence of his foresight in military " affairs. Following his instructions, the fleet sailed along the coast to a port " called Bortokál (Oporto) at the mouth of the river Dúroh (Duero), which it " ascended to the spot where Al-mansúr intended to cross over to the opposite " bank. There the fleet cast anchor, opposite to a fortress situated [on the right " bank]. A bridge was then constructed with the vessels, by means of which " the troops crossed over [to the other bank]; and having been plentifully supplied " with the provisions on board the fleet, they prosecuted their march into the " enemy's country. Thence the army directed its course to Santiago, traversing " extensive districts, and crossing large rivers and deep estuaries, into which the " green sea [Atlantic Ocean] pours its tides. The army then spread itself over " the rich plains and well-cultivated districts of Fortárish [52] and the neighbouring " country. They then came to a high inaccessible mountain to which there " was no approach or path, and the sides of which were so precipitous that the " guides [confessed] they had never seen the like of it; but by the command " of Al-mansúr the pickaxe was employed upon the rock, and after much exertion " and labour a passage was opened sufficiently large to allow the army to pass " through it. The Moslems, however, were amply rewarded for their fatigues " on this occasion; for no sooner had they passed that range of mountains and " crossed a river called Wáda-Minoh (Míño) than they found themselves among " wide-spread plains and well-cultivated lands, through which they arrived at a " monastery called Deyr Kasán,[53] then at the valley of Balanbu [54] upon the shores " of the ocean, and next at the fortress of Shant Beláy (Sanpayo), which last " was taken and plundered of every valuable. From this place the army crossed " over to a neighbouring island on the ocean, where a great number of the " population of the districts attacked had taken refuge; but the Moslems took " all those who were on the island prisoners. Thence the army went to the " mountain of Morasiah, which is surrounded on most sides by the ocean, and " having traversed it in all directions, expelled all those who were on it, and " collected considerable spoil. After this the Moslems crossed two estuaries of

" the sea by certain fords which their guides pointed out to them; and having " also crossed the river Ulah (Ulla), found themselves in the midst of rich " extensive plains, well cultivated and filled with inhabitants. Thence the army " went to a place where there was a church dedicated to St. James. This " sanctuary is held in great estimation by pious Christians, who look upon it " as second only in sanctity to the church where the tomb is kept, and repair " to it from the most remote parts [of Christendom], from Nubia, from the land " of the Kobts, and other distant countries. This place the Moslems completely " destroyed.

" The next march brought the army to Santiago, the doomed city. This was " taken on Wednesday, the second day of the month of Sha'bán (Aug. 10, A. D. " 997). The Moslems found the city deserted; they took all the spoil which could " be found, destroyed the public buildings and fortifications, and razed its church " to the ground: the tomb only of St. James was preserved, Al-mansúr having " appointed people to take care of it, and prevent any profanation. All the public " buildings [of Santiago] were very solid and of wonderful structure; yet they " were so completely destroyed, that nobody could have imagined [to see the flat " surface] that they had stood there only the day before.

Taking and destruction of Santiago.

" After wasting the neighbouring country the army arrived at the island " (peninsula) of Shant Mánikas (San Cosme de Mayança), where that region " terminates abruptly upon the ocean, a spot which no Moslem had ever reached " before, and which no human foot had trodden except that of its native inhabitants. " There being no land to be seen beyond that island where the horses could move, " Al-mansúr ordered a retreat, after having penetrated where no Moslem had " ever been before him. Passing again by Santiago he directed his march to " the country occupied by Beremund Ibn Ordhún (Bermudo, son of Ordoño,) with " a view to the destruction and wasting of his territory. Having in this way " arrived at the districts of the allied counts who were in his army, he ordered " his soldiers to desist from further ravages, and passing rapidly through their " territory, arrived at a castle called Beliko,[55] which he had reduced [on a former " occasion]. Having there assembled the Christian counts who had assisted " in the enterprise, he rewarded each man according to his rank, distributing " dresses of honour among them and their followers; after which he dismissed " them to their respective countries. In this campaign Al-mansúr gave away " to the Christian princes and others who had shown themselves the friends of " the Moslems, two thousand two hundred and eighty-five pieces of the silken " stuff called *tirází*, of various colours and patterns; twenty-one dresses of seal- " skin;[56] two dresses of the stuff called *anbar*;[57] eleven of scarlet cloth; fifteen

" *maríshát;* seven horse-cloths made of brocade; two dresses of the same stuff " manufactured in Greece; and two others lined [58] with weasel-skin.

" From Beliko Al-mansúr dispatched messengers to Cordova with letters, in " which he informed [the people] of the conquests he had achieved, the victories " he had gained, and the immense spoil which the Moslems under his orders had " taken from the infidels. The whole of the army then reached Cordova loaded " with plunder, after experiencing [during the whole campaign] the favours and " protection of the Almighty. They say that the Moslems found no living soul " at Santiago except an old monk who was sitting on the tomb of St. James. " Being interrogated by Al-mansúr as to himself and what he was doing in that " spot, he answered, 'I am a familiar of St. James;' upon which Al-mansúr " ordered that no harm should be done unto him. It is also related that Al-mansúr " ordered the bells of the church to be removed to Cordova on the shoulders " of Christian captives, to be suspended [as lamps] from the ceiling of the great " mosque, to which a considerable addition was then being built by his orders." But we have already recorded the fact in our description of that capital.

We have elsewhere slightly alluded to the state of confinement and seclusion in which Al-mansúr kept his sovereign Hishám. Indeed all contemporary historians relate that his person was so carefully concealed from the sight of the public, that many of his subjects never saw him once during their lives. It is true that now and then Hishám would ride out with some of his women to some garden or pleasure-house [in the neighbourhood of Cordova]; but on such occasions he and his women were covered with bornuses, which concealed their figures and prevented their being recognised by the people passing: a numerous escort, moreover, cleared the road by which they had to pass. In this manner Hishám reached the place of his destination, and, after spending some hours there, was conducted back to his palace with equal care and secrecy. If Al-mansúr was absent from Cordova on some military expedition, he took care to appoint confidential people, who saw his orders executed and kept a vigilant eye over Hishám, taking care that none of his subjects should see him or approach him on any consideration. However, towards the close of his administration, Al-mansúr relaxed a little in his conduct; for, hearing that the people of Cordova, most of whom had never seen Hishám, murmured at his confinement, and even gave out that he had put him to death, he produced him in public, and rode that celebrated cavalcade, to witness which an innumerable concourse of people left their dwellings. Hishám rode out ornamented with all the insignia of the Khalifate, whilst Al-mansúr walked before him with a rod in his hand, leading his master's steed by the bridle. In this manner they paraded the principal streets

of Cordova, and the eyes of the people feasted on what had so long been concealed from them.

By this and other contrivances Al-mansúr managed to concentrate in himself all the power of the state, and to usurp the inheritance of the Bení Umeyyah. Fearing lest the members of that royal family should revolt against him or oppose the execution of his ambitious designs, he secretly dispatched, under various pretences, all those who stood nearest to the throne, or who seemed more dangerous to him, and the remainder he exiled to the provinces, obliging them to hide themselves in obscure and retired cells, and to exchange the splendour and magnificence of their convivial halls for a life of misery and privation in lonely woods and dreary deserts. Alluding to this rapid change of fortune, a poet has said—

" O sons of Umeyyah! where are now your [princes shining like] full
" moons in the dark night? where are your constellations? where your stars?
" Your lions were absent from their native forests when this usurper seized
" on your empire." [59]

In the month of Safar, A. H. 392 (Jan. A. D. 1002), Al-mansúr prepared to invade for the fifty-second time the country of the infidels, intending to direct his attacks on the side of Kashtelah (Castile). Having summoned from Africa a considerable body of troops, which met him at Toledo, he reached the banks of the Dúroh (Duero), in the neighbourhood of which he committed great ravages and depredations. Having thence ascended the river, he penetrated into the dominions of the Count of Castile (Sancho Garcez), whom he found encamped near a castle called Kal'at An-nosor (the castle of the eagles), with innumerable troops collected from the neighbouring Christian kingdoms. Al-mansúr attacked and defeated him with great loss.[60]

Death of Al-mansúr.

On his return from this expedition Al-mansúr was seized by an acute disorder, which caused his death. He, nevertheless, continued to wage war against the infidels, and to waste their territory, until, his disease increasing, he was placed in a wooden litter, on soft cushions, and covered with an awning and curtains. In this manner he was carried on the shoulders of his men, surrounded by his troops, until he arrived at Medínah Sélim (Medinaceli). His physicians being greatly divided as to the nature of his complaint, it naturally aggravated until his life was despaired of. He used to say, "I leave behind me twenty thousand clients, " all of whom are happy and contented; may they to-morrow have no worse " master than myself!" Perhaps he meant that twenty thousand warriors attended him on that expedition; but, according to all accounts, the armies of Andalus in his time amounted to a much greater number, since he is said to have

once passed in review on the plain of Cordova upwards of six hundred thousand men; and a contemporary historian relates that at the time of the expedition into Galicia, which terminated in the taking of Astorga and Leon, the invading army consisted of twelve thousand mounted Africans, five thousand Andalusians, and forty thousand infantry, besides an immense number of volunteers, who joined the expedition, and flocked under the banners of Al-mansúr for the purpose of participating in the rewards awaiting the Moslems who fight for the extension of the true religion. But to return.

In his last moments Al-mansúr showed great solicitude for the future destinies of Cordova, and it is added that he began to weep, and expressed himself as if he feared the immediate dissolution of the empire he had so powerfully extended and strengthened. Some time before his death he sent for his son 'Abdu-l-malek and some of his most confidential friends, and instructed them respectively [as to the management of the government after his death]. He then desired to be left alone with his son, to whom he repeated such instructions as he had already given him in the presence of the others. Whenever 'Abdu-l-malek offered, with tears in his eyes, to quit the room, that his father might take some rest, Al-mansúr retained him, and insisted upon his remaining. Then observing tears on his countenance, Al-mansúr reproached him with his want of courage, saying, "This is "to me the first signal of the approaching decay [of this empire]." He ordered him to give the command of the troops to his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and expired on Monday, the 25th of Ramadhán of the year 392 (Aug. 7, A. D. 1002),[61] at the age of sixty-five, as he was born in the year 327 (Oct. 28, A. D. 938), or the year of Al-handik (*'A'mu-l-handik*), as it was called by the people of Andalus, owing to the disastrous battle of that name fought under the walls of Zamora between the Christians and the Moslems.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

State of literature under Hishám II.—Arrivals in Cordova—Notice of Sá'id Al-laghúwí—Anecdotes respecting Al-mansúr—His love of justice—His attention to business—His wisdom and sagacity—His experience in military affairs—Other anecdotes of Al-mansúr—Buildings erected by him.

It has been remarked, that after the death of Al-mansúr the Mohammedan empire in Andalus began to give visible signs of decay: the Christians, who during the administration of that victorious Hájib had been almost reduced to the condition of slaves, put aside all their former fears, and, assailing the Moslem territory on all sides with the greatest fury, aimed many mortal blows against the sinking body of Islám. Although the valiant Almoravides, and the still more brave Almohades, stayed for some time the ruin of the common cause, yet their splendid victories were of no avail; and scarcely two centuries had elapsed since the death of Al-mansúr, when Toledo, Saragossa, Valencia, Cordova, Seville, and other important cities, which had once proved so many impregnable bulwarks, fell one by one into the hands of the enemy of God, and prepared the way for the final subjugation of the peninsula by the insolent and accursed Christians. (May the Almighty destroy them all!)

Before we proceed to give an account of the heart-rending calamities by which the Moslems of Andalus were afflicted; of the interminable feuds and sanguinary civil wars in which the petty rulers of that country became constantly engaged one against another; of their frequent revolts against their rulers; of the dastardly cowardice of some, and the overweening ambition of others; of their contempt of all divine and civil laws; of their enormous sins, which accelerated the ruin of our empire in Andalus;—we think it opportune to bring before our readers a few more extracts respecting the reign of Hishám and the administration of his enlightened and never-vanquished Hájib, Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir Al-mansúr.

State of literature under Hishám II.

During the reign of Hishám II., and under the administration of Al-mansúr, literature and the sciences flourished in Cordova. Even the Sclavonian eunuchs of the palace cultivated it with the greatest success; and Ibnu Hayyán has preserved the names of several who distinguished themselves by their productions in various kinds of literature. One of them was Fátin, who had not his equal in the knowledge of the Arabic language, and at whose death in 420 (A. D. 1029), a splendid collection of valuable books was sold. A Sclavonian named Habíb is said also to have written a work entitled "clear proofs and victorious arguments [in favour] of the excellences of the Sclavonic race,"[1] in which he introduced all manner of entertaining anecdotes, history, and verses of the Sclavonians. Ibn Joljol wrote his history of the Andalusian physicians, and 'Obádah Ibn Mái-s-semá that of the Andalusian poets. Abú-l-mugheyrah Ibn Hazm, who was a Wizír of Al-mansúr, Abú-l-walíd Ibnu-l-faradhí, Ibn Sahlún, Ibnu-d-dabbágh, Ibn Jesúr, Abú 'Abdah Hasan Al-laghúwí, and Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr, wrote each a history of his own times. Az-zubeydí wrote the lives of celebrated grammarians who were natives of Andalus, as well as those of eminent lawyers and theologians; and Ahmed At-talamankí those of all the historians, with the titles of their works, &c. We forbear mentioning the poets, theologians, orators, and rhetoricians who flourished under this reign, for they were as numerous as the sands of the ocean.

Arrivals in Cordova.

Many men, too, distinguished by their talents or renowned for their proficiency in some department of science or literature, visited Andalus under this reign, and were induced, through the liberality of Al-mansúr, to fix their residence in Cordova. In their number were Ahmed Ibn 'Alí, a native of Baghdád, 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhím, Abú Bekr Al-azrak, Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Az-zubeyrí, surnamed Abú-l-barakát, a native of Mekka, Ahmed Ibn Fadhl Ad-dinawárí, and others, who settled in the capital and became celebrated by their writings.[2]

Notice of Sá'id Al-laghúwí.

Among the most celebrated was Abú 'Alí[3] Sá'id Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn 'Isa Ar-raba'í, surnamed Al-laghúwí (the philologist), who was a native of Baghdád, but originally from Maussal. Ibn Bessám says that Al-mansúr, having heard of his talents for poetry, sent for him and invited him to Cordova, imagining that he would eclipse the fame of the celebrated poet Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, who, as before related, came from Baghdád during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir. "But Al-"mansúr," continues Ibn Bessám, "found nothing in Sá'id to justify the high "opinion which he had formed of him; and, moreover, the learned men of "Cordova became his enemies, and spoke in the worst possible terms of him, "of his learning, understanding, and religion. They called him a liar and an "impostor, and they would neither receive traditional information of any sort "from him, nor give credit to his words. When he composed his *Fossúss* (the

" book of gems), they criticised the work, and threw it, out of contempt, into the " river." It is true that, if we are to believe the authors of that time, Sá'id was more remarkable for his quickness at repartee, and his facility in composing verses extempore, than either for his learning or his veracity, as the following anecdote will show. One day as Al-mansúr was sitting in his hall surrounded by the highest functionaries of his court and empire, and by all the men of his court eminent for their learning, as Az-zubeydí (Abú Bekr Mohammed), Al-'ássemí, Ibnu-l-'aríf, and others, he said to them, " Here is a man lately come among us " who pretends to be better informed [than any man in Cordova] in these sciences, " and I wish to put him to the test." He accordingly sent for him, and Abú 'Alí came and prostrated himself before him, and was struck with awe and astonishment at the numerous assembly. Al-mansúr then rose from his couch, and advancing towards him, asked him about Abú Sa'íd As-síráfí, a learned man whom Abú 'Alí pretended to have met in his travels, and to have read under his direction the book of Sibauyeh. Agreeably to the instructions of Al-mansúr, Al-'ássemí began to interrogate Sá'id about that work, and to put to him several questions respecting the science of grammar; but Sá'id answered not a single one, alleging as an excuse that grammar was not his favourite study: upon which Az-zubeydí said to him, " Will the Sheikh let us know that in which he is most versed, " that we may try his powers?"—" Philology,"[4] answered Sá'id. " Very well," replied Az-zubeydí; " tell us then what is the measure of *aulak*." Upon which Sá'id burst out laughing and said, " Is it to one like me that thou puttest " such a question? Thou hadst better ask a school-boy."—" That may be," said Az-zubeydí, " but, such as it is, I am sure thou canst not answer it." Sá'id's countenance suddenly changed, and he remained for some time silent; at last he said, " The measure of *aulak* is *af'al*."[5]—" It is not," said Az-zubeydí; " and " if thy master told thee that, he told thee a most egregious lie."—" How is that? " does the Sheikh find fault with my derivation?"—" Yes, I do," replied Az-zubeydí. " Well then," said Sá'id, " it is not to be wondered at, for my principal " strength lies in knowing verses and history by heart, in explaining enigmatic " sentences, and in the science of music." Sá'id was next attacked by Ibnu-l-'aríf, who disputed some time with him: but the former came off victorious; for scarcely was there a word uttered in the assembly, but Sá'id immediately replied with a quotation in verse, or with some anecdote in illustration of it,—a performance which struck Al-mansúr with amazement. He then showed him the *Kitábu-n-nawádir*, which Abú 'Alí Al-kálí wrote in praise of the Bení Umeyyah, which, being examined by Sá'id, he said to Al-mansúr, " If thou givest me permission, " I will compose a book in thy praise that shall be more valuable than this; I

" say more, I will not touch upon any of the subjects treated by Abú 'Alí." The permission being granted, Sa'íd retired to the *jámi'* or principal mosque in the city of Az-záhirah, and wrote his work entitled *Al-fossúss* (the gems). No sooner had he completed it and presented it to Al-mansúr, than the learned men of Cordova, who were all anxious to see how Sá'id had treated the subject, immediately procured copies of it. What was their astonishment to find upon perusal that not one word or quotation in the book was true, and that no story [of those mentioned] could be traced to a source known to them! They therefore agreed unanimously to expose Sá'id's impudence, and make his ignorance public to the world. They requested Al-mansúr to have some quires of white paper bound together, so as to present the appearance of a written volume, with the following title, *Kitábu-n-nekat* (the book of lies); its author Abú-l-ghauth, of San'á. The book was then placed in a spot where Sá'id might see it when he entered the hall. The stratagem succeeded completely: no sooner had Sá'id cast his eyes on the volume than he exclaimed, " I know this work well; I read it in such " a country, under the direction of such a Sheikh." Al-mansúr then took the volume into his hands, for fear that Sá'id should open it and find out the stratagem, and said to him, " Well, then, since thou hast read it, tell us of its " contents."—" It is so long since I perused it, that I am afraid I do not recollect " any portion of it, however small; but this I can say, that it is composed of " detached pieces without either poetry or anecdotes."—" Leave my presence " immediately," said Al-mansúr; " I never saw a greater liar than thou. May " God free me from men of thy stamp!" He then commanded that Sá'id should be sent out of the room, and his book thrown into the river, as was done.

It was in allusion to this occurrence that one of the poets of Cordova said—

" The book of the gems is now engulphed in the river; may all bad books " meet with a similar fate!"

To which Sá'id replied in the following verse:

" The gems have returned to their mines, for in the bottom of the sea the " gems are found."[6]

Ibn Khallekán relates that Al-mansúr had given Sá'id five thousand dinárs[7] for the composition of that work.

With all Sá'id's impudence, and his utter disregard of those qualities which ought to ornament a good poet, he nevertheless was at times extremely happy in his ideas, and no other poet of his time surpassed him in facility of extempore composition. The author of the *Bedáya'-l-bedáyat* (admirable beginnings)[8] relates that Sá'id once attended a drinking-party at the house of one of his friends. When it came to his turn to drink, the page who poured out the wine filled Sá'id's cup out of a jar which he held in his hand. One of the company observing at the

mouth of the jar a drop of wine, which remained fixed to it, begged Sá'id to describe it in verse; and he said, without the least hesitation,—

"When the fragrancy of the garden reaches us, it puts us in mind of the "sweet-smelling musk:

"So does this jar of ours, with the wine in its mouth; it reminds us of a "bird carrying a ruby in its bill." [9]

Among the extraordinary anecdotes related of Sá'id, the following is one. Upon one occasion, as Al-mansúr was sitting in his hall, a man came in and presented him with a beautiful rose-bud out of season; upon which Sá'id, who was in the room at the time, said extempore these two verses:

"O Abú 'A'mir! the rose just presented to thee will put thee in mind of "sweet-smelling musk.

"See how it hides its head within its calyx, as the timid virgin [hides her "face behind her veil] to avoid the look of a stranger." [10]

Al-mansúr was delighted with these verses; but Ibnu-l-'aríf, who was also in the room, and hated Sá'id most intensely, and was always endeavouring to do him all the harm possible, went up to Al-mansúr and said to him, "Those two verses "are not the composition of Sá'id. I have seen them attributed to a poet of "Baghdád who resided in Cairo; and, what is more, I have them at home on "the fly-leaf of a book, and in the handwriting of the author himself." Al-mansúr having expressed a wish to see them, Ibnu-l-'aríf [11] left the room, mounted a horse, and hastened to the dwelling of a poet named Ibn Bedr, one of the quickest men of his time in composing poetry. Having told him his adventure, he requested him to write a poem in which he might intercalate the two verses delivered by Sá'id. Ibn Bedr, who, like most of the Cordovan poets, was exceedingly envious of Sá'id, immediately complied with his request, and gave him the following lines, which he hastened to produce before Al-mansúr:

"I went one night to the palace of 'Abbásah, when sleep had overpowered "her guards.

"I found her reclining on her nuptial couch, her energies prostrated by the "intoxicating liquor.

"She said, 'Art thou come to me at the first sleep?' I answered, 'Nay,' "and she threw down her cup.

"And she stretched her hand to a rose, the odour of which thou mightest "compare to sweet-smelling musk;

"A rose hiding its head within its calyx, as the timid virgin [hides her "face behind her veil] to avoid the look of a stranger.

"She then said, 'Fear God, and do not insult thy cousin 'Abbásah.'

" And, turning away from her, I retired carelessly, leaving her disappointed " and myself too."[12]

Ibnu-l-'aríf took the verses and pasted them on the back of a book written in the Egyptian hand, with the capitals and heads of chapters in red ink; he hastened with it to the presence of Al-mansúr, who was waiting with the greatest impatience. No sooner had he perused the verses than his indignation was roused to the highest pitch, and he exclaimed, " To-morrow we will summon Sá'id to " our presence; and, unless he gives us a satisfactory answer to this charge, he " shall be banished the country." On the ensuing morning Al-mansúr sent for Sá'id, who, in obedience to his summons, hastened to the palace. He found Al-mansúr's hall thronged with courtiers and other persons who had been expressly invited for the occasion. In the middle of the hall a large tray,[13] containing compartments ornamented with every variety of elegant design, had been placed by order of Al-mansúr. On the roof of the compartments were toys of jasmine made in imitation of females, and under the roof a reservoir of transparent water, the bottom of which was paved with pearls instead of common pebbles; in the water was a snake swimming. When Sá'id entered the hall and had seen all these curiosities, Al-mansúr said to him, " This day thou must either " rejoice and be happy with us, or else thou must be miserable whilst we are " rejoicing. There are people in this room who pretend that none of the verses " thou recitest are thy own composition, and certainly we have a proof that " this is true with regard to some. Look at that tray, the like of which, I " assert, was never placed before any other king but me." He then proceeded to enumerate every one of the curiosities that were on it, and continued: " If the " charge brought against thee be false, prove it by describing to me in verse both " the tray and its contents." Sá'id immediately said—

" O Abú 'A'mir! are not thy benefits always flowing, and thy enemies on " earth always fearing?

" [And why should they not] when the age brings thee every novelty, and " presents thee with more wonders than can [easily] be described?

" Here are the flowers which a fertilizing shower engendered, and the stocks " of which are covered with fringes of yellow and bright green;

" Which, to complete their beauty, have female slaves standing opposite " [to them] with a variety of musical instruments in their hands;

" Seeking shelter under the roofs of jasmine, as the gazelle looks for a " shadowy spot [among the trees].

" But that most to be wondered at is, that the maids are looking over a " lake enfolding every beauty;

" At the bottom of which are pearls instead of pebbles, and in the waters of " which sports a poisonous, painted snake.

" Cast thy eyes around; thou wilt see its shores filled with animals, among " which the turtle is one." [14]

Such a composition, and in such a spot, at once established Sá'id's reputation as an extempore poet. Al-mansúr was exceedingly pleased with the verses, which he immediately wrote down himself, for fear he should forget them. There was, however, among the curiosities in the tray, one which Sá'id had not noticed; it was a ship, in which was a maiden rowing herself with oars of gold. Al-mansúr therefore said to him, " Very well, Sá'id; I am pleased with thy verses, only thou " hast forgotten to mention the ship with the maid inside." Upon which Sá'id said immediately—

" But what is most to be admired is the crowned maiden in the vessel, " whose beauty no tongue can describe.

" If the waves rock her vessel, she fears for her anchor, and dreads the high " winds, precursors [of the storm].

" Beauty itself is the pilot of this vessel; holding in her right hand the oar " to direct her with.

" Certainly we never saw before this a palm-grove despoil itself of its trees " to place them in the hands of maidens.

" No wonder if the upper regions [of thy throne] surpass a garden [in " verdure], and are spread with glittering gold and myriads of flowers.

" For thou art a man who has no sooner formed a wish than the necks " are stretched out [to accomplish it]; and benevolence itself trembles for " fear of thy displeasure.

" If I utter a sentence or pronounce an extempore speech, what else is " it for, but to sing thy praises?" [15]

So pleased was Al-mansúr with the above two compositions, that he ordered to be given to Sá'id one thousand dinárs and one hundred dresses; he assigned him, besides, a pension of thirty gold dinárs per month on his treasury, and made him one of his common guests. We have already said that Sá'id was celebrated above all things for his quickness and facility for inventing lies. Al-mansúr having once asked him what the *khanboshár* was, he answered immediately, " The *khan-* " *boshár* is a plant which the Arabs of the desert use for thickening their milk. " In allusion to it an ancient poet has said—

' The love of her lies as heavily on my heart, as the *khanboshár* adheres ' to the new milk.' " [16]

We might multiply the examples of the astonishing facility with which Sá'id

extricated himself from any difficulty, whenever he was asked what he did not know, but we will abstain for the sake of brevity, and will only cite the following instance of extraordinary coincidence.

Having upon one occasion presented Al-mansúr with a live stag, he wrote by the bearer an elegant *kassídah*, of which the following detached verses are an extract:

"O refuge of the terrified, asylum of the persecuted, comfort to the "vilified!

* * * * * * * *

"O string of virtues, and repository of every brilliant quality! thou art the "refuge of the needy.

* * * * * * * *

"A slave [of thine], whom thou didst take by the hand, and didst raise "from his station, presents thee with a stag.

"I named it Garsiah, and I send it to thee [with a rope round its neck], "that the same may happen with its namesake [the Christian king].

"Shouldst thou accept [this my present], I would consider it as the greatest "favour that a generous man can bestow."[17]

Now it happened, in conformity with the decrees of the Almighty, that on the very day in which Sá'id presented the stag to Al-mansúr and named it Garsiah (Garcia), as a good omen, the Christian king of that name (Garci-Fernandez, Count of Castile) was taken prisoner by the Moslems. As Garsiah was one day hunting, he fell in with a party of Al-mansúr's cavalry, who surrounded him, made him prisoner with all his suite, and conveyed him to Cordova. Al-mansúr was so much struck by that coincidence of fate, and moreover was so much pleased with Sá'id's verses, that he granted him a greater share of his favour than he had ever possessed before, and from that day always defended him against the accusations of his enemies. As a proof of the great favour which Sá'id enjoyed with Al-mansúr, we shall here transcribe an anecdote borrowed from a history of that Hájib, entitled *Al-azháru-l-manthúrah fí-l-akhbári-l-máthúrah* (scattered flowers, or the memorable deeds of Ibn Abí 'A'mir). At the twenty-eighth flower (or chapter) of that work we read as follows: "One day Sá'id collected together all the rags and tatters "of the dresses which Al-mansúr had at different times given him, and having "sent for his black slave Káfúr, he directed him to have a shirt made of them, "as if it were patch-work.[18] When the shirt was made to fit him, says Sá'id, "I bade Káfúr accompany me one morning to the palace of Al-mansúr at an early "hour. Having been introduced to his presence, I remained with him some time, "until, seeing him in good humour, I said to him, 'My Lord! thy slave has a

" request to make.'—' State it,' answered Al-mansúr. ' I wish for permission " to introduce here my slave Káfúr.'—' Is it to be now immediately?' replied " Al-mansúr, and he added, ' hast thou nothing more to ask for?'—' No, I have " no other request to make, except that he be admitted to thy presence.'—' Well, " let it be so,' said Al-mansúr; and he accordingly ordered his guards to introduce " the black slave into the room. Soon after Káfúr made his appearance, accoutred, " as before stated, in a shirt made of patch-work. He being as tall and supple as " a young palm-tree, the sight was exceedingly ludicrous. Seeing him enter the " room, Al-mansúr said, ' Here comes the master of beauty and the king of rags. " Pray what is the meaning of all this?' Upon which I answered, ' Let the sight " of my slave be my answer, and know, O my Lord, that thou gavest me this day " the skin of Káfúr full of money.' Al-mansúr smiled, and said, ' May God " prosper those [who like thee] plunge into the depths of enigmatic speech to " return thanks for a favour!' After which he ordered me a considerable sum " of money and a handsome dress, and gave also a very fine dress to Káfúr."

But since we have touched upon the history of Al-mansúr, we will not proceed any further without transcribing for the use of our readers the most remarkable anecdotes of his generosity, worldly wisdom, courage, and justice.

The story of Mohammed, the bleeder of Al-mansúr:—

Al-mansúr, desiring once to be bled, sent for his bleeder, Mohammed, who was at the same time his servant and his confidant. The messenger repaired immediately to the dwelling of Mohammed; but not finding him at home, he ascertained upon inquiry that he had just been confined in prison, on a sentence of the Kádí Mohammed Ibn Rúb, before whom he had been convicted of ill-using his wife; as he thought that his favour with Al-mansúr would save him from the punishment he deserved. The messenger then returned, and apprised Al-mansúr of the circumstance, who ordered that the bleeder should be released and brought to his presence, under the custody of one of the guards of the prison, and that, after performing the operation, he should again return to prison. His orders were punctually executed. Mohammed was brought to his presence, and after bleeding his master, as desired, was again marched out to prison. They say that as he was going out of the room, the bleeder began to expostulate; but Al-mansúr stopping him short, said to him, "No, Mohammed! he is the judge, and, if he be right " in his judgment, it is not in our power to resist his authority or oppose his " sentence: thou art now entirely in his power." Mohammed returned accordingly to his prison; but, soon after, the Kádí, hearing of the circumstance, managed a reconciliation between him and his wife, and he was set at liberty in consequence.

Anecdotes respecting Al-mansúr.—His love of justice.

The following anecdote has been preserved on the authority of Sho'alah. I said

His attention to business.

one night to Al-mansúr, perceiving that he was watching, "I am afraid that "our lord sits up too much at night, and that his body wants more sleep and rest "than is allowed to it; and yet no one is better acquainted than he is with the "ill effects produced by want of proper rest upon the nerves." He replied, "O Sho'alah, kings should never sleep whilst their subjects are at rest; for if "I were to have my full sleep, there would be in the whole of this metropolis "nothing but sleepers."

In illustration of this, an Andalusian writer has preserved the following anecdote. Al-mansúr was one night sitting [in his audience-room]; it was a dreadful night, the rain came down in torrents, the wind was high, and it was piercing cold besides. All of a sudden, Al-mansúr sent for one of the horsemen of his guard, and said to him, "Go down to Fej-Talyáresh (Tallares) and stop there until "thou seest a person pass; seize him, whoever he may be, and bring him hither "instantly." The horseman did as he was commanded; he rode to the spot which had been pointed out to him, and waited there nearly all night on his horse in the midst of the cold, rain, and wind, without seeing a single creature whom he might seize and convey to his master, as he had been directed. At last, a little before the dawn of day, and just as the horseman was thinking whether he should not return to the palace and report the non-success of his expedition, a very old man, bent by age, made his appearance, mounted on an ass, and having an axe by his side. "Where art thou going to, my good old man?" said the soldier to him. "I am going to the forest to cut some wood." Surely, thought the soldier to himself, this cannot be the man whom Al-mansúr wishes to see; he is only a wood-cutter going to cut some wood, I shall let him go. He therefore allowed him to pass on; but scarcely had the old man gone a little way, than the soldier recollected Al-mansúr's order, and dreading his vengeance, rode up to him, and desired him to turn round, and go with him to the presence of Al-mansúr. "And what can Al-mansúr want with a poor old man like myself? "Pray let me go, and do not hinder me from earning my livelihood. I entreat "thee, in the name of Allah, not to detain me."—"I cannot grant thy request," replied the soldier; "my master's orders must needs be obeyed; thou must come "along with me." The soldier and his prisoner then proceeded together to the palace, and were immediately introduced to the presence of Al-mansúr, whom they found sitting in his hall, where he had been waiting all night, without retiring to rest. No sooner had he cast his eyes on the old man, than he said to the Sclavonians of his guard, "Search him!" The person of the old man was accordingly searched, but nothing was found on him. "Search then the pack-saddle[19] of his ass," said Al-mansúr impatiently. This was done as he commanded; when, behold!

there was found concealed in the lining a letter from certain Christians, who were then employed in his service, to their friends, engaging them to make an incursion into the Moslem territory, and attack certain districts that were not well defended. The ensuing day an order came down from Al-mansúr for the arrest of the guilty parties, who, together with the bearer of their message, were by his orders taken outside the gate of Az-záhirah, and there beheaded.

An eastern merchant, who traded in jewels, once came to Cordova from 'Aden, a city in Arabia. Having repaired to Az-záhirah, where Al-mansúr was residing at the time, he asked leave to see him, and, being admitted to his presence, he forthwith proceeded to display before him all sorts of precious stones, of great value, which he had with him. Al-mansúr having taken those which he liked the most, caused the price of the jewels to be paid to the merchant, who, leaving his presence, returned by the same road he had come, taking with him the money which he had just received and which he stored in a bag made of a certain stuff manufactured in Yemen for fine carpets. The road which the merchant had to traverse was a sandy plain, stretching along the banks of the river: the day was a hot one, and the sun was high, so that, after travelling some distance, he felt an inclination to bathe in the river. He accordingly took off his clothes, and, having placed his bag of money upon them, jumped into the water. Scarcely, however, had he been in a few minutes, when a kite alighted on the clothes, and taking the bag for a piece of meat, seized it in its bill and flew away with its prey. For some time the merchant eagerly followed the thieving bird with his eyes; but, at last, it disappeared entirely, leaving him in the greatest possible agony of mind. Seeing, however, that his misfortune had no remedy, he put on his clothes and went to his dwelling, where the loss which he had just sustained so much preyed upon his mind as to occasion him a severe illness, through which he well-nigh lost his life. Upon his recovery the merchant went to see Al-mansúr a second time for the purpose of showing him other jewels; but he was so altered in his appearance, and the gloom and sorrow upon his countenance were such, that the Hájib could not but be struck by it, and he accordingly inquired what had happened to him; upon which the merchant related to him his adventure. "Why didst thou not come to us before? we might perchance have told thee "of a plan to recover thy money or find out the thief. Which way did the kite "fly?" The merchant answered, "It flew eastwards in the direction of this "mountain, close to thy palace," meaning the sandy plain. Immediately upon learning this, Al-mansúr sent for one of his body-guard, and said to him, "Let "all the old men who live in yonder plain repair immediately hither." His orders being punctually executed, there soon came before him several respectable old

men, who were the heads of so many families. He then directed them to make inquiries whether any of the people of the neighbourhood had been observed suddenly to pass from poverty to affluence, without any well-known cause. The old men did as they were ordered, and, after investigating the case, returned to Al-mansúr, and said to him, "We only know of one man in our neighbourhood "who was exceedingly poor some time since [and whose condition is now changed]. "He used to support himself and family entirely by the work of his hands, and "he and his sons always went on foot [or carried their own loads] for want "of a beast. We hear that this very day he has bought a nag for himself, besides "a complete suit of the best materials for each of his sons." Upon this, Al-mansúr gave orders that the man alluded to should be brought into his presence the next morning, bidding the merchant to be also ready to appear before him at the appointed hour. When morning came, the man presented himself to Al-mansúr, who, upon his entering the room, went straight to him, and in the merchant's presence addressed him thus: "If any thing which we have lost should have "fallen into thy hands, what wouldst thou do with it?" Upon which the man replied instantly, "Here it is, my Lord," and putting his hand into his trowsers' pocket, he took out the very bag which the merchant had lost. At sight of his lost treasure the merchant shouted with delight, and his joy was so great that he actually jumped. Al-mansúr then ordered the man to explain how the circumstance had happened, and he said, "As I was working in my "orchard under a palm-tree, I saw something drop down a few yards before me. "I picked it up, and to my great surprise and delight found it to be a handsome "bag full of money. When I saw it, I thought to myself, I would swear this "money belongs to our master, Al-mansúr, and that some bird has stolen it from "his castle and dropped it in his flight in this neighbourhood. I then opened "the bag, and examined its contents; when my extreme poverty tempted me "to take ten gold dinárs out of the many which it contained, all the time "saying to myself, I have no doubt that when my lord Al-mansúr, who is so "generous, hears of the circumstance, he will not hesitate to give them to me." Great was Al-mansúr's surprise when he heard the poor man's story. Having taken the bag from him, he handed it over to the merchant, saying, "Take thy bag "and count the money; whatever is wanting, thou wilt charge to my account." The merchant did as he was desired, and, having counted his money, said, "By "the merits of thy head! there is nothing wanting but the few dinárs he has told "us of, and those I willingly give up to him from this moment." "No," replied Al-mansúr, "the priority in this case belongs by right to us, and it is for us "to reward the man [as he deserves]; we will take nothing from thy joy, it

"must be complete." Saying this, he caused ten dinárs to be given to the merchant instead of the ten wanting, and rewarded the gardener with ten more for his having had the virtue not to appropriate to himself the whole of the sum that fell into his hands. He then said, "Had he confessed [his guilt] before we came "to inquire into it, his reward would have been complete." The merchant then began to praise Al-mansúr, and finding his spirits returned, he exclaimed, "By "Allah! the fame of this deed of thine shall travel the regions of the world; it shall "be said of thee that thou exercisest over the birds of the air the same power "which thou hast over the inhabitants of the land in these thy dominions; there "is no escaping thy will or avoiding thy power." Al-mansúr smiled, and said, "Be moderate in thy expressions, and may God pardon thee!" The assembly then withdrew in utter amazement of Al-mansúr's sagacity in discovering the lost treasure, his readiness to allay the merchant's grief, and the benevolence and forbearance he displayed in the midst of his power.

It is related by Abú Bekr At-tortúshí (from Tortosa),[20] who held it from Abú-l-walíd Al-bájí, that as Al-mansúr was once about to cross the frontier and penetrate into the enemy's territory, he ascended to the summit of a hill for the purpose of reconnoitring the neighbouring country. Once at the top, he looked down and saw his troops encamped in the middle of an extensive plain stretching both right and left. Having for a while considered the imposing sight in silence, he turned towards the *Mukaddam*[21] (leader of the van) of his army, whose name was Ibnu-l-mus'hafí, and said to him, "What is thy opinion of an army like that?" —"My opinion is," answered Ibnu-l-mus'hafí, "that it is a well-disciplined and "numerous army."—"I should not be astonished," replied Al-mansúr, "if there "were in an army of that sort one thousand warriors of undaunted courage, and "matchless dexterity in the handling of weapons, capable, in short, of meeting "hand to hand the stoutest champion of the Christians." Ibnu-l-mus'hafí made no reply to the above observation, and kept silence. "Why answerest thou not?" said Al-mansúr to him. "Is there not in my army the number and description "of warriors that I have just named?"—"Certainly there is not," was the officer's reply. Al-mansúr was greatly startled by the answer; yet he said almost immediately, "If there be not that number, at least thou wilt grant that there "are five hundred."—"Not even that number," replied Ibnu-l-mus'hafí. Hearing this, Al-mansúr could hardly suppress his anger. "Wilt thou not grant me one "hundred?"—"Not even fifty," answered Ibnu-l-mus'hafí, with the greatest coolness.—Al-mansúr's indignation could no longer be controlled; he foamed at the mouth with rage, he abused Ibnu-l-mus'hafí, called him an infidel, a traitor, and a coward, and bade him leave his presence immediately, if he valued his head.

Some time after this occurrence a Christian army made its appearance on the plain where the Moslems were encamped, and as Al-mansúr never refused battle whenever it was offered to him by the enemy, he marshalled his troops, and made every preparation for the forthcoming engagement. The Christians, on the other hand, did the same; and the two hosts, having well chosen their ground, divided the extensive plain between them. The two armies were already drawn in line of battle, and the warriors of both nations were waiting only for the signal of their respective commanders to rush upon each other, when, behold! a Christian knight, cased in bright steel, came out from the ranks, and, advancing between the two hosts, began to prance his horse and to brandish his spear, challenging the Moslem warriors to single combat. "Is there any of you," said he, with a terrific voice which resounded through the plain, "who dares to come out?" Presently a Moslem champion sallied out; but, after a few blows were exchanged, he was unhorsed and slain. Great was the joy of the infidel dogs when they saw the Christian knight slay his adversary; their deafening shouts resounded through the air like claps of terrific thunder, whilst the Moslems were dejected and afflicted at the death of their comrade. Elated with success, the Christian knight again rode his steed between the two hosts, and said, "Is there no one to come out "and fight me? If your brave men dare not come alone, let two of them, three "more come out,—I will fight them all." Hearing this taunting bravado, another Moslem left the ranks; but alas! he shared the same fate with his companion. "Let three to one come out," cried the Christian with exultation, "one is not "enough for me." A Moslem warrior then presented himself, but he was immediately dispatched like the two preceding ones. Again the infidels rent the air with their exclamations of joy, whilst the Moslems were afflicted and in dismay: a sort of panic fear ran throughout the whole army, which, there can be no doubt, would have been easily defeated, had the Christians then commenced the attack. Meanwhile Al-mansúr was mad with rage, pacing the ground with the greatest inquietude, and not knowing what to do to inspire courage into his dispirited troops. At last he sent for Ibnu-l-mus'hafí, and said to him, "Hast "thou seen the feats of arms performed by yonder Christian dog?"—"I have," answered Ibnu-l-mus'hafí, "I watched attentively all his movements."—"And "what is thy advice on this occasion?"—"Explain thy wishes to me," said Al-mus'hafí, "and I will counsel thee to the best of my understanding."—"I wish "to humble the pride of the Christian, and put a stop to his insulting bravadoes." "That can only be attained," said Ibnu-l-mus'hafí, "by finding a Moslem who "will be his superior in courage, strength, and dexterity; but I will see to that." Without loss of time Ibnu-l-mus'hafí galloped off to a division of the army where

he knew of some warriors renowned for their former exploits, and, having communicated to them the wishes of their general, a young man belonging to the troops of the *Thagher* came forwards mounted on a lean, sorry nag, extremely weak about its hind-quarters, having before his saddle a water-skin; the rest of his apparel was equally poor and ludicrous. "Well, my brave youth," said Ibnu-l-mus'hafí to him, "didst thou see the Christian slay thy comrades?"—"I did," replied the young soldier, "and what are thy wishes?"—"I want thee to bring me his head." The youth departed with his water-skin and his sorry nag, and arrived before the Christian, whom he attacked immediately. Scarcely a few minutes had elapsed, when the Moslem soldier was observed galloping back to his ranks with something in his hand, which, at his approach, proved to be the gory head of the Christian knight. Having laid his trophy at the feet of Al-mansúr, he was immediately promoted, and rewarded besides with a very large sum of money. Ibnu-l-mus'hafí then observed to Al-mansúr, "Was I not right when I told thee "that there were not one thousand warriors, nor five hundred, nor one hundred, "nor fifty, nor twenty, nor ten even? The event has proved it. This youth is "one of the very few who can pass under that denomination." Al-mansúr restored Ibnu-l-mus'hafí to his favour, and from that day listened more attentively to his advice.

One of Al-mansúr's soldiers once left his banner [fixed in the earth] on a mountain close to a Christian town. After the retreat of the Moslem army, the Christians of the town, seeing the banner fluttering before the wind on the top of the mountain, felt desirous to get possession of it; but not knowing what troops there might be behind it, they dared not for several days quit the town. Let this be an example of the awe in which the worshippers of the Trinity stood in those glorious times of the servants of the only God; for it is a fact that whenever the proudest kings of the Christians met [in the field] Al-mansúr's invincible host, fear lodged in their hearts; and being convinced that resistance in the open field was of no avail, they invariably took to flight and sought refuge behind the walls of their towns and castles, from which they never moved, but watched from the top the movements of their enemies.

In one of his campaigns to the land of the Franks, Al-mansúr happened to pass between two lofty mountains by a narrow road or defile which led into the heart of the enemy's territory. No sooner had he crossed the pass, than he began, as usual, to make incursions into the neighbouring districts, wasting and burning every thing that lay in his way, and making prisoners right and left. As the Franks made no resistance, Al-mansúr pushed his ravages further into their country for several consecutive days, until, being satisfied with the plunder which he had

collected, he thought of returning by the same road he had come. On his arrival at the narrow pass he found it strongly guarded by the Christians, who had assembled in great numbers to oppose his passage. When Al-mansúr saw the Christians in possession of the pass, he was not the least disconcerted; he returned with his host to the country which he had lately traversed, and having chosen a suitable encampment for his army, set about constructing houses and dwellings for his soldiers, as it was then winter-time. This being done, he ordered his men to provide themselves with agricultural implements, and directed them to plough and sow the neighbouring fields. At the same time he sent marauding parties to plunder the country around, and make prisoners, who, when brought to the camp, were immediately beheaded, with the exception of the children, who were preserved [to be brought up in the Mohammedan faith]. The carcasses of the slain were then, by his orders, thrown at the mouth of the pass; their number being so great that the pass was actually blocked up with them, and that for several miles round the country became a complete desert. In the mean while the Christians sent a message to Al-mansúr, offering to let him pass unmolested with his army, if he would give up all his plunder and captives; but this Al-mansúr most indignantly refused: upon which the infidels sent him a second message, offering to let him pass with both plunder and captives; but Al-mansúr answered, "My men are no longer desirous to cross, but wish to remain where they are. "Were they to cross the pass and return [to Cordova], they would soon have to "recross it for the ensuing spring campaign. We are therefore determined to "stop here till next year, and when we have gone through our campaign then "will we cross the pass, and not before." However, the Franks kept importuning him until he granted them the peace they implored, on condition that they would furnish him with mules to carry his plunder and his captives, and would besides supply him with provisions for his army up to the time of his arrival in his own territory; and, moreover, that they should themselves remove the carcasses of their countrymen heaped up before the mouth of the pass; all which conditions the Christians faithfully fulfilled, Al-mansúr and his army passing unmolested through the pass. "By my life," observes the historian from whom the above narrative is borrowed, "there never was recorded a more splendid deed than this, "or a case in which divine assistance was made more manifest; for causing "the proud enemies of Islám to remove the putrid carcasses of their slaughtered "countrymen is an exploit unprecedented in the annals of warfare."

Among the remarkable acts recorded of Al-mansúr, and which are not told of any other prince, one is, that his army was chiefly composed of [Christian] captives taken in his wars with the infidels. It is a well-authenticated fact, corroborated

by the testimony of contemporary historians. That with such troops Al-mansúr should have been enabled to accomplish what he did, and to defeat, wherever he met them, the best-appointed armies of the Christians, is only one proof more of the favours and assistance which the Almighty was pleased to dispense to him.

The above extracts are from the work of Ibnu Hayyán; we shall now transcribe from the *Azháru-l-manthúrah fí-l-akhbárí-l-máthúrah* before mentioned. It is there said, in the twenty-ninth flower or chapter, that "As Al-mansúr was one day "sitting under a tent in the plain outside of Cordova to pass in review his infantry "and cavalry, and see them manœuvre,[22] the reviewing field being filled with "spectators, a soldier belonging to the African corps, and whose name was Wátir-"már Ibn Abí Bekr Al-birzálí,[23] came up before him, and addressed him in "language ludicrous enough to provoke to laughter a man who has just lost his "friend or his son. 'O my Lord!' said he, 'neither I nor you have a dwelling, "and I am actually in the street.'—'What then is become of thy spacious and "comfortable dwelling, O Wátirmár!' replied Al-mansúr to him. 'Thou hast "expelled me from it. May God show thee his favours! Thou gavest me fields "and lands yielding enough produce to fill my house; but then thou didst expel "me from it, and I am now but an hungry Berber, untrained to adversity. Dost "thou not see that I am like the thirsty camel who is brought to a spring, "and whose head is yet held up so that he cannot drink?' Hearing this "incoherent speech, Al-mansúr burst out laughing and said, 'May God preserve "thee from the shafts of calamity! Thy manner of returning thanks for a benefit "is more pleasing to our ears and more gratifying to our hearts than the eloquent "and learned perorations of other men.' Then turning round to the Andalusian "officers who were close to him, he said, 'Friends, if you ever have to thank "for a benefit, or to ask for the continuance of a favour, do it in this poor man's "style, with the simplicity of nature, and without either strain or affectation.'[24] "He then gave orders that among the houses then unoccupied the best should "be put at the disposal of the Berber, which was done in compliance with his "commands."

In the ensuing flower, which is the thirtieth, "Al-mansúr got up one Sunday "morning, when the weather was boisterous, the wind very high, and the rain "fell in torrents. It must be observed that Sunday[25] was a day of rest for the "servants [of Al-mansúr's household], who were always allowed on that day "some relaxation from their duties; so that both circumstances united made "Al-mansúr think that he would have no applications made to him, and he "exclaimed, 'I should think that this day we shall be free from importuners and "pretenders! By my life, were one of them to make his appearance in spite

"of the raging elements, I swear that he will carry off the first prize.' Thus "saying, he left his room, and went to meet his Hájib (chamberlain), to whom "he imparted his determination. Scarcely, however, had Al-mansúr retired to "his inner apartments, when the chamberlain appeared before him, and with "a smile on his countenance said, 'My Lord! three Berbers, Abú-n-náss Ibn "Sáleh and two more with him, are now at thy door [asking for admission]. "They are dripping wet, and desirous to see thee.'—'Bring them in to me,' "was Al-mansúr's answer. The chamberlain hastened to execute his master's "orders, and after a little time returned with the three Berbers, who were as "wet as a piece of melting salt. Al-mansúr laughed to see them in that plight, "and, bidding them to sit down, he inquired from them what had brought them "to his palace in such weather, when all men of sense remained quiet at home, "and even the birds of the air took refuge within their nests. Abú-n-náss then, "answering for his friends, said, 'O our Lord! it is not every tradesman who sits "[waiting for customers] in his shop; there are many who, tempted by gain, "come after us and try to deceive us, and take our money from us; but we "disappoint them by drawing tighter the strings of our purses. Nevertheless they "persevere in their attempt, and wander through the streets, markets, and squares, "actually wearing out their shoes and garments for the sake of gain. In a like "manner do we wear out thy clothes upon the backs of our horses in an attempt "to deserve thy favours. We therefore thought of coming to sit down in "this market [to see what we might get].' Hearing this, Al-mansúr laughed "most heartily, and, having sent for robes and other presents, he distributed "them among the Berbers, who returned to their dwelling highly rejoiced and "content with their morning's work."

In the forty-fourth flower we read as follows: "There was in Cordova during "the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr (Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir) a youth "who followed the pursuits of literature, in which he had attained considerable "eminence. He occupied his time in reading books on the science of govern-"ment, and frequented the libraries for that purpose, until he obtained an appoint-"ment under government, in the exercise of which he embezzled a considerable "sum of money. Being called to account, he was found to be a debtor to the "state in three thousand dinárs. Al-mansúr, having been informed of the cir-"cumstance, summoned the delinquent to his presence, and charged him with "embezzling the public money. The youth then made a profound bow and con-"fessed his guilt. 'What induced thee, young rascal, to appropriate to thyself "the Sultan's money?' The youth replied, 'My reason was overpowered, and the "temptation to breach of faith seized upon me.'—'By Allah! we intend to make

" an example of thee. Here! a pair of shackles and a smith for this youth, and " away with him to prison.' He then gave particular orders to the jailer to have " him well flogged, and to treat him with the greatest rigour. When the youth " was about to be marched out of the room, he repeated the two following verses:

'Alas! alas! the punishment which awaits me is still greater than I 'should have imagined.

'There is no escaping my miserable fate; power and strength only belong 'to God.'[26]

" When Al-mansúr heard these verses, he said to his guards, 'Stay;' and then, " addressing himself to the youth, 'Hast thou any thing to say in thy defence, " or dost thou conform thyself to thy sentence?'—'I have,' was the youth's " answer. The shackles were then knocked off his feet; and this being done, he " said extempore—

'Seest thou not that Al-mansúr's forgiveness must needs be followed by a 'favour?

'Like Allah, who, after forgiving his servants, admits them into Paradise.'[27]

" He was right: not only did Al-mansúr set him at liberty, but he pardoned " him the sums which he had embezzled, and exempted him from all further " prosecution on that account."

From the forty-fifth flower: " Al-mansúr, feeling one day indisposed, wanted " to have a cautery applied to his leg. The surgeon was sent for, and, although " when he arrived, Al-mansúr was sitting on a raised throne, surrounded by his " courtiers and administering justice to his subjects, he nevertheless directed the " surgeon to apply the cautery to his leg; which was done, the assembly perceiving " nothing until they actually smelt the burnt flesh and skin, which caused no " little astonishment among them."

From the forty-sixth flower: " Such was the awe in which Al-mansúr was " held by all those who surrounded his person, so rigorous the discipline which " he caused to be observed by the troops, and so great his care in upholding " the royal dignity, that no preceding sovereign ever met with such submissive " obedience to his commands. It is said, that whenever he passed his cavalry in " review, the most profound silence was kept by the soldiers, and that the horses " even were so trained as not to break it by their neighings. One day, as he " was reviewing his troops in a plain in the vicinity of Cordova, he happened " to see something glitter amidst a troop of men. Having inquired what it was " that attracted his eyes, he was answered, that one of the soldiers had unsheathed " his sword, thinking he could do so unperceived. 'Bring the man to me,' " said Al-mansúr to one of his officers. The soldier accordingly came out of

" the ranks and saluted his general. 'What made thee unsheath thy sword at " a time and in a spot where thou well knowest it is strictly forbidden to do so " without previous leave from the general?' The soldier confessed his guilt, " but alleged as an excuse, that whilst he was in the act of pointing to a comrade " with his sword, the scabbard, which was loose, fell off and left the blade " uncovered. 'Crimes of this kind no excuse can palliate,' replied Al-mansúr, " and he ordered the soldier to be immediately beheaded with his own sword. " He then caused his gory head to be fixed on a spear and to be paraded in " front of the ranks, whilst a proclamation was read to the troops, stating the " crime just committed, and the manner in which it had been punished."

Buildings erected by Al-mansúr.

But what shall we say of the stupendous buildings erected both in Africa and in Andalus during the administration of Al-mansúr! What of his addition to the great mosque of Cordova, which we have described elsewhere, a work so highly meritorious in the eyes of God that it would, of itself, have procured him a place in Paradise! What of the magnificent palaces and gilded pavilions erected at his command, and which equalled, if they did not surpass, those constructed by the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah! We have alluded elsewhere to his having built on the banks of the Guadalquivir, at some distance from Cordova, a strong castle, called Az-záhirah,[28] whither he conveyed all the treasures of the state. In the course of time a beautiful palace was erected in the neighbourhood, extensive gardens [29] were planted; houses, too, were built for the officers of his household, as well as barracks for the troops of his body-guard, and Az-záhirah became, in a very short time, a large and populous city. Ibn Khákán, who alludes to it in the *Mattmah*, says that Al-mansúr completed the building in A. H. 387, and that in the same year, having made, as usual, an incursion into the enemy's territory, he caused more havoc than he had ever done, penetrating into the most distant and retired districts of Galicia, and collecting more plunder than on any other former occasion.

Az-záhirah was not the only place built by Al-mansúr. We are told by Al-homaydí that he erected also, at a short distance from Cordova, and in the vicinity of Medínatu-z-zahrá, a magnificent country-residence, called Munyat Al-'ámiriyyah, surrounded by fields and plantations, in which one thousand *mudd* of barley were yearly sowed, to supply food for a stud of horses which Al-mansúr kept in it. It is related that Al-mansúr was so fond of the horses reared at this place, that on his return from a military expedition he never took any rest until he had summoned to his presence the master of the stud, and had ascertained from him how many colts had died during his absence, and how many were born. In a similar manner he never failed to inquire from his chief architect whether

any portion of the building required repair. At this place Al-mansúr had a manufacture of shields and weapons, of which no less than twelve thousand were made every year; and they say that the number of workmen employed in the manufactory, as well as those of the stud, and other servants, was so considerable, that no less than twelve thousand pounds of meat, exclusive of game and poultry, were distributed to them in the course of the year. Al-mansúr erected also a bridge on the river of Cordova (Guadalquivir), which was begun in the year 378 (beginning April 20, A. D. 988), and finished about the middle of 379 (beginning April 10, A. D. 989), at the expense of one hundred and forty thousand dinárs. It was a very useful work, and one that will perpetuate the memory of Al-mansúr. On the subject of the building of this bridge we recollect having read somewhere a very interesting anecdote. Among the lands which were appropriated for the building of the bridge, there was a patch of ground belonging to an old man of the lower classes. Al-mansúr ordered the inspectors of works to purchase it from him. Accordingly, having called upon the man, the inspectors spoke to him about his land, explained to him the necessity under which they were of appropriating it, as the bridge could not be erected on any other spot, and declared to him that they had received instructions to indemnify him fully for the loss of his property. Not wishing to part with his land, the old man asked what he considered a most exorbitant price, imagining that when the inspectors had heard his unreasonable demand, they would desist from their purpose; but to his great astonishment, no sooner had he mentioned the sum, ten dinárs of gold, and declared that he would not make over his property for a lesser consideration, than the inspectors caught him at his word, paid him the money down, and drew up a deed for the sale. When Al-mansúr was informed of the transaction, he could not help laughing at the old man's ignorance and imbecility; but he ordered his treasurer to pay him ten times the money he had asked, which was done agreeably to his commands. When the old man saw himself in possession of one hundred dinárs, his joy was extreme, and he had well-nigh lost his senses in the excess of his rejoicing. He presented himself to Al-mansúr, whom he thanked for the signal favour thus conferred on him; and the anecdote being circulated among the people, became the subject of history.

The above were not the only public works erected under the administration of Al-mansúr. A bridge was thrown over the river Shenil (Xenil) at Ezija, by means of which a communication was established between that city and the neighbouring country, the roads leading to the city were more frequented, and provisions became more abundant. Granada, Seville, and other cities of Andalus, Ceuta and Fez in Africa, partook alike of the benefits of Al-mansúr's administration in this respect.

Among the meritorious actions of Al-mansúr, the following are particularly recorded. He wrote with his own hand a Korán, which he always carried with him on his military expeditions, and in which he used constantly to read. He collected and kept all the dust which adhered to his garments during his marches to the country of the infidels, or in his battles with them. Accordingly, whenever he halted at a place, his servants came up to him, and carefully collected the dust in kerchiefs, until a good-sized bag was filled, which he always carried with him, intending to have it mixed with the perfumes for the embalming of his body. He also took with him his grave-clothes, thus being always prepared to meet death whenever it should assail him. The winding-sheet was made of linen grown in the lands inherited from his father, and spun and woven by his own daughters. He used continually to ask God to permit him to die in his service and in war against the infidels, and this desire was granted. He became celebrated for the purity of his intentions, the knowledge of his own sins, his fear of his Creator, his numerous campaigns against the infidels, and many other virtues and accomplishments, which it would take us too long to enumerate. Whenever the name of God was mentioned in his presence, he never failed to mention it also; and if ever he was tempted to do an act which might deserve the chastisement of his Lord, he invariably resisted the temptation. Notwithstanding this he enjoyed all the pleasures of this world, which make the delight of kings, with the exception only of wine, the use of which he left off entirely two years before he died. We might fill whole volumes with extracts taken from those works which have been exclusively consecrated to the history of that remarkable man; but, however strong the temptation, we will resist it, and will resume the thread of our long-interrupted narrative, by recounting what happened in Cordova after the death of Al-mansúr.

CHAPTER II.

'Abdu-l-malek succeeds to the post of Hájib—His death—His brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán is proclaimed —He prevails upon Hishám to choose him for his successor—A conspiracy is formed against 'Abdu-r-rahmán—who is assassinated—Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár is proclaimed under the name of Al-muhdi—The Berbers revolt against him—They are expelled from Cordova—They proclaim Suleymán —Defeat Al-muhdi—Take possession of the capital—Suleymán is defeated by Al-muhdi—Restoration of Hishám—Cordova taken by the Berbers—Massacre of its inhabitants—Origin of the Bení Hamúd—'Alí Ibn Hamúd revolts against Suleymán—Defeats him, and puts him to death—'Alí is proclaimed at Cordova—His exemplary justice—He becomes a tyrant—Assassination of 'Alí—His brother Al-kásim is elected by the army—Takes possession of the government—Proclamation of Al-murtadhi, of the house of Umeyyah—He is betrayed and put to death.

'Abdu-l-malek succeeds to the post of Hájib.

About two hours before Al-mansúr died, his son, 'Abdu-l-malek, rode in all haste to Cordova, where he arrived at the beginning of Shawwál (Aug. A. D. 1002), accompanied only by the Kádí Ibn Dhakwán. When the sad news was divulged [in Cordova], and the Khalif Hishám ascertained the state in which Al-mansúr lay, he summoned to his presence a number [of civil functionaries], in order to announce to them the fatal news; but such was the excess of his grief, that he could not utter a single word, and he stood speechless as a ghost, endeavouring to explain by signs to the assembly the fatal occurrence which he had to communicate. 'Abdu-l-malek then returned to the camp, and found that his father was dead, and that according to his last instructions he had been interred in the spot where he died, namely, in his palace at Medínah Sélim (Medinaceli). The army then broke up, the greater part going towards Hishám [in Cordova]; upon which 'Abdu-l-malek, after remaining some days at Medinaceli, returned to Cordova, accompanied by those who remained by him; and the singing women of his father's harem put on hair-cloth sacks and coarse blankets instead of the silk and brocade to which they had been used.

Hishám treated the son as he had treated the father; he himself clothed him with a *khil'ah* or dress of honour, and signed his appointment to the office of Hájib. This, however, was not accomplished without some alteration[1] among the eunuchs [of the palace]; but, at last, those who leaned were put straight, and the ill-disposed became loyal; things took their right course, the breasts [of the

Moslems] were expanded, and their hearts were rejoiced, when they heard of 'Abdu-l-malek's victories, and of the extensive districts which he daily conquered from the unbelievers; and the birth of a son [of 'Abdu-l-malek] was hailed as the greatest blessing which Andalus could receive.

In the year 393 (beginning Nov. 9, A. D. 1003) letters came from Al-mu'izz, chief of the tribe of Maghráwah, who, at the death of his father, Zeyri Ibn 'Attiyah, had become ruler of Fez and Western Africa, [acknowledging Hishám as his liege lord.] 'Abdu-l-malek granted Al-mu'izz the investiture of Western Africa, on condition that he would cause Hishám's name and his own to be proclaimed from the pulpits [of all the mosques] in his dominions, and that he would send every year to Cordova one horse and one shield, besides a certain sum of money, in token of vassalage; all which conditions Al-mu'izz promised to fulfil, sending his son Al-mu'anser as an hostage to Cordova.

His death.

'Abdu-l-malek followed in the steps of his celebrated father, as regards the [wise] administration of public affairs and the [yearly] expeditions against the Christians, of which he is said to have made no less than eight, always causing great loss to the unbelievers, as for instance that of 394 (A. D. 1004), when he is well known to have defeated the King of the Galicains, and to have taken and destroyed his capital, the city of Liún (Leon).[2] In commemoration of that exploit, 'Abdu-l-malek received the titles of *Seyfu-d-daulah* (sword of the state) and *Al-modhaffer* (the conqueror, or victorious). He died on his return from the country of the Christians, in the month of Moharram, A. H. 399 (Sept. A. D. 1008), or, according to other authorities, in the year before (A. H. 398), although the former date is the most probable. His administration lasted seven years, which were to the Moslems like a succession of festivals, owing to which the period of his rule was called *As-sábi'* or *Al-osbú'* (the week), comparing it with the first week after marriage.

His brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán is proclaimed.

After the death of 'Abdu-l-malek, his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán succeeded him in the charge of Hájib (chamberlain). 'Abdu-r-rahmán assumed on the occasion the surname of *An-násir lidín-illah* (the defender of the faith); others say that he took that of *Al-mámún* (the trusted by the grace of God). He followed in the steps of his brother and father as regards the seclusion of the Khalif Hishám, of whose person he was the complete master, and the assumption into his hands of all the powers of the state.

He prevails upon Hishám to choose him for his successor.

In the course of time, however, he undertook to usurp even the insignia of the Khalifate as he had usurped the power, and to this end he asked Hishám to appoint him his successor to the throne,—a request with which that weak monarch complied, after assembling the counsellors of the state and the notaries to witness the ceremony, and to authorize it by their presence. "It was," says an author of those days, "a very solemn ceremony." The deed [of nomination]

was drawn by Abú Hafss Ibn Burd, and copied in the Khalif's own hand. We here subjoin it:

"This is what the Khalif Hishám Al-muyyed-billah, Commander of the Faithful, "stipulates with the people [of this country] in general, and what he himself "promises to observe and swears to fulfil, by placing his right hand upon the "deed as upon a true and valid contract.

"After mature consideration and long deliberation, after reflecting upon the "heavy duties which God has imposed upon him as Imám and Commander "of the Faithful, the Khalif Hishám, son of the Khalif Al-hakem Al-mustanser-"billah, and grandson of the Khalíf 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidín-illah,—fearing "lest fate should strike him that blow against which no mortal stands secure, "and which no living creature has the power to avert; fearing lest death should "assail him suddenly, and take him by surprise; fearing, in short, that if he "were to die thus, the people of this country would have no banner left under "which they might flock, and no place of refuge to which they might run [in "case of need]; knowing that were he to present himself to his Creator after "so flagrant a dereliction of his duty, he would certainly incur his anger for "having neglected the charge intrusted to him, and having gone astray from the "path of righteousness and truth,—has determined to select among the Arabs of "the tribe of Koraysh, and others having their domicile in this country, one "worthy of having this empire transmitted to him [as an inheritance], and of "being intrusted with the prosperity and welfare of this nation,—one whose "piety, religion, honesty, and good faith shall be notorious, one who shall be "known to resist the temptations of sin, and to follow the path of righteousness "by practising those duties which are acceptable to his God.

"After searching, therefore, high ranks as well as low, the Khalif Hishám "has found none more deserving to be appointed his successor, or to become "the heir to the Khalifate after his death, than the trustworthy, honest, and "beloved Abú-l-motref 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir Mo-"hammed, son of Ibn Abí 'A'mir. (May God prosper him!) And the Khalif "has been induced to make this choice owing to the brilliant qualities which grace "the said individual,—the generosity of his soul, the greatness of his origin, and "the nobility of his descent; his piety, his prudence, his wisdom, his talents, "all of which he knows him to possess, as he has watched him, and put him "more than once to the trial, and has upon every occasion found him ready to "do a good act, and to be the first in the path of righteousness, or to surmount "any obstacles however great [in the prosecution of good purposes]; since, "in short, he knows him to unite in his own person every good quality. But

" are we to wonder that a man who had Al-mansúr for a father and Al-modhaffer " for a brother should surpass every one in virtue, and exceed all in generosity?

" Another no less weighty consideration has moved the Commander of the Faithful " to take this step, namely, that whilst perusing works on the occult sciences " and turning over the inestimable treasures contained in them, he has discovered " that he was to be succeeded [in the command of this country] by an Arab of " the race of Kahttán, respecting whom there exists a well-authenticated tradition " preserved by 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amru Ibnu-l-'ass and Abú Horeyrah, both of whom " ascribe the following words to our Prophet: 'The time shall come when a man " of the stock of Kahttán will drive men before him with a stick.' Finding, " therefore, no person to whom those words can be better applied; knowing that " every thing that is good is centered in the person of the above-named, and " that he is, moreover, ornamented with every brilliant quality; that he has no " rivals and opponents, but, on the contrary, every one [in this country] looks " up to him for direction, the Khalif intrusts to him the administration of affairs " during his lifetime, and bequeaths to him the empire after his death. And this " the Commander of the Faithful does spontaneously, of his own free will, and " in the presence of witnesses [called for that purpose], and, as such, orders it " to be transmitted and communicated to his subjects without any second thought " or restriction, pledging himself in public as well as in private, by word and deed, " by the stipulation of God, and by his promises, by the protection of his messenger " Mohammed, and that of the four legitimate Khalifs who were his ancestors, " and his own share in the intercession, to fulfil it in all its parts, and not swerve, " change, wander, or fall aside in any part of it; taking God and his angels to " witness of the truth of his words, and that he bequeaths his empire and transfers " his sayings and doings to the here present Al-mámún Abú-l-motref 'Abdu-r- " rahmán, son of Al-mansúr, (may God prosper him!) who accepts what is given " to him, and binds himself to fulfil the duties imposed upon him."

This took place in the month of Rabi' the first, A. H. 399 (Nov. A. D. 1008). The Wizírs, the Kádís, and other people present, witnessed the act by affixing their signatures to the deed; and from that day 'Abdu-r-rahmán was called *Wali-l-ahd* (presumptive heir to the empire).

A conspiracy is formed against 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

In this manner were the wishes of 'Abdu-r-rahmán accomplished, and his name proclaimed from the pulpit of the great mosque; but the courtiers and the high functionaries of the state were averse to the measure; and it became in time the cause of his own ruin, and of the overthrow of his power and that of his family. The Beni Umeyyah and the Korayshites were the most opposed to it; they detested the rule of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and, moreover, they were much afflicted at seeing the

power of the Korayshites and the rest of the Bení Modhar in the hands of their enemies the Yemenites. They therefore united their counsels, visited each other, and entered into a conspiracy to rid themselves of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Accordingly, in the year 399 (A. D. 1009), whilst 'Abdu-r-rahmán was absent from Cordova on one of his expeditions to the country of the Galicians, they rushed upon his *Sáhibu-sh-shorttah* (captain of the guard), and slew him[3] at his post, at the gate of the royal palace in Cordova: they then deposed Hishám Al-muyyed, and appointed in his room a prince of the posterity of the Cordovan Khalifs, whose name was Mohammed, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdi-l-jabbár, son of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidín-illah, on whom they conferred the honorary appellation of *Al-muhdi-billah* (the directed by the grace of God).

The news [of this revolution] having reached the point of the frontier where the Hájib 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then [at war with the Christians], he collected the scattered divisions of his army, and returned hastily to Cordova, burning to take vengeance on his enemies. However, when he approached the capital, he was deserted by a great portion of the army and the principal Berber officers, who immediately entered Cordova, and having sworn allegiance to the usurper Al-muhdi, instigated him against the Hájib 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom they represented as a madman, and incapable of governing the people well. Some of them next went out of Cordova, returned to the camp, and seized on 'Abdu-r-rahmán,[4] whom they beheaded, taking his head to Al-muhdi and to the people of Cordova. Thus was the power of the 'A'mirites overthrown. There is no God but God, He is the only survivor of empires! Who is assassinated.

On his accession to power, Mohammed assumed the surname of *Al-muhdi* (the directed). Instead, however, of being contented with the title of Hájib, and reigning in Hishám's name, as Al-mansúr and his two sons had done, he confined that unhappy monarch to an apartment of his palace, gave out that he was dead, and took for himself the titles of Khalif and Imám. One of the first acts of his government was to seize as many as he could of the chiefs attached to the party of the 'A'mirites, and put them to death. Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár usurps the royal power.

It has been stated above, that the chiefs of the Berbers and of the Zenátah, seeing the bad rule of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and the subsequent overthrow of his empire, had without difficulty embraced the party of the usurper Al-muhdi. The Bení Umeyyah, however, could not forget the assistance which the Berbers had formerly lent to the 'A'mirites, as they ascribed entirely to them the usurpation of the royal power by Al-mansúr and his two sons. They therefore hated them most cordially, and could not bear the sight of them; and had it not been that the Berbers were numerous, and united together by a sense of the necessity of self-preservation, they would undoubtedly have been all destroyed to a man. As The Berbers revolt against him.

it was, the rabble of Cordova insulted and hooted at them [whenever they met them in the streets], and by their clamours and complaints prevailed upon Al-muhdi to issue orders that no Berber should be allowed to ride or bear arms within the precincts of Cordova. Moreover, as some of the Berber chiefs were once returning from the palace, their houses were in the mean while attacked by the populace and gutted of their contents. The offended immediately laid a complaint before Al-muhdi, who, not daring to disregard their claims altogether, had the guilty parties put to death. Yet with all this, Al-muhdi hated the Berbers, and let no opportunity pass without showing them all the ill-will he bore them; upon which the Berbers, having received intelligence of his ill designs, as well as of his intention to make a general slaughter among them, called upon their officers to advise them how to act upon the emergency. Having held a secret council, they came to the resolution of dethroning Al-muhdi and of proclaiming a prince of the race of Umeyyah, whose name was Hishám, son of Suleymán, son of the Commander of the Faithful, An-násir lidín-illah. Their meetings, however, could not be held so secretly as not to reach the ears of a few [influential citizens], who decided upon thwarting their plans. They, accordingly, instigated against them the populace of Cordova, who took up arms, attacked them in their cantonments, and expelled them from the city. This being done, Hishám and his brother Abú Bekr were arrested and conveyed to the presence of Al-muhdi, who beheaded them [with his own hand].

They are expelled from Cordova.

A nephew of the murdered princes, named Suleymán, who was the son of their brother Al-hakem, succeeded in leaving Cordova in disguise, and repaired to the camp of the Berbers, who, after their expulsion from the capital, had pitched their tents at a short distance from it, swearing not to raise them until they had taken ample vengeance on the citizens of Cordova. Suleymán was received with open arms by the Berbers, who hastened to swear allegiance to him, and proclaimed him Khalif under the appellation of *Al-musta'ín-billah* (he who implores the assistance of God), on condition that he would immediately lead them against their enemies. Suleymán, however, thinking that the time was not yet come to make an attack upon Cordova, dissuaded them from their undertaking, and retired with them to the Thagher (frontiers of Toledo), where he applied for, and obtained, from the son of Alfonso,[5] a strong body of troops to aid him in his war with Al-muhdi. Thus re-inforced, Suleymán advanced by forced marches against Cordova; upon which Al-muhdi, hearing of his approach, went out to meet him at the head of the citizens and of the troops of that capital. Having come to close battle, fortune turned against the Cordovans, upwards of twenty thousand of whom fell by the sword of the enemy. On that disastrous occasion the learned and

They proclaim Suleymán.

Defeat Al-muhdi.

the virtuous, the theologians, Imáms, Muezzins, and others, were involved in the same common ruin.[6]

Take possession of the capital.

Suleymán advanced upon Cordova, of which he took possession, without resistance, about the end of the fourth century [of the Hijra]. Al-muhdi fled to Toledo, whence he implored and obtained the assistance of the son of Alfonso for the second time.[7] That prince gave him the help he desired, and accompanied him to Cordova. After defeating his enemy at 'Akbatu-l-bakar, near Cordova, Al-muhdi regained possession of his capital, which he entered without opposition. After this, Suleymán and his Berbers left Cordova, and scattered themselves over the plains, plundering the inhabitants, and committing all manner of depredations, until they retired to Jezíratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras). Thither they were followed by Al-muhdi with his Christian auxiliary, the son of Alfonso; but this time the Berbers were victorious: Al-muhdi and the Christians were completely defeated, and were obliged to fall back upon Cordova, whither they were immediately pursued by the victor.

Suleymán is defeated by Al-muhdi.

Restoration of Hishám.

On his arrival at Cordova, Al-muhdi took Hishám Al-muyyed-billah out of confinement, showed him to the people, and made them swear allegiance to him, laying down all the power he had usurped, and reserving nothing for himself except the office of Hájib [chamberlain]. This, however, was of no avail to him: Suleymán and his Berbers soon appeared before the walls of Cordova; and the citizens, fearing his vengeance, instigated the servants of the palace and the eunuchs of Hishám against Al-muhdi, whom they represented as the only cause of their troubles and dissensions. Upon this, one of the eunuchs of the palace, named Wádheh Al-'ámirí, having with the assistance of his friends surprised Al-muhdi, put him to death, and restored his master Hishám to his liberty, assuming for himself the charge of Hájib.

Thus perished Mohammed Al-muhdi at the end of the year 400 (August, A. D. 1010), and after a reign of about ten months. He is represented by the historians of the time, as a man of depraved morals, a tyrannical ruler, and a blood-shedder. Ibn Bessám says that he had a garden in which the heads of his enemies were fixed on stakes sunk in the ground. The following verses were composed by a poet of those times:

"Our Mahdí (director) has appeared, but [instead of peace and justice] he "brings us vice and folly.

"He has made the wives of the Moslems common to every one; and what "was sacred before, is no longer so under his rule.

"Indeed, those who were hornless yesterday, will to-day see their heads "ornamented with horns."[8]

During the reign of this Sultán, and that of his rival Suleymán, the city of Cordova was often exposed to the ravages of an undisciplined soldiery; and the palaces of Az-zahrá and Az-záhirah were completely destroyed. "It is a fact well "worthy of remark," says the historian Ibnu-r-rakík, "that [in the course of "twenty-four hours] from Tuesday the 15th of Jumáda-l-akhar (A. H. 399), at the "hour of noon, to the following Wednesday, Cordova was taken, Az-zahrá[9] "destroyed, a Khalif [Al-muyyed Hishám] deposed, and another Khalif [Al-"muhdi] appointed in his stead; the power of the Beni 'A'mir was overthrown, "and their Wizír, Mohammed Ibn 'Askaléjah, slain; armies of citizens were "raised, the succession of the Wizírs was destroyed, and others occupied their "places: but the most remarkable fact is, that all this was accomplished by ten "men, who were either sellers of charcoal, or butchers, or dung-carriers, and who "served in Al-muhdi's army."

Al-muhdi was a man of very dissolute morals, of little or no talent [for the administration], but exceedingly cruel and revengeful. When Al-mansúr usurped the power of the Beni Umeyyah, and, as above related, slew or exiled all the members of that family who stood in his way to the throne, he spared this Al-muhdi,[10] owing to his imbecility and the little consideration which he enjoyed among the people; and yet this very man, whom Al-mansúr had not thought worthy of his notice, was destined to overthrow his well-consolidated power, to destroy all that he had founded, and, in short, to become the heir of his riches and his power. No human wisdom or prudence can prevent the fulfilment of fate; no mortal creature can resist the immutable decrees of the Almighty, whose will must needs be obeyed.

Al-muhdi was a tolerable poet. One night, as he was drinking with some of his guests, a page of his presented to him a branch of myrtle; upon which Al-muhdi uttered extempore the following verses:

"I am presented with a tender branch of sweet-smelling myrtle, whose soft "undulations may be compared to thy lion-like gait;

"Which resembles thee in gracefulness of step, as thou resemblest it "in fragrancy."[11]

Cordova taken by the Berbers.

The siege of Cordova continued with unabated vigour, the inhabitants not being able to gain any advantage over the troops of Suleymán, until at last, the fields, the farm-houses, and the lands round Cordova having been either wasted or set fire to by the besiegers, the scarcity of provisions began to be felt in the capital, and the besieged began to despair.

In the mean time Al-musta'ín pressed the siege more closely than ever. In order the sooner to accomplish his purpose, he sent to the people[12] of Alfonso, inviting

them to come to his assistance with their troops. Hishám, on the other hand, dispatched his Hájib, Wádheh, to the same quarter, to persuade the Christians not to grant this request, promising, if they would withdraw their forces from his enemy, to put them in possession of the fortresses which Al-mansúr had reduced on the frontiers of Kashtellah (Castilla). Upon these conditions Alfonso refused to send the auxiliary troops which Suleymán requested: that chief, however, persevered in his undertaking; and, after a protracted siege, during which the poor people of Cordova were exposed to all the horrors of a famine, he became at last master of the capital on Monday the 6th of Shawwál of the year 403 (April 20, A. D. 1013). A general massacre ensued; the Khalif Hishám was secretly put to death [by the command of the victor],[13] the houses of the inhabitants were sacked and profaned, their women and daughters insulted, wealthy families reduced to poverty, magnificent buildings razed to the ground. There was, in short, no excess of which the infuriated Africans were not guilty on this occasion. Doctors, theologians, Imáms, Kádís, men distinguished by their virtues, or eminent for their piety and their learning, were involved in the general massacre. Among the victims of that disastrous day, the celebrated traditionist and learned divine, Abú-l-walíd (Abú Mohammed) 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Nasr Al-azdí Al-kortobí, better known under the surname of Ibnu-l-faradhí, was one. This eminent man was versed in various sciences, such as traditions, biographical history, and chronology. He was well acquainted with literature, as appears from the numerous works which he wrote, such as "the lives of Andalusian divines and other men of science," which we ourselves saw and read in Western Africa,—a work admirable for its arrangement and unique in its kind, the same to which an appendix was written by Ibnu Bashkúwál, under the title of *Kitábu-s-silah* (the book of the joining).[14] He also left a very fine work on that branch of the science [of genealogy] called *Al-mokhtalef wa-l-mutalef*, or, what is different and alike in the patronymics of men; an excellent history of the Andalusian poets, and several other productions of equal merit. Ibnu-l-faradhí was born on Tuesday, the 21st of Dhí-l-ka'dah, of the year 351 (December, A. D. 962). At the age of twenty-one, he quitted Andalus for the East, made his pilgrimage, and visited most of the large cities in Syria and Egypt, where he met the most eminent professors of the time, and studied under them. He then returned to his native country, where he obtained offices of trust, and was at last appointed Kádí of Valencia. Happening to be at Cordova on the day that Suleymán took that capital by storm, his house was attacked by a party of Berbers, who put him to death. They say that his body lay for three whole days in the court of his house, and was at last privately interred without any ceremony, and without having the funeral service said over it.

Massacre of its inhabitants.

Having rid himself of all his enemies, Suleymán imagined that his empire was consolidated and his power strengthened. But he was mistaken; new competitors started up, and he had soon to contend against the very Berber chiefs who had contributed every where to his accession. The Berbers and the African slaves possessed themselves of large towns and populous districts; as Bádís Ibn Habús [15] of Granada, Al-birzálí of Carmona, Al-yeferaní of Ronda, and Harzún [16] of Sherish (Xerez). Andalus was in course of time cut up into fragments and small principalities, the command of which devolved upon men of the lowest rank in the state, as Ibnu 'Abbád, who rose at Seville; Ibnu-l-afttas, at Badajoz; Ibnu Dhí-n-nún, at Toledo; Ibn Abí 'A'mir, at Valencia; Ibn Húd, at Saragossa; and Mujáhid Al-'ámirí, at Denia and the [Balearic] islands. But we are rather anticipating the narrative of events.

Origin of the Bení Hamúd.

Among the Berber chiefs who followed the party of Suleymán Al-musta'ín-billah, there were two men of the posterity of 'Omar Ibn Idrís; their names were Al-kásim and 'Alí. They were the sons of Hamúd, son of Maymún, son of Ahmed, son of 'Alí, son of 'Obeydullah, son of 'Omar, son of Idrís, [son of Idrís,] son of 'Abdullah, son of Hasan, son of Huseyn, son of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. (May God dispense his favours to them all!) Their ancestor was that same Idrís who, in order to escape the vengeance of Hárún Ar-rashíd, the 'Abbásside, had fled from the East and taken refuge among the Berbers of Africa; in which country he founded a powerful and extensive empire, making war against that Khalif, as did also his son [Idrís], who inherited his empire and built the city of Fez.

'Alí and his brother Al-kásim arrived in Andalus, as before related, during the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr, who employed them in his armies. Having distinguished themselves in several encounters with the Christians, they were gradually promoted, until each obtained the command of a considerable body of troops of their nation. When the civil war, which the judicious historian Ibnu Khaldún has justly designated under the epithet of "Berberiyyah," (that of the Berbers), broke out at Cordova, 'Alí and his brother Al-kásim played an active part in all the transactions of the time, helping with the troops under their command to overthrow the power of the Bení 'A'mir, and to place Suleymán, of the race of Umeyyah, on the throne. With a view to reward the services of his partisans, and the more to strengthen his power, Suleymán divided among the Africans the command of his armies and the government of the provinces of his empire. Thus he gave to 'Alí Ibn Hamúd the government of Tangiers, Ghomárah, and other places in Africa, where that chieftain ruled as master, although he acknowledged himself the vassal of Suleymán.

In the course of time, however, finding that the governors of the provinces had

every where revolted against Suleymán, 'Alí also shook off his allegiance to that Sultán, and began to entertain projects of personal aggrandisement. It is related that the Khalif Al-muyyed Hishám was very much addicted to astrology and the science of divination. One day as he was employed in his favourite pursuits with one of his courtiers, he discovered that the dynasty of the Beni Umeyyah would soon become extinct in Andalus, and would be replaced by another dynasty, of which a man of the posterity of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, and whose name began with the letter *'ayn* ('A), was to be the founder. Accordingly, when in A. H. 403 (A. D. 1013) Suleymán took Cordova for the second time, and, as before related, confined Hishám to a dungeon, the latter having heard that there was among the Berbers an officer named 'Alí, who was said to be the descendant of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, he dispatched him a secret message thus conceived: "Thou shalt "certainly become king of this land; for my heart tells me that I shall soon die "by the hands of this man (meaning Suleymán): should such be my fate, I intrust "my revenge to thee." To the above circumstance, it is said, was owing 'Alí's determination to rise in arms against Suleymán, and to dispute the empire with him; others attribute to him different motives. Be this as it may, after appointing his son Yahya to command in Africa during his absence, 'Alí crossed over to Andalus, where, being soon after joined by Khayrán, the Sclavonian [governor of Almeria], he gave out that he was come to revenge the murder of his lawful sovereign Hishám. No sooner, however, was Suleymán informed of his landing, than he hastened against him at the head of his best troops; but after several sharp encounters with the troops [of 'Alí and Khayrán], he was at last completely defeated in the plain of Tálikah (Italica), close to Seville, himself and his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán falling into the hands of the victor; who, on his arrival in Cordova, which made no resistance, caused them both to be beheaded together with their aged father, Al-hakem. Thus died Suleymán Al-musta'ín-billah, after a reign of upwards of three years, counting from his first entrance into Cordova.[17]

'Alí Ibn Hamúd revolts against Suleymán.

Defeats him, and puts him to death.

On his obtaining possession of the throne, 'Alí took the surname of *An-násir lidín-illah* (defender of the faith). One of the first acts of his administration was to check the licentiousness of the African soldiers, who, under the preceding reigns, had been suffered to commit all manner of ravages, and to indulge their wicked propensities on the peaceable inhabitants of Cordova. He succeeded by his salutary rigour in re-establishing discipline among the Berbers, and justice shone as bright as ever. He used on given days to sit at the gate of his palace to administer justice and redress the wrongs of those who complained to him. On such occasions, numbers of Berbers would be brought before him accused of various offences, and, if convicted, he would have them instantly beheaded before his own eyes,

'Alí is proclaimed at Cordova.

His exemplary justice.

and in the presence of their tribes, their relatives or friends. The following anecdote, which we transcribe from the work of a trustworthy writer who was an eye-witness, will give an idea of the exemplary justice which 'Alí dealt among the Berbers. "As 'Alí was once riding out of one of the gates of Cordova, called "*Báb 'A'mir* [the gate of 'A'mir], he met a Berber on horseback, who carried "on the saddle before him a load of grapes. Having made him stop, 'Alí inquired "where and how he had procured the grapes. 'I seized them like a man,' "was the Berber's answer. Upon which, 'Alí caused him to be immediately "beheaded, and directed that the head of the delinquent should be placed over "the grapes on the horse's back, and then paraded through the streets of the "capital, as a warning to the other soldiers of his nation."

For eighteen consecutive months did this Sultán persevere in the right path, administering justice with an even hand, and governing his subjects with moderation and wisdom, until, having learned that the Andalusians, who could not tolerate his rule, had raised up Al-murtadhi Al-merwání in the eastern provinces, with the design of re-establishing the sovereignty of the house of Umeyyah, he changed his conduct entirely, and laboured to depopulate Cordova and to exterminate its inhabitants. Accordingly, he relaxed in his severity towards the Berbers, and things soon resumed their ancient course. The chief inhabitants of the place were every where insulted, and their houses plundered; the magnificent buildings erected by the Bení Umeyyah were either entirely demolished or gutted of all their valuables, and the ruin of the city proceeded with as much rapidity as it had before done in the worst times: the rich citizens were forcibly dispossessed of their wealth, and men remarkable for their piety or their learning subjected to all manner of indignities. The tyrant went so far as to impose heavy tributes and other illegal taxes, and, in order to raise money, he seized on the persons of several wealthy inhabitants, and confined them to prison, until they should pay the exorbitant sums he demanded as their ransom: he did more; when, after paying the required money into his treasury, the friends and relatives of the prisoners appeared in front of the gaol with led horses to convey them to their respective dwellings, he issued orders for the confiscation of those, and the prisoners were compelled to walk home. Among those who suffered on this occasion was Abú-l-hazm [Jehwar], who became in after-time King of Cordova, was succeeded by his son [Abú-l-walíd], and was the founder of a dynasty which has been included by the historians in the number of the petty dynasties of Andalus.

He becomes a tyrant.

These and other excesses, of which 'Alí was guilty, alienated from him the good-will of the people, and revolt succeeded revolt in the provinces. At last

Revolt of Khayrán.

Khayrán, the Sclavonian governor of Almeria, who was one of the staunchest partisans of the Bení Umeyyah, seeing the people of Cordova disposed to shake off the oppressive yoke of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd and his Berbers, raised the standard of revolt at Almeria, and caused 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed [Al-murtadhi], a prince of that family, to be proclaimed throughout the districts of his government. Having then sent his letters to all those governors and chiefs who were known to be secretly attached to the cause of the Bení Umeyyah, he prevailed upon some of them to join his banners, and, having collected considerable forces, marched against the capital.

No sooner was 'Alí apprised of that formidable insurrection, than he hastened to take every measure to crush it in its birth; but whilst he was preparing to march against his enemies, he became the victim of treason. He was assassinated whilst in the bath by some of the Sclavonian pages who had formerly belonged to the household of the Bení Merwán. This event took place about the beginning of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 408 (A. D. 1017). The Sclavonians who perpetrated the deed were three in number: when they saw that 'Alí was dead, they hastened to a place of safety within the palace, which was known only to them, and hid themselves in it. When his death became public, the people of Cordova were highly rejoiced. The duration of 'Alí's reign is generally computed at two years, but, according to the statement of an historian who verified the fact, he only reigned twenty-one months and six days.[18] Notwithstanding his foreign origin, and his possessing none of those brilliant qualities which draw forth the admiration and praise of the people, 'Alí had many accomplishments which revealed his noble descent and the hereditary virtues of the race of Háshim. Assassination of 'Alí.

Among the poets attached to his court, the most celebrated were Ibnu-l-khayyát Al-kortobí, 'Obádah Ibn Mái-s-samá, and Ibn Derráj Al-kastálí (from Cazalla). 'Obádah, who was well known to profess the doctrines of the Shiites, composed a very fine ode in praise of 'Alí, from which the following two verses are taken:

"Your ancestor 'Alí began in the East what another 'Alí has accomplished "in the West.

"Let then all invoke the favours of God on him, and salute him; for his is "the empire by right divine."[19]

The two following are the composition of Ibn Derráj:

"O Sun on the decline! the deep sorrow [on thy countenance] is, no doubt, "caused by the thought of thy sad [approaching] fate.

"Intercede for me with the son of the intercessor; bear my message to the "son of the messenger [of the Almighty]."[20]

His brother Al-kásim is elected by the army.

After the death of 'Alí, his brother Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, who was governor of Seville, was raised to the supreme power. This Al-kásim was ten years older than his brother; both were the sons of Hamúd, by the same wife, a descendant also of the house of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. 'Alí had left two sons: one, named Yahya, whom, as before stated, he appointed governor of Tangiers, Ceuta, and other districts in Africa; the other, called Idrís, who was governor of Malaga at the time of his father's death. The eldest, Yahya, was undoubtedly entitled to the throne; his father 'Alí having, besides, designated him for his successor: but the affections of the Berbers were greatly divided; some inclining to the son, some to the brother, of their late sovereign. However, the greater number leaned towards Al-kásim, owing in the first place to his being older than his brother 'Alí when the latter took possession of the throne, and, secondly, to his being near Cordova at the time of 'Alí's death, whilst between them and Yahya there was an intervening sea. They therefore sent messengers to him, to offer him the throne. When the messengers arrived in Seville, they hastened to the palace, and communicated to Al-kásim the news of 'Alí's death, and the wish of the troops that he should succeed him. At first, Al-kásim showed no joy whatever at the intelligence; he feared, no doubt, that the whole might be a stratagem of his brother to ascertain his feelings towards him; he therefore hesitated to accept the throne offered to him, and retained the messengers near his person until he verified the truth of the matter. He then marched without delay to Cordova, where he was proclaimed [by the troops] six days after the death of his brother.[21]

Takes possession of the government.

Al-kásim's administration was mild and just; only that, knowing that some of the Berbers were secretly inclined to favour the claims of his nephew Yahya, the governor of Ceuta, to the throne, he intrusted the defence of his person to the African black slaves, of whom he bought a large number, forming them into a body-guard, and intrusting to them the government of the provinces and the command of his armies. The Berbers, however, took offence at this, and in course of time forsook his cause entirely.

Meanwhile the people of Andalus, who detested the rule of the Bení Hamúd, the descendants of 'Alí [Ibn Abí Tálib,] owing to their deriving their chief support from the Berbers, in whose hands the country actually was, were flocking from all parts to swell the army of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-merwání, who, as related, had been proclaimed in the eastern provinces. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the son of Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of the great 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir lidín-illah, ninth Sultán of the race of Umeyyah. On the day of his proclamation he had assumed the honorary surname of *Al-murtadhi* (the accepted). When the people of Cordova and other principal cities heard of this rising, their

Proclamation of Al-murtadhi of the house of Umeyyah.

rejoicing was extreme; for all were anxious to see the rule of the Bení Merwán re-established in Andalus. Being joined by the forces of several petty kings, who hastened to acknowledge him as their sovereign, Al-murtadhi marched upon Cordova. Among his allies on this occasion were Mundhir At-tojibí, Lord of Saragossa, and Khayrán Al-'ámirí, the Sclavonian, Lord of Almeria. There came also with him some auxiliary troops which the King of the Franks [22] had sent him. Hearing of the approach of Al-murtadhi to his capital, Al-kásim went out to meet him with his Berbers. It happened, however, by some strange coincidence, that Mundhir and Khayrán, though still following the party of Al-murtadhi, were not on very good terms with him at the time, and by no means so well disposed in his favour as they had been at first. "Methinks," said one of them to the other, "that Al-murtadhi does not put on the same face now "that he sees himself at the head of a powerful army, as when he was weak "and needed our assistance. Be sure this wily man is meditating some treason "against us." Upon this, Khayrán wrote to Záwi Ibn Zeyri, of Senhájah, one of the most brave and enterprising Berber chiefs in Andalus, who, during the late civil commotions, had made himself master of Granada and the surrounding districts, where he ruled independently, offering, if he would attack Al-murtadhi on his road to Cordova, that he himself, and Mundhir, with the troops of the *Thagher* (Aragon), and the freedmen and adherents of the Bení 'A'mir, who were always hostile to the Bení Merwán, would immediately desert his cause, leaving him to fight his own battle with the partisans of his family. To this proposition Záwi readily assented, and the plan was concerted between them.

He is betrayed and put to death.

However, on his arrival before the walls of Granada, Al-murtadhi wrote a letter to Záwi, calling upon him to take the oath of allegiance, and promising him great rewards if he would join him with his forces. The letter having been read to Záwi, who, being a Berber, was not well versed in the Arabic language, he directed his secretary to write on the back of it that chapter [of the Korán which begins thus]: "Iá ayyoha-l-káfirúna." [23] (O ye, the unbelievers!) On the receipt of the letter, Al-murtadhi wrote him another, thus conceived: "Beware! for I am marching "against thee with a host of the bravest warriors of this country, and assisted "by the Franks." And he closed his letter with the following verse:

> "If thou be one of us, I can announce to thee prosperity and success; if "the contrary, thou wilt soon experience every calamity."

When the letter was read to Záwi, he ordered his secretary to turn it over and to write upon the back of it the whole of that chapter [of the Korán] which begins thus: "The emulous desire of multiplying riches and children employeth you "until ye visit the grave." On the receipt of this message the indignation of

Al-murtadhi was roused to the highest pitch: so great was his desire of revenge, that he instantly abandoned the expedition he had concerted, and, instead of marching upon Cordova, the seat of the empire, as he had intended, he deviated from the road, and went to attack Záwi in Granada, believing that he could annihilate him in one hour. The hostilities, however, continued for some days, until Záwi wrote to Khayrán to remind him of his promise, and to say that the time was come for him to accomplish his treason and forsake the cause of Al-murtadhi. Khayrán's answer was thus conceived: "I have delayed [the execution "of my plans] in order that thou mightest appreciate the extent of our courage, "and the irresistible fury of our attacks; but when thou next seest us encamped "close to him, charge him with thy cavalry, and we shall then take to flight "and desert him." It was done as agreed on between them, and on the morning of the next day Záwi made a desperate charge, at the head of all his cavalry, on the troops of his adversary. Al-murtadhi withstood the attack with his wonted bravery; but no sooner had the engagement commenced, than he saw the banners of Khayrán, Mundhir, and the other chieftains of the Thagher, turn away from the field, and he was left to fight single-handed against the troops of Záwi. The contest could not last long; after the slaughter of the greater part of his devoted followers, Al-murtadhi was compelled to take to flight, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he escaped from the field of battle.[24] The unfortunate prince remained for some time in concealment; but Khayrán having sent spies after him, he was discovered and put to death at a place in the neighbourhood of Guadix, whither he had gone for the purpose of crossing over to Africa, and being secure.[25] His head was brought to Almeria and presented to Khayrán and Mundhir, who had by that time reached that city.

CHAPTER III.

Yahya, the son of 'Alí, revolts against his uncle—Marches to Cordova—Takes possession of that capital—The Berbers desert his cause—Al-kásim regains possession of Cordova—The people rise against him, and expel him from the city—Al-kásim goes to Seville—The inhabitants declare against him, and shut their gates—He takes refuge in Xerez—Falls into the hands of his nephew—Is sent prisoner to Malaga—Al-mustadh'her, of the house of Umeyyah, is proclaimed at Cordova—He is put to death, and succeeded by Al-mustakfi [Mohammed III.]—Yahya marches to Cordova, and takes it—The citizens proclaim Hishám Al-mu'tadd, of the house of Umeyyah—They depose him—Death of Yahya.

After the battle in which Al-murtadhi was defeated, the whole of Andalus submitted to the Berbers, and their rule was firmly established throughout the country. Al-kásim caused the tent of Al-murtadhi, which, together with other spoils, had fallen into the hands of the victor [Záwi], to be pitched on the bank of the Guadalquivir at Cordova, as a sign of the victory he had just gained over his enemy. Thousands of people went out of Cordova to see it, and manifested their sorrow by deep sighs escaping from their bosoms.

It was on this occasion that the poet 'Obádah Ibn Mái-s-samá, who, as before stated, was a partisan of the house of 'Alí, recited before Al-kásim that ode of his which begins thus:

"Thine is the victory; Khayrán has gone his way; and God has secured
"the empire to the descendant of his messenger."[1]

Yahya, the son of 'Alí, revolts against his uncle.

The affairs of Al-kásim went on their course; he appointed and removed [governors], spoke and acted, until his nephew Yahya, the son of 'Alí, threw off the mask of obedience, and aimed at depriving him of the empire. It happened thus: Yahya, who, on the death of his father 'Alí, was governor of Ceuta, wrote from that town to the principal Berber chiefs in Cordova, saying, "My uncle has "deprived me of my father's inheritance: not satisfied with this, he has also "deprived you of the governments and offices won by your good swords, and "given them to his black slaves. I am coming among you to claim the throne "of my father. Once in possession of it, I will reinstate you in the full enjoyment

" of all your rights and privileges, and will reduce the black slaves to their former " condition." The Berbers having agreed to espouse his cause on these conditions, Yahya collected all the vessels he could find in the ports of his dominions, besides those sent him by his brother Idrís, Lord of Malaga, and, having crossed the sea, landed at that port at the head of considerable forces. Whilst there, he received letters from Khayrán, Lord of Almeria, reminding him of the alliance which had once existed between the writer and the father of Yahya, to whose elevation he had contributed, and asking for his alliance and friendship. But his brother Idrís said to him, " Place no confidence in Khayrán; he is an artful man and a traitor." —" Well, if it be so," replied Yahya, " we must manage him so as to make his arts " and his treasons useful to ourselves." However, Yahya, relying on the promises of the Berbers, determined upon attacking his uncle in Cordova. Having sent his brother Idrís to Africa, to govern there in his absence, he placed himself at the head of whatever forces he could collect, and proceeded by forced marches to the capital. Al-kásim did not wait for the arrival of his nephew. Knowing that he could place no reliance on his men, he left his capital secretly and at night, accompanied only by five trusty servants, and arrived in Seville, where he was well received by the Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád. The departure of Al-kásim took place on Saturday, the 28th of Rabi'-l-akhar of the year 410 (Sept. 1, A.D. 1019). Soon after, his nephew Yahya entered Cordova, and was proclaimed by the Berbers, the black slaves, and the inhabitants of the place, on Saturday, the first of Jumáda-l-akhar (Oct. 3, A.D. 1019) of the same year.[2]

Marches to Cordova.

Enters that capital.

On his taking possession of the throne, Yahya assumed the surname of *Al-mu'tali* (the exalted). Being proud of his noble origin, since he was descended on his father's side from 'Alí [Ibn Abí Tálib], and his mother also was a descendant of Fátimah, the daughter of the Prophet, Yahya began to treat the great men of his court with utter disregard, never admitting them to his presence, and passing his time in the society of low and contemptible men. This made the chiefs of the Berbers averse to Yahya; they complained loudly of his ingratitude, and clamoured for the fulfilment of those conditions on which they had consented to support his claim to the throne, one of which was that he should immediately recall the immunities and privileges granted to the guard of black slaves [during the preceding reigns]. This Yahya immediately granted; but the disaffected, not being satisfied with the above concession, now made such exorbitant demands, that the treasury would have been drained and the royal power seriously impaired, [had Yahya acceded to their wishes.] The black slaves, moreover, not considering themselves safe in Cordova, fled to his uncle Al-kásim in Seville; their example being soon followed by all those among the Berbers and Andalusian officers who were offended

The Berbers desert his cause.

at his behaviour, or who had in any measure been wronged by him. In addition to this, it must be said, that not one of the petty kings of Andalus followed the party of Yahya; the greater part still continued to have the *khotbah* said in his uncle's name, and a few remained faithful to the Bení Umeyyah, for whom and in whose name they pretended to hold their governments. So that, in point of fact, the power of Yahya did not extend beyond the walls of Cordova, and he soon came to the conviction that should his uncle march against him, he could not defend his capital, and he would inevitably fall into his hands. About the same time Yahya received the intelligence that the city of Malaga, where his brother Idrís commanded in his name, was on the point of renouncing his rule; for, whilst Idrís was at Ceuta, of which city he was also governor, the inhabitants of the former place, profiting by his absence, had sent a secret message to Khayrán, inviting him to take possession of the city; which that chieftain was preparing to accomplish. All these considerations induced Yahya to abandon his capital: he accordingly left Cordova at night, and fled to Malaga with a few trusty followers.

Al-kásim regains possession of Cordova.

No sooner had Al-kásim heard of his nephew's abandoning Cordova, than he marched to that place from Seville. He re-entered his capital without opposition, and the *khotbah* was again recited in his name on Tuesday, thirteen[3] days before the end of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 413 (Feb. 10, A. D. 1023). Al-kásim, however, did not long enjoy peace after his restoration; new discords and civil wars breaking out throughout Andalus. The black slaves, it is true, were, to a man, ranged under his banners; but the greater number of the Berbers were attached to his nephew; whilst a third party was formed at Cordova who wished for the restoration of the dynasty of Umeyyah, and expected anxiously the rising of some member of that family. The plans of the latter, however, did not then meet with success; and the consequence was, that fresh dissensions and deplorable calamities ensued. Al-kásim ordered a most scrupulous search to be made throughout his dominions for all the surviving members of the family of Umeyyah, who, in order to avoid the persecution, were compelled to fly to the provinces, and take refuge in farms and country-houses under various disguises.

In the mean while his nephew Yahya was not inactive. Having fitted out an expedition in Malaga, he besieged and took Algesiras, which still held out for Al-kásim. His brother, Idrís, likewise took possession of Tangiers, a city which Al-mámún [Al-kásim] had fortified with the utmost care, and wherein he kept his treasures. Some time after this, dissension having broken out between the Berbers and the citizens of Cordova, they came to blows in the streets. The latter being in greater number, Al-kásim and his Berbers were compelled to evacuate the place, and to pitch their tents in a field to the west of the city. From that place the

The people rise against him, and expel him from the city.

Berbers made most desperate assaults on the city for a period of fifty consecutive days; but the Cordovans built up with masonry the gates of their city, and made a most vigorous defence from the top of the walls. At last, seeing the siege protracted, and provisions growing every day more and more scarce, the Cordovans decided to make a last effort to drive the enemy from their walls. Having opened one of the gates, they made a simultaneous and determined attack upon the besiegers, who were utterly defeated, God Almighty being pleased to grant the citizens of Cordova a very signal victory over their enemies. This took place on Thursday, twelve days before the end of Sha'bán of the year 414 (November 2, A. D. 1023).[4] After this defeat, Al-kásim's army dispersed. The black troops followed him to Seville, but the Berbers joined his nephew Yahya in Malaga.

Al-kásim goes to Seville.

On his departure for Cordova, Al-kásim had left a son of his named Mohammed to command in Seville, assisted by the counsels of two Wizírs whom he appointed. One of these was Mohammed Ibn Zeyri, one of the principal Berber chiefs; the other, Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád, then Judge and afterwards Sultán of Seville, and the grandfather of Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, so celebrated in the annals of Andalus. Ibn Zeyri being an influential man among his countrymen, the Berbers, and being besides very ambitious, aspired to the supreme power; so did Ibnu 'Abbád. Accordingly, when Al-kásim with the relics of his army appeared in sight of Seville, the two chieftains shut the gates of the city in his face.[5] Al-kásim then tried to force the entrance; but he was repulsed, and several skirmishes ensued, in which both blacks and Berbers fell in great numbers, Ibnu 'Abbád smiling internally and rejoicing all the time to see the two parties destroy each other. At last Al-kásim, despairing of gaining possession of the city, sent in messengers to propose that if his son Mohammed and his family were safely delivered into his hands, he would immediately raise the siege and retire elsewhere. These terms being accepted by Ibn Zeyri, his son and family were suffered to quit the city, and Al-kásim marched to Sherísh (Xerez). Scarcely, however, had Al-kásim had time to establish himself in that fortress, when his nephew Yahya left Malaga at the head of considerable forces and besieged him in it. Al-kásim defended himself with great courage for twenty consecutive days, during which time a great number of warriors fell on both sides. At last the contest ended in favour of Yahya; for the citizens of Xerez, unwilling to bear any longer the hardships of the siege, surrendered their city to him; upon which the blacks fled in every direction, and Al-kásim and his son Mohammed fell into the hands of their incensed relative. This happened in the year 415 (beginning March 14, A. D. 1024).[6]

The inhabitants declare against him, and shut their gates.

He takes refuge in Xerez.

Falls into the hands of his nephew.

They say that Yahya had upon a former occasion taken his most solemn oath that, were his uncle to fall a prisoner into his hands, he would immediately put him

to death, and thus deprive him of all chance of getting possession of Cordova a third time. He nevertheless postponed the execution of Al-kásim until he should take the advice of his counsellors to that effect. Having done so, he was recommended to spare the life of Al-kásim, but to confine him in a dungeon within his own castle at Malaga, that he might in future be safe against his attacks. They say that whenever Yahya was intoxicated, which was of frequent occurrence, he being very much addicted to drinking spirituous liquors, he always showed an inclination to order his uncle's execution; but that his guests never failed to implore his mercy, and to remind him that his enemy was now under his power and could nowise escape. They say also that Yahya saw frequently in dreams his own father, 'Alí, who forbade him to put him to death, saying, "Al-kásim was my "elder brother; he used to be very fond of me when I was a child, and whilst "I commanded in this country I always found him obedient to my rule. By "Allah! have mercy on him!" Yahya therefore refrained for some time; but having afterwards received information that Al-kásim was tampering with the guards of his prison, with a view to effect his escape and take up arms against him, he had him strangled in his prison, thirteen years, or thereabouts, after his falling into his hands, that is to say, in the year 427 (beginning November 4, A. D. 1035),[7] although there are not wanting historians who assert that he died a natural death. But to return.

Is sent prisoner to Malaga.

After the retreat of Al-kásim and his Berbers from before the walls of Cordova, the inhabitants of that capital remained for nearly two months without a leader, deliberating among themselves whom they would choose for their sovereign. At last, on Tuesday, the 15th[8] of the month of Ramadhán of the year 414 (Dec. 1, A. D. 1023), three princes of the race of Umeyyah presented themselves as candidates; namely, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Hishám, and brother of Mohammed Al-muhdi, formerly Khalif of Cordova; Suleymán, son of Al-murtadhi, and another one. At first, Suleymán counted the most votes, and it is even stated that the deed of inauguration was drawn in his name, as was customary on such occasions, and that he was publicly proclaimed through the streets of Cordova; but the party of 'Abdu-r-rahmán having prevailed, Suleymán and the other candidate kissed his hand in token of obedience, and he was proclaimed under the name of *Al-mustadh'her* (he who implores the assistance of God). Immediately after this, Al-mustadh'her ['Abdu-r-rahmán IV.] rode to the royal palace, taking with him his two cousins above named,[9] whom he caused to be imprisoned.

Al-mustadh'her of the house of Umeyyah is proclaimed at Cordova.

Al-mustadh'her had, on his accession to power, raised several of his partisans to the highest rank in the state, admitting them to his privacy and treating them

with a familiarity and friendship quite unprecedented. In the number were, Abú 'A'mir Ibn Shoheyd,[10] celebrated for his courage and military virtues; Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm, well known for his satirical and controversial writings against the Ulemas of various religious schools; and his cousin 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn Hazm Al-ghazzál, a youth of very loose morals. This gave offence to the Sheikhs, the Wizírs, and other influential citizens: upon which, Al-mustadh'her threw himself for protection into the arms of the Berbers, to whom he granted new immunities and privileges. But whilst Al-mustadh'her passed his time with Ibn Shoheyd and the two Ibn Hazm, engaged in literary pursuits and in writing poetry, the discontented took advantage of the state of things, and began to excite the lower classes of Cordova against him, by representing him as a frivolous man who spent his time with poets and sycophants. This they failed not to accomplish, the people of Cordova being then in a state of the grossest ignorance.

There were at the time in the prisons of Cordova several criminals whose detention was deemed necessary [to the welfare of the state]. Among the rest was one named Abú 'Imrán, whom Al-mustadh'her caused to be set at liberty against the advice of one of his Wizírs, who urged him strongly to keep him in prison. Al-mustadh'her, however, disregarding all warning, caused the prisoner to be liberated. This Abú 'Imrán was the cause of Al-mustadh'her's ruin; for he, and all those who came out from prison, began to plan his destruction, and to substitute perdition for his joy, taking as a pretence to make partizans among the people, that Al-mustadh'her neglected the affairs of government and passed his time with literary men and poets, as his low inclinations prompted him. A conspiracy was accordingly formed, with the assistance of the Berbers, the object of which was to deprive him of the throne, and to appoint a relative of his, named Mohammed, in his stead. He was assassinated in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year in which he had been raised to the Khalifate, after a reign of forty-seven days,[11] he being then in the twenty-third year of his age. When God Almighty has decreed that an event shall happen, there is no mortal who can prevent its fulfilment!

Is put to death, and succeeded by Al-mustakfi [Mohammed III.].

Mohammed was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Obeydillah,[12] whom Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir caused to be put to death, because he was planning a revolt against the Khalif Hishám. On his accession to the throne Mohammed took the surname of *Al-mustakfi-billah* (he who is contented with God). His reign, however, was not of long duration; for, sixteen months after his elevation to power, in the year 416 (A. D. 1025), Yahya Al-mu'tali, who, since the defeat and capture of his uncle Al-kásim at Xerez, had ruled undisturbed over Malaga and Algesiras, marched his army to Cordova, and entered that city without opposition, the Khalif

Yahya marches to Cordova and takes it.

Al-mustakfi being compelled to fly to the *Thagher*, where he died soon after.[13] This Al-mustakfi was the father of the celebrated poetess Waládah, to whom Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún dedicated his *risáleh*. Ibnu Bashkúwál says, that she was the most eloquent woman of her age, and that in point of learning and taste she rivalled the best poets of her father's court. The histories of the time are filled with entertaining anecdotes respecting this princess; but as we intend to treat of her elsewhere,[14] and to transcribe largely from the works of Al-fat'h, Ibnu Sa'íd, and Ibnu-l-abbár, who have all written her life, we need not relate them in this place. She lived to a great age, and died on the second day of Safar of the year 480 (May 8, A. D. 1087), although there are not wanting authors who place her death in 484, (A. D. 1091). She was equally celebrated for her chastity as for her beauty, and she never married.

But to return to our account of the Sultáns of the house of 'Alí. No sooner had Yahya entered Cordova, than, leaving a general of his named Ibn 'Ittáf, to govern in his name, he quitted that capital and retired to Malaga, where he began to make preparations for the ensuing campaign against Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád, Lord of Seville. Soon after, however, in 417, (beginning Feb. 21, A. D. 1026,[15]) the inhabitants of Cordova rose against their governor and his Berber troops, fought with them in the streets, and ultimately expelled them from the capital; after which they appointed a prince of the race of Umeyyah, named Hishám, brother of the deceased Al-murtadhi, to administer their affairs. This was done by the advice of the Wizír Abú Mohammed Jehwar Ibn Mohammed, at that time the most influential person in Cordova, and one in whom the people of all classes placed their confidence. As Hishám was then at Lerida, in the *Thagher* (Aragon), with Ibn Húd, a message was sent to him, offering him the crown, and inviting him to repair to Cordova. Hishám accepted the invitation, and assumed on the occasion the surname of *Al-mu'tadd-billah* (he who is prepared in God). This happened in the year 418 (beginning Feb. 10, A. D. 1027). Hishám at first did not proceed to Cordova, but remained for three years in the *Thagher* (Aragon), going from one place to another.[16] At last, civil war having broken out among the petty chieftains, who about that time began every where to show symptoms of independence, it was agreed among them that Cordova should [notwithstanding their pretensions] continue to be the capital of the Mohammedan empire in Andalus. Hearing of that determination, Ibn Jehwar and the citizens of Cordova entreated Hishám to come among them; which he did, about the close of the year 420 (Dec. A. D. 1029). Hishám was a mild and enlightened ruler, and possessed many brilliant qualities; but notwithstanding all that, some time after his entrance into the capital, the volatile and degenerate citizens of Cordova

The citizen proclaim Hishám Al mu'tadd, o the house Umeyyah.

They depose him.

grew discontented with his rule, and he was deposed by the army in 422 (A. D. 1031). Hishám left the capital and retired to Lerida, where he died in 428 (A. D. 1036). He was the last member of that illustrious dynasty which had ruled over Andalus and a great portion of Africa for a period of two hundred and eighty-four years, counting from the accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., surnamed Ad-dákhel, in 138 (A. D. 756). There is no God but him! He is the Almighty!

Death of Yahya.

Meantime Yahya had not given up all hopes of regaining possession of his capital, or chastising the rebellion of Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád, who, as before related, had declared himself independent in Seville. He therefore kept his army continually in motion, besieging either the one or the other of those cities, until the people of Cordova agreed to submit to him, and give him possession of their castles and cities. In this manner Yahya's power increased; but having, in the year 427 (beginning Nov. 4, A. D. 1035), marched against Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád, Lord of Seville, he was assassinated [17] near Carmona by some of his own men, at the instigation of that chieftain.

CHAPTER IV.

Andalus divided into petty kingdoms—Kings of Malaga, of the family of Idrís—Kings of Algesiras—of Granada—Cordova—Seville—Toledo—Saragossa—Badajoz—Valencia—Murcia—Almeria—The Balearic Islands.

Andalus divided into petty kingdoms.

We have already alluded in several chapters of this work to the deplorable revolution and disastrous events by which the mighty power of the Bení Merwán was overthrown, and their extensive dominions in Africa, as well as in Andalus, became the prey of ambitious chieftains, thus affording an opportunity to the cruel enemy of God to attack in detail the divided Moslems, and to expel them at last from those countries which they had so long held in their power. We shall now proceed to give a rapid sketch of each of those dynasties which built their power on the ruins of the Khalifate.

Kings of Malaga, of the family of Idrís.

And, first, the Bení Hamúd. After the death of Yahya Al-mu'tali, who, as related, was assassinated, in the year 427 (beginning Nov. 4, A. D. 1035), by some of his own followers, the army sent for his brother, Idrís Ibn 'Alí, who was at that time in Ceuta, and proclaimed him *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful) and Sultán of Andalus, with the surname of *Al-mutáyyed-billah* (the confirmed by the grace of God).[1] Idrís was immediately proclaimed in Ronda and its dependencies, in Almeria and Algesiras, as well as in his own family dominions of Ceuta and Tangiers, which he intrusted to the care of his own nephew, Hasan, appointing a eunuch named Najá to administer his counsels. Idrís' first care was to revenge his brother's death. Having[2] sent an army to make war against Abú-l-kásim Isma'íl Ibn 'Abbád, the father of Al-mu'tadhed Ibn 'Abbád [who reigned afterwards in Seville], after some sharp encounters the head of his enemy was brought to him in the year 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 1039). Idrís, however, did not long enjoy his victory; he died two days after the head of his enemy was laid at his feet.

After the death of Idrís, the army proclaimed his son Yahya, who did not, however, assume the command; for another party having inaugurated Hasan, son of Al-mu'tali, he [Yahya] took refuge in the fortress of Komáresh (Comares), where he died in the year 434 (beginning Aug. 20, A. D. 1042); some say that he was secretly put to death by the eunuch Najá. According to the historian Ibnu Khaldún, it happened thus: "On the death of Idrís, Ibn Bokennah, "who was one of his Wizírs, contrived to have himself proclaimed at Malaga; "but no sooner did Najá, the eunuch, who was then at Ceuta, hear of it, than "he crossed over to Malaga, bringing with him Hasan, the son of Yahya Al-"muta'li, whom he caused to be immediately proclaimed by the citizens and the "army under the name of *Al-mustanser-billah.* When Najá saw his master's "authority fully established in Malaga, he returned to Ceuta, of which city Hasan "had granted him the investiture, as well as of all his other possessions in the "country of Ghomárah. Hasan died in the year 434 (beginning Aug. 20, A. D. "1042), from the effects of poison ministered to him by a daughter of his uncle "Idrís, in revenge for the death of her brother [Yahya Ibn Idrís], whom that "monarch caused to be put to death on his accession to the throne."

"On the death of Hasan," says Ibnu Khaldún, "Najá again crossed over to "Malaga, with the intention of having himself proclaimed by the troops. During "his absence he trusted the government of Ceuta and Tangiers in the hands of "a Sclavonian eunuch, in whom he placed all his confidence. He set sail and "landed in Malaga, where he so far succeeded in his ambitious designs as to usurp "all the authority in the state. He was, however, soon after assassinated by the "Berbers, who appointed to the vacant throne another son of Yahya Al-mu'tali, "named Idrís. Ever since the death of his brother Hasan, Idrís Ibn Yahya had "been confined in a dungeon at Malaga."

No sooner had the Berbers put to death Najá, than they took Idrís out of prison, and, after some previous negotiations, they proclaimed him under the name of *Al-'áli-billah* (the exalted by the grace of God) on Thursday, six days before the end of Jumáda II. of the year 434 (Feb. 6, A. D. 1043). His authority was immediately acknowledged at Granada and Carmona, the *khotbah* being said in his name in the mosques of those places. This monarch is the one alluded to and praised in a *kassídah,* composed by Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mokéná Al-fondákí, a native of Lisbon, and one of the poets mentioned in the *Dhakhírah* (the hoarded treasure) by Ibn Bessám. This poem, of which we gave some extracts in the first book (vol. i. p. 100), is well known throughout the West, and begins thus:

"Lightning flashes in the ethereal regions, and thy eyes are bathed in tears.

"Its naked swords sport about as freely as the twisted snake in the hands "of the players.

"If the voice of thunder at times speaks a lover's complaint, mine heart "too has its sighs and its lamentations."[3]

Idrís was dethroned in the year 438 (beginning July 7, A. D. 1046), and succeeded by his cousin Mohammed, the son of Idrís Ibn 'Alí, who took the surname of *Al-muhdi* (the directed), and died in the year 444 (beginning May 2, A. D. 1052).

He was succeeded by his nephew Idrís, son of Yahya Ibn Idrís, who, upon his accession, assumed the title of *Al-muwaffek-billah* (he who prospers by the grace of God); but he was not proclaimed Khalif in the mosques. After a reign of a few months, his cousin Idrís Al-'áli, the same prince alluded to in the above poem, who, since his dethronement, had lived in the castle of Comares, marched to the capital, Malaga, and, having taken possession of it, gave it to his slaves to plunder, in revenge for the injuries he had received at the hands of the inhabitants, most of whom quitted that place and went to settle elsewhere. Al-'áli died in the year 446 or 447 (A. D. 1054-6).[4]

After him reigned Mohammed, son of Idrís,[5] who, on his accession to the throne, assumed the surname of *Al-must'ali-billah* (the exalted by the grace of God). This monarch was dethroned by Bádís Ibn Habús, King of Granada, who, in the year 449 (beginning March 9, A. D. 1057), marched against him and took possession of his capital, Malaga. After the loss of his kingdom, Mohammed retired to Almeria, where he led a private life, until, in the year 456 (beginning Dec. 24, A. D. 1063),[6] the citizens of Melilla invited him to come among them; this he did, when they elected him for their sovereign, and he ruled over them until the year 460 (Nov. 10, A. D. 1067), when he died.[7]

During these events the city of Algesiras and the neighbouring districts were under the sway of princes descended also from the family of Hamúd. When Al-kásim, as before related, fell into the hands of his nephew Yahya, and was by him confined to a dungeon in Malaga, a son of his, named Mohammed, was made to share his captivity. This Mohammed, having some time after succeeded in making his escape, fled to Algesiras, of which city, as well as the surrounding districts, he made himself master, assuming the surname of *Al-mu'tassem-billah* (he who looks to God for protection from sin). Mohammed maintained himself in possession of his states, until he died in the year 440 (beginning June 15, A. D. 1048). He was succeeded by his son Al-kásim, who took the surname of *Al-wáthik-billah* (he who trusts in God), and reigned until the time of his death, which happened in the year 450 (beginning Feb. 27, A. D. 1058), when the city of Algesiras fell into the hands of Al-mu'tadhed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville; and Malaga into those

Of Algesiras.

of Habús, who was the enemy and the rival of Al-mu'tadhed. In this manner was the dynasty of the Sherífs, sons of Hamúd, overthrown in Andalus, after some of them had assumed the title of Khalif, as before related.

The Zeyrites of Granada.

About the same time that the Beni Hamúd established themselves in Malaga, a Berber chief, named Záwi, was founding a kingdom in Granada. This Záwi was the son of Zeyri, son of Munád, of the tribe of Senhájah. His *kunya* or surname was Abú Mothna. He went to Cordova during the administration of Al-mansúr[8] with three of his nephews, named Habús, Mákesen, and Habásah, and a body of Zenátah, whom Al-mansúr took into his service. Záwi having distinguished himself in war against the Christians, Al-mansúr gave him the command of a body of African troops, and appointed him one of his Hájibs, or chamberlains. When Mohammed Al-muhdi, after the assassination of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Al-mansúr, usurped the royal power, Záwi, with the rest of the Berber troops, embraced the cause of Suleymán, and assisted him in getting possession of Cordova, which was taken by storm on Monday, the 6th of Shawwál, A. H. 403 (April 20, A. D. 1013), and its unhappy inhabitants subjected to all manner of cruelties practised upon them by a brutal and ferocious soldiery. It is related, that on this occasion Záwi found in one of the palaces at Cordova, called Al-jodrát, the head of his father, Zeyri Ibn Munád, who had been put to death during the Khalifate of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah,[9] and that he gave it to his soldiers to have it properly buried.

During the civil wars which broke out in Andalus after the death of Suleymán, Záwi retired to Granada, of which city and its districts he had been appointed governor by that Sultán, and strengthened himself in it. We have related elsewhere (p. 235) how when Al-murtadhi, of the house of Umeyyah, requested Záwi to make common cause with him against 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, the Berber chief refused his application, attacked him on his road to Cordova, and put him to death. In the year 410 (beginning May 8, A. D. 1019) Záwi crossed over to Africa,[10] leaving in command of Granada a nephew[11] of his, named Habús Ibn Mákesen Ibn Zeyri, who took possession of Cabra, Jaen, and other places, and became in time one of the most powerful monarchs of Andalus.

Habús died in the year 429 (beginning Oct. 13, A. D. 1037),[12] and was succeeded by his son Bádís [Ibn Habús], surnamed *Al-modhaffer* (the victorious), who acknowledged himself the vassal of the Beni Hamúd of Malaga, and said the *khotbah* in their name. Shortly after his accession, Bádís had to defend himself against Zohayr, the Sclavonian King of Almeria, who invaded his dominions at the head of considerable forces; but Bádís marched against him, defeated him, and put him to death. This happened in Shawwál of the year 429 (July, A. D. 1038). Mo-

hammed Al-birzálí, Lord of Carmona, having been attacked by the King of Seville, solicited the aid of Bádís, who, joining his forces to those of Malaga, commanded by Ibn Bokennah, defeated and slew Isma'íl, the son of that monarch, and sent his head to Idrís [Al-mutáyyed]. Bádís likewise made war on Al-kádír Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo; and in the year 449 (beginning March 9, A. D. 1057), perceiving the weak state into which his neighbours, the Bení Hamúd, had fallen, he took possession of Malaga, which he added to his own dominions. According to Ibnu-l-'askar, Bádís died on the twentieth of Shawwál, A. H. 469 (May 16, A. D. 1077),[13] after a long and prosperous reign. Ibnu-l-khattíb says that Bádís was the first [king of his race] who surrounded Granada with walls, and built its *kassábah* and a palace for his own residence.

He was succeeded by his grandson 'Abdullah, son of Balkín,[14] surnamed *Al-modhaffer* (the victorious), who intrusted the government of Malaga to his brother Temím. 'Abdullah reigned undisturbed over Granada and the neighbouring districts until the year 483 (beginning March 5, A. D. 1090), when he was deprived of his kingdom by Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the Almoravide, as we shall describe hereafter.

Cordova.

It has been related above (p. 243) how the inhabitants of Cordova, after shaking off the yoke of the Bení Hamúd, appointed a prince of the race of Umeyyah, named Abú Bekr Hishám, son of Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, to rule over them; and how, after administering the affairs of the state for nearly three years with great justice and moderation, the inconstant citizens of Cordova deprived the monarch of their choice of his power, and expelled him from their city. As there remained no other member of the house of Umeyyah to whom they could offer the throne, the people of Cordova met together, and determined upon giving the command to Abú-l-hazm Jehwar Ibn Mohammed, a man of much wisdom and experience, who had once been Wizír of the Bení Umeyyah under the administration of the Bení Abí 'A'mir. Jehwar at first assumed no other title than that of Wizír of the Bení Umeyyah. It appears, even, that with a view to reduce to obedience the petty rulers of Andalus, he pretended that Hishám Al-muyyed-billah was still living; and, having caused prayers to be said in his name, he wrote to the Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád [Mohammed], King of Seville, to Al-mundhir, King of Saragossa, and to Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo, inviting them to send in their allegiance to Hishám, and to acknowledge Cordova as the capital of Andalus. None, however, listened to his words; upon which, Jehwar, perceiving that his stratagem produced not the desired effect, published that Hishám was dead, and usurped the royal power. He governed, however, with great moderation and justice, although his rule was scarcely obeyed beyond the walls of Cordova. At his death, which happened in the month of Safar, 435

(Sept. or Oct. A. D. 1043), Jehwar was succeeded by his son, Abú-l-walíd Mohammed, who followed in the steps of his father, until, broken down by infirmities and old age, he abdicated in favour of his son, 'Abdu-l-malek. This latter did not long enjoy his power; for soon after his accession he lost his life and his throne, as we shall relate hereafter.[15]

Seville.

Among the most celebrated petty dynasties of Andalus was that of the Bení 'Abbád, Kings of Seville and Al-gharb (Algarve), one of whom was Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, whose fame spread widely both in the East and West, and whose deeds are recorded in the *Kaláyid* and the *Dhakhírah*, in a manner that leaves nothing to desire. The historian, Ibnu-l-lebbánah,[16] has said that there never was a dynasty which more resembled the powerful one of the Bení 'Abbás of Baghdád in extent of generosity and the number of their virtues; and under that impression he composed that celebrated work of his, entitled *Al-'itimád fí akhbár Bení 'Abbád* (the support: on the history of the Bení 'Abbád). We have already quoted (vol. i. p. 395) two verses composed by an African poet in derision of the dynasty of 'Abbád:

" Among the things which make me dislike Andalus are the names *Al-*
" *mu'tadhed* and *Al-mu'tamed* [assumed by its rulers];
" Names of kings whose dominions are not in that country. It is, indeed,
" like the cat, in the tale, trying to swell himself into a lion."

But there can be no doubt that the poet who wrote these verses entertained a bad feeling towards Andalus in general, or that dynasty in particular; for the works of poets and historians abound with anecdotes indicative of the splendour and magnificence with which the kings of Seville surrounded their courts, the boundless prodigality with which they rewarded authors and poets, and the love and enthusiasm which they themselves showed for the sciences.

The founder of this dynasty was Mohammed Abú-l-kásim, Kádí-l-jam'ah (supreme judge) of Seville. He was the son of Isma'íl, son of Karís (or Koraysh),[17] son of 'Abbád, son of 'Amru, son of Aslam, son of 'Amru, son of 'Ittáf, son of Na'ím, of the tribe of Lakhm, of the posterity of An-no'mán, son of Al-mundhir Ibn Mái-s-samá, the last King of Hírah. The first member of that illustrious family, who settled in Andalus, was 'Ittáf, who entered that country in the suite of Balj Ibn Beshr, the Syrian, in the year 123 (A. D. 741). 'Ittáf was originally from a pretty town called Al-'arísh, situated on the skirts of the desert which separates Syria from Egypt. He settled at Yaumeyn, a town in the district of Toshénah [Tocina], belonging to the jurisdiction of Seville. The first individual of the family who attained any celebrity was Isma'íl, son of Koraysh, surnamed Abú-l-walíd, who became *Sáhibu-sh-shorttah* to Hishám Al-muyyed-billah, and filled for some time the functions of Imám at Seville.[18] At his death, his son

Mohammed, surnamed Abú-l-kásim, succeeded him in some of his offices, and became at last Kádí and Wizír of Seville. We have elsewhere related (p. 240) how, when in the year 414 (A. D. 1023) Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd appeared before the walls of Seville, flying before his nephew Yahya, the inhabitants of that city determined upon shutting their gates in the face of that Sultán, and administering their affairs by themselves independently of the Bení Idrís; for which end they appointed a council composed of three individuals. The Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád was one of them; but being an ambitious and shrewd man, and possessing great influence in Seville, he succeeded in getting rid of his colleagues and usurping all the power to himself. After slaying Yahya Ibn 'Alí, who was besieging him in Seville, the Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád imagined that he could not effectually consolidate his empire and expel the Idrísites from Andalus, unless he succeeded in uniting under one common standard all the partisans of the house of Umeyyah. For this end he procured a man resembling in age and appearance the Khalif Hishám, (murdered during the civil wars of Cordova,) and, causing the *khotbah* to be said for him in all the mosques of his dominions, assumed the title of Hájib (chamberlain), and professed to reign in his name.[19] After this, the Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád sent his son Isma'íl against Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-birzálí, Lord of Carmona and chief of the Berber party in those parts; but Mohammed, having called to his assistance the Berbers of Granada and the Bení Idrís of Malaga, Isma'íl was defeated and put to death in A. H. 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 1039).

The Kádí Ibnu 'Abbád died on Sunday, one day before the end of Jumáda, the first, of the year 433 (January 23, A. D. 1042).[20] He was succeeded by his son Abú 'Amru 'Abbád *Fakhru-d-daulah* (glory of the state), who, upon his accession to the throne, assumed the surname of *Al-mu'tadhed-billah* (he who implores the assistance of God). This 'Abbád was a powerful prince, who reduced under his sway the greater part of Andalus. He took Cordova[21] from the Bení Jehwar, and also made extensive conquests in Al-gharb (the western districts). The poet Ibnu-l-lebbánah describes Al-mu'tadhed in the following words: "Al-" mu'tadhed Abú 'Amru 'Abbád was a prince whose life was to his enemies what " fetters are to the feet of the prisoner; whose sword never ceased spilling blood " and taking away souls. Such, indeed, was the number of his victims, that he " actually had before the door of his house an enclosure filled with the skulls " of the slain, the spoils of prince and subject.[22] There was nothing Al-mu'tadhed " liked so much as to look at this enclosure, and he used to spend the greater part " of his time gazing at it; he would often weep and feel compassion for his victims. " Such anecdotes are related of his cruelty, that it is better that they should be " kept away from human ears and not brought to light.

" Al-mu'tadhed was a good poet. The two following verses, which he composed " when the city of Ronda fell into his power, are remarkable:

' Thou shalt be strengthened, O Ronda, and made a bulwark to our ' empire.

' We will soon provide thee with spears and sharp-edged swords.' "[23]

Al-mu'tadhed Ibn 'Abbád died in Jumáda, the second, of the year 461 (May, A.D. 1069), after a prosperous reign of about twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by his son Abú-l-kásim Mohammed, surnamed *Al-mu'tamed 'ala-illah* (he who relies on God), who was then twenty-nine years of age, having been born at Beja, in Al-gharb (Estremadura), in 432 (beginning Sept. 10, A. D. 1040).

The Kádí and learned theologian Abú Bekr Ibn Khamís ['Abdu-l-jabbár As-sikílí], when he comes to treat of the Bení 'Abbád, says as follows: " Such were " the brilliant qualities of Al-mu'tamed, that, although his praises are in every " body's mouth, yet enough cannot be said of him to do him justice. I will now " relate some of his adventures, to which I will add some of the poetical com- " positions which I have read of as attributed to him; for he was as well versed " in literature as he was excellent in poetry. His name was Mohammed, and his " *kunya* or surname Abú-l-kásim, like his grandfather the Kádí [Abú-l-kásim]. " He assumed the supreme power after the death of his father, Al-mu'tadhed. " Alluding to this event, a poet, named Al-hosrí, has said,—

' 'Abbád is dead, and yet a noble shoot remains [of the parent tree].

' The dead therefore is alive, only that the *dhád* [of Al-mu'tadhed] is ' turned into a *mím* [Al-mu'tamed].' "[24]

" Al-mu'tamed," says the historian Ibnu-l-lebbánah, " continued to reign in pro- " sperity until the year 475 (beginning May 31, A. D. 1082). In that year the Jew, " Ibn Shálíb, came to Seville with a number of Christian knights, for the purpose " of receiving the yearly tribute which Al-mu'tamed was in the habit of paying to " Alfonso. The Jew and his suite alighted at one of the gates of the city, whither, " after they had made known the object of their visit, the Sultán immediately sent " them the money required, by one of the high officers of his court. The Jew, how- " ever, refused to receive it, saying, 'I will not take this money; I will take nothing " but pure gold, and next year we will not be satisfied with any thing short of the " whole wealth of the country:[25] return it to him.' The money was accordingly " returned to Al-mu'tamed, who was no sooner acquainted with the Jew's insolent " speech, than he ordered some of his guards to drag the Jew and his suite to his " presence, and to cut the strings of the tent wherein they were. His commands " being executed, and the Christians brought before him, Al-mu'tamed ordered " that the Jew should be nailed to a stake, and his companions sent to prison.

" When the accursed Jew heard his sentence pronounced, he said to Al-mu'tamed, " 'Thou wilt not do this, for I will redeem myself with my weight in gold;' " to which Al-mu'tamed replied, 'By Allah! wert thou to give me possession " of Africa and Andalus, I would not take it [as a ransom for thy life].' The Jew " was accordingly nailed to a stake, [and the Christians of his suite sent to prison]. " The news of this occurrence soon reached the ears of the Christian [king], " who wrote immediately to Al-mu'tamed, demanding the release of his prisoners; " a request which was readily granted.

" However, the Christian [king] swore to assemble an army as numerous as the " hairs upon his head, and such as would enable him to penetrate to the Straits " of Gibraltar. This was about the time when the commander of the Moslems, " Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, was occupied in the siege of Ceuta; upon which Al-mu'tamed " [fearing lest Alfonso should put his threat into execution] crossed over to Africa, " and had an interview with the Amír of the Almoravides, who promised him " his help. Al-mu'tamed then returned to Andalus, and stimulated the Moslem " rulers of that country to make war against the infidels. Then came the landing " of Yúsuf [with his army], and the celebrated campaign of Zalákah, in which " the unbelievers were most completely defeated; after which, Yúsuf returned " [to his African dominions]. He came a second time, when Al-mu'tamed began to " suspect that his intention in taking possession of the country was to seize on the " nut and leave the shell; and he was not mistaken; for Yúsuf had formed the " design of depriving the rulers of Andalus of their states, for which end he began " to plan all manner of stratagems. He sent from Ceuta to ask Al-mu'tamed to " give up to him the city and port of Jezíratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras); a request which " Al-mu'tamed refused to grant him under various pretences. However, in the " twinkling of an eye, one hundred sail made their appearance before Algesiras; " upon which Yezíd, son of Al-mu'tamed, who commanded there, let loose some " pigeons to apprize his father of the occurrence. Al-mu'tamed then ordered him " to give up the island; which he did, Yúsuf soon after taking possession of it. " This was not the first time that Yúsuf had done so; for it is asserted that, " whenever he crossed over to Andalus, he insisted upon being made the master " of that place, and that even when he crossed for the first time, he would not " embark until Al-mu'tamed had agreed to put him in possession of that port, " as a security to himself. It is also asserted that Yúsuf did this at the instiga- " tion and by the advice of some Andalusians.

" After this, Yúsuf determined upon making war against the rulers of Andalus, " and dispossessing them one by one of their states. To this end he sent from " Africa bodies of troops under the command of officers of his court, with instruc-

" tions to besiege them [in their capitals]. In this manner he sent [an army] to " besiege Al-mu'tamed in Seville. It must be observed that the inhabitants of " that city were tired of that prince's rule, and that the love which they had " always professed for the Bení 'Abbád had been changed into hatred and contempt, " owing to several reasons, but chiefly because Al-mu'tamed was well known to " indulge in many reprehensible excesses, such as the drinking of spirituous " liquors, and listening to music and the singing of female slaves. About this " time, therefore, the generality of the people of Seville wished to get rid of " Al-mu'tamed as soon as possible. When Al-mu'tamed saw himself reduced " to the last extremity, he sent to implore the assistance of the Christians; but " [the general of] Yúsuf having detached a division of his army to attack them " on the road to Seville, they were defeated and their designs frustrated. After " this, Yúsuf equipped a fleet in Africa, and sent it to blockade Seville, the siege " of which was pressed with more vigour than ever. All this time Al-mu'tamed " was plunged in pleasure, and had intrusted the government [of his kingdom] " to his son Ar-rashíd; the consequence was, that, when he least expected, " the Almoravides were within Seville. At last, hearing that the enemy were " already in possession of part of the city, Al-mu'tamed awoke from his dream, " and roused himself up from his intoxication. He mounted a horse, armed " himself with a scimitar, and, dressed as he was, without any defensive armour, " he rushed, followed by a few slaves, upon the Almoravides, who had just pene-" trated into Seville by the gate of Al-faraj (Bábu-l-faraj). Advancing upon a " drum which they had with them, he cut it in twain with his scimitar, and then " [sword in hand] he attacked the enemy, who fled before him in great confusion, " throwing themselves down from the top of the ramparts. Al-mu'tamed remained " on the spot until the gate was built up; alluding to which, these two verses " were composed, which begin thus:

' If the people have plundered the enemy.' [26]

" When the breach had been repaired and the gate stopped, Al-mu'tamed went " to inspect the rest of the fortifications. When he arrived at the gate of the " dyers (Bábu-s-sabbághín), he found his son Málek stretched dead upon the " ground; and having implored the mercy of God upon him, he retired to his " castle. Affairs soon grew worse, and the enemy entered the city on every " side; upon which, Al-mu'tamed, having previously asked security for himself " and those who were with him, surrendered himself to the general of the Al-" moravides, who furnished him with vessels to cross over to Tangiers. Al-mu'tamed " was there met by a poet named Al-hosrí, who had some time previous written " and dedicated to him a work containing selections from the best poets. Al-hosrí

" was very far from imagining that he would ever see Al-mu'tamed in such a spot " and in such a plight, and presented the book to him. Al-mu'tamed took it into " his hands, and said to the poet, 'Lift up that rug, and take whatever thou " mayst find under it; by Allah! I have nothing else to give thee.' Al-hosrí did " as he was directed, and found a quantity of gold. After this, Al-mu'tamed was " conveyed to Aghmát, where he was kept prisoner for the rest of his days. He " died in 488 (A. D. 1095). Al-mu'tamed had several sons, four of whom held " empire, namely, Al-mámún, Ar-rashíd, Ar-rádhi, and Al-mu'tamed."

One of the most powerful among the petty dynasties which rose out of the ruins of the Khalifate was that of the Bení Dhí-n-nún, kings of Toledo, in the northern *Thagher*. This family were at one time in possession of a powerful empire, and their ostentation and luxurious habits reached an extreme point. From them were named the nuptial feasts known in the West as the *I'dháru-dh-dhúnúní* (the wedding-feasts of the Bení Dhí-n-nún), and which, owing to their magnificence and the profusion and splendour with which they were attended, have become as proverbial among the people of the West as the nuptials of Búrán are among the Eastern people. The first sovereign of this family, who reigned in Toledo, was Isma'íl, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Omar Ibn Dhí-n-nún, the descendant in a right line from As-samh Ibn Dhí-n-nún, a Berber of the tribe of Howárah, who was present at the conquest [of Andalus].[27] **Toledo.**

He was succeeded by his son Yahya, surnamed Al-mámún, he who gave the entertainments above alluded to, and became in time one of the most powerful among the petty kings of Andalus. This Al-mámún had some communication and dealings with the tyrant Alfonso, which are well known.[28] He took Cordova from the hands of Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, and killed Abú 'Amru, the son of that monarch, as we shall hereafter relate. He also gained possession of Valencia, and deprived Ibn Abí 'A'mir of the sovereignty of that place. During the reign of a grandson[29] of this Al-mámún, by name Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún, the tyrant Alfonso took the city of Toledo from the Moslems; for, finding his own power increased through the extinction of the Khalifate, and perceiving the weak and helpless state to which the Arabs had been reduced by their sins, he overran and plundered the flat country, and so pressed Al-kádir that he obliged him to surrender his capital, Toledo, in the year 478 (A. D. 1085), on condition, however, that he should assist him in gaining possession of Valencia; which he did. There is no power or strength but in God, the Great! the High!

At the time that the power of the Bení 'A'mir was overthrown in Cordova, and the usurper Al-muhdi was reigning in their room, Al-mundhir Ibn Yahya At-tojibí, a descendant of the Tojibites, who played so distinguished a part during **Saragossa.**

the reign of 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed,[30] was governor of Saragossa. At his death he was succeeded by his son Yahya, who was soon after[31] dethroned by Suleymán Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, who took the surname of *Al-musta'ín-billah* (he who expects the assistance of God).

The most renowned princes of this dynasty were Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn Húd, surnamed *Al-muktadir-billah* (the powerful by the grace of God), son of the preceding, who died in A.H. 474 (beginning June 10, A.D. 1081), and his son, Abú 'A'mir Yúsuf *Al-mutamen* (the trusty). The latter was so much addicted to the study of mathematics, that he composed, among other works on that science, one entitled *Kitábu-l-istikmál wa-l-manádhir* (perfection and observatories).[32] He died the same year that Toledo was taken (A.H. 478, A.D. 1085), and was succeeded by his son Al-musta'ín[33] Ahmed, who lost the battle of Huesca in 489 (A.D. 1096). After the death of this prince, who fell a martyr for the faith in an engagement with the Christians in sight of Saragossa, in 503 (A.D. 1110), his son 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed *Imádu-d-daulah* (the column of the state), succeeded to the kingdom of Saragossa. The Christian king [Ramiro] having taken from him his capital in 512 (A.D. 1118), he was compelled to retire to a strong fortress[34] in his dominions, where he maintained himself until he died. He was succeeded by his son Seyfu-d-daulah (the sword of the state), who fought many a hard battle with the Christian tyrant, until he made an agreement with him, and removed with his family to Toledo, where he died.

Among the verses of Al-muktadir some have been preserved in which he praises two palaces which he had erected in his capital; one called *Kasru-s-sorúr* (the abode of joy), and the other *Mejless adh-dhahab* (the gilded hall). During the sway of the Almohades, a prince of this family, named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, raised the standard of revolt, and made himself master of the greater part of Andalus; but enough will be said of him in another part of this work.

Badajoz.

The city of Badajoz and its district fell likewise to the share of a powerful family, who maintained themselves in possession of their usurped dominions until the arrival of the Almoravides. It was formerly in the hands of Shabúr, a eunuch of the Bení 'A'mir, who, immediately upon the assassination of 'Abdu-r-rahmán and the dethronement of Hishám [by Mohammed Al-muhdi], declared himself independent, assuming the title of Hájib (chamberlain) and the surname of Al-mansúr. At his death the government of Badajoz and its districts passed into the hands of Al-mudhaffer[35] [Mohammed Ibn Al-afttas], the author of the work entitled *Al-mudhafferí*, in fifty volumes. He was succeeded by his son 'Omar, surnamed *Al-mutawakkel-billah* (he who relies on

God), who was put to death, together with his two sons, by the general of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the Almoravide. In commemoration of that unfortunate event, Ibn 'Abdún wrote his celebrated elegiac poem, the beginning of which we have given elsewhere (vol. i. p. 62): it is one of the finest poems that ever was written.

Valencia and the surrounding districts were in the hands of Abú-l-hasan 'Abdu-l-'azíz Al-ma'áferí, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and grandson of Abú 'A'mir Al-mansúr. He was succeeded by his son 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed Al-mudhaffer,[36] who was deprived of his kingdom by his father-in-law, Yahya Al-mámún, King of Toledo. Valencia.

Murcia was in the mean while under the sway of a family called the Bení Táhir, who ruled undisturbed over that city and the neighbouring districts for a period of several years, until they were finally dispossessed of their dominions by Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville. Murcia.

Almeria was governed in succession by a great number of princes. The first was the Sclavonian eunuch Khayrán, who, as before stated, had been governor of the province during the administration of the Hájib Abú 'A'mir Al-mansúr, and who, at the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, raised the standard of revolt against the sovereigns of the house of Hamúd. At his death, which happened in 419 (beginning Jan. 30, A. D. 1028), Khayrán was succeeded by another Sclavonian eunuch, named Zohayr,[37] who added to his dominions the city of Xatiba and other populous districts. This Zohayr was slain in 429 (beginning Oct. 13, A. D. 1037), in a battle fought under the walls of Granada with the troops of Bádís, King of that city. At his death, the kingdom of Almeria passed into the hands of Dhú-l-wizárateyn Abú-l-ahwass Ma'n Ibn Samádeh, who bequeathed it to his son Mohammed Abú Yahya. This was an enlightened and excellent monarch; he governed his states with great wisdom and justice, until the arrival of the wearers of the veil (Almoravides), who, having laid siege to his capital, took it from his son Ahmed, he himself dying during the siege. Almeria.

The [Balearic] islands were governed by Mujáhid Ibn 'Abdillah Al-'ámirí, surnamed *Abú-l-jiyúsh* (the father of the army) and *Al-muwaffek* (he who prospers by the grace of God), a *máuli* of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-mansúr. At the death of his master, Mujáhid kept possession of Denia [of which city he was governor], and became in time King of the Balearic[38] islands. He was an undaunted warrior and an experienced sailor. He used to keep a considerable fleet always ready for sea, with which he made descents on the coast of Afranj (France), and Antaliah (Italy). As long as he lived, no Christian vessel dared furrow the waters of the sea of Shám (Mediterranean).

Al-homaydí says that Mujáhid was born at Cordova, where he filled offices

of trust. "After the assassination of his patron 'Abdu-r-rahmán, when the civil "war broke out in Andalus, and the armies of the contending parties disputed "with each other the possession of the provinces, Mujáhid, with a number of "his followers, repaired to the islands to the east of Andalus, which are fertile "and extensive. These he subdued, keeping the inhabitants under his obedience. "From thence, having equipped a fleet, Mujáhid sailed to Sardinia, a large island "of the Rúm, which he almost entirely conquered. This happened in the year "406 or 407 (A. D. 1015-17). Soon after, however, discord broke out among "his men; upon which the Rúm, having received re-inforcements, attacked Mujáhid "and sank some of his ships. In order to save the remainder, Mujáhid set sail "against the advice of experienced mariners, and the consequence was that the "greater part of his vessels were either dashed against the rocks or lost at sea."— "I was told," says Al-homaydí, "by Abú Mohammed 'Alí Ibn Ahmed [Ibn "Hazm], who held it from Abú-l-fotúh Thábit Ibn Mohammed Al-jorjání, who "accompanied Mujáhid to the conquest of Sardinia, that the latter entered with "his fleet a port against the advice of Abú Kharúf, the chief of the sailors, "who warned him not to go in. Scarcely, however, had the fleet entered the "bay, when a storm arose, which scattered and separated the vessels of the "Moslems, and cast them on shore, where the Christians were lying in wait; "so that they had nothing to do but to slay and make captives [of the Moslems] "at their pleasure."

Mujáhid returned to the Andalusian [or Balearic] islands, and some time after took possession of the city of Denia,[39] wherein he fixed his residence until he died in 436. After the death of Mujáhid, his son 'Alí succeeded him in his dominions; but soon after a freed slave of his father, named Mubashsher,[40] took possession of the [Balearic] islands and reigned over them under the name of Násiru-d-daulah. It was in the days of the latter that the Christians made a descent on the island of Mallorca, and subjected it to their rule, although it was recovered not long after by the Moslems. 'Alí, however, continued to rule[41] over Denia and the neighbouring districts until he was expelled by the Almoravides.

Besides the above-mentioned chieftains, who divided among themselves the inheritance of the Bení Umeyyah, there were many other governors who assumed the sovereignty in the small districts and towns over which they ruled. Such were Habíb, a Sclavonian eunuch, brother of Shábúr, King of Badajoz, who ruled for some time over Tortosa and the adjacent districts.

That portion of Andalus known under the name of As-sahlah was erected into a kingdom by Dhú-r-riyásateyn 'Abúd[42] Ibn Razín, a Berber chief attached to the party of the Bení 'A'mir. There was also a King of Liblah (Niebla) and the

Island of Saltis in the western part of Andalus ['Abdu-l-'azíz Al-bekrí],[43] and a King of Carmona [Al-birzálí], and Kings of Ronda, Huesca, Xatiba, and other cities; but as all these petty sovereigns were generally more or less dependent on the more powerful states of Andalus, with which their own dominions became in time incorporated, we shall not stop to give an account of them.

CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Asturian kingdom—Progress of the Christian arms—Taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI.—Conquests of Sancho I. of Aragon—Battle of Paterna—Taking of Barbastro—Massacre of the inhabitants—Excesses committed by the Christians—Barbastro retaken by the Moslems—Ambitious projects of Alfonso—His insolent request—Al-mu'tamed puts to death his ambassador—Alfonso prepares to revenge the outrage—Marches against Seville, and besieges it—Al-mu'tamed decides on calling Yúsuf to his aid—Sends him an embassy—Account of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín—His negotiation with the rulers of Andalus—His answer to the ambassadors of Al-mu'tamed.

Origin of the Asturian kingdom.

We have already stated, on the authority of several historians, (p. 34,) that the first Christian who, after the conquest of Andalus by the Arabs, collected his countrymen round him and showed symptoms of resistance, was a barbarian named Beláy (Pelayo), from among the people of Ashturish (Asturias) in Galicia, who, during the administration of Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí, the second governor of Andalus, fled from Cordova, where he was retained as an hostage for the security of his countrymen, and repaired to his native mountains. This event took place six years after the conquest of Andalus, that is to say, in the year 98 of the Hijra. The Christians [of those parts], having taken up arms with him against the lieutenant of Al-horr, expelled him from the country and became masters of it. The historian 'Isa Ibn Ahmed Ar-rází[1] relates this differently. He says: "In the days of 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí, [governor "of Andalus,] there rose in the land of Galicia a contemptible barbarian whose "name was Beláy (Pelayo), and who was the first among the Christians to show "signs of resistance. This man began to stir up the Franks to keep the Moslems "out of those districts which remained still in their hands,[2] a thing for which they "had never yet shown any inclination. The Moslems at that time were the "masters of [almost] all Andalus, and they had expelled the Christians [from "those districts formerly occupied by them]. They had pushed their conquests as "far as Ariúnah (Narbonne), which they took, and they had also reduced the city "of Banbilúnah [Pamplona] in Galicia; so that there remained nothing [in the "hands of the Christians] but a ridge of mountains, to which they had fled. Here "a prince, named Beláy (Pelayo), also took refuge with three hundred followers, "whom the Moslems ceased not to pursue and to attack, until the greater part

"of them died of hunger, and Pelayo remained with only thirty men and ten "women, whose sole food consisted of honey which they gathered in the crevices "of the rock. In this manner they supported themselves, until information [of "their existence] was brought to the Moslems, who despised them and said, "'What are thirty barbarians? They cannot but be destroyed, and we shall "be rid of them;' and yet their strength and numbers have since increased in "such a ratio that it can no longer be concealed. This Pelayo died in the year "133, (beginning August 8, A. D. 750,) after a reign of nineteen years, and was "succeeded by his son Fáfilah (Favila), who reigned two years. Fáfilah was "succeeded by Adefonsh, son of Beytro or Pedro (Alfonso el Católico), the "progenitor of the [royal] family of the Alfonsos,[3] who are now reigning, and "who have retaken what the Moslems had conquered of their country."

So far Ar-rází, whose narrative we have somewhat abridged. Other historians state that the number of Christian kings who reigned in Andalus [since the rising of Pelayo], to the end of An-násir's reign in 350 (A. D. 961), was twenty-two.

Progress of the Christian arms.

The historian Al-mes'údí, after relating the disastrous battle of Samúrah (Zamora), which, as is well known, was fought in the days of An-násir, says as follows: "This victory gave to the Galicians and Basques the superiority over the Moslems, "as they took from them many towns on the frontiers of Afranjah (France), such "as the city of Tarkúnah (Tarragona),[4] which was lost to the Moslems in the year "330, (beginning Sept. 25, A. D. 941,) and other important towns and castles, which "had been in their hands [since the conquest]; so that at the moment we write, "in A. H. 336, (beginning July 22, A. D. 947,) the Moslem frontier on the eastern "side of Andalus is the city of Tortúshah (Tortosa), and on that part of the "coast of the Mediterranean which is in the vicinity of Tortosa going towards "the north, the cities of Afraghah (Fraga), on the great river [Ebro], Léridah "(Lerida), and, lastly, Balaghi (Balaguer)."

Most of the conquests made by the Christians were, however, recovered under the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr, who not only defeated the infidels wherever he met them, but took also Barcelona in the East, and Santiago in the West, both courts of their proudest kings. But alas! during the civil wars into which Cordova was plunged soon after the death of Al-mansúr,—when the parties contending for power scrupled not to implore the assistance of the Christians, and to admit them into the capital,—the cruel enemy of God again raised his head with pride and exultation, and began to attack the Moslems, whose weakness and folly he had witnessed. The division, too, of Andalus into several petty kingdoms, which followed immediately after the overthrow of the house of Umeyyah, afforded the Christians considerable facilities to execute their wicked

designs; for, whilst they united their forces, and even invited the people of distant nations to share in the attack, the Moslem rulers [of Andalus] saw with perfect unconcern, perhaps with secret joy, the dominions of their neighbours or rivals exposed to all the devastations of the Christian foe.

About the year 467, (A.D. 1074,) Adefunsh (Alfonso VI.), son of Ferdeland (Fernando), united under his rule almost the whole of Christian Andalus. Being a man of great resolution, and well acquainted with the pitiful state of Mohammedan affairs, he formed the design of subjecting the whole country to his detestable rule; and for that purpose began to attack all those among the rulers [of Andalus] who refused to pay him tribute. Accordingly, he invaded the dominions of the King of Toledo, and, after seven years' siege, made himself master of that capital in the year 474 (beginning June 10, A.D. 1081). There are, however, various dates given for the loss of that city; some authors saying that it happened in 474 (A.D. 1081), as above stated; whilst others assert that it surrendered to the Christians on the 15th day of Moharram of the year 478 (May 12, A.D. 1085). Ibn Khallekán, [in the life of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín,] says, in the new moon of Safar of the same year [478] (May 28, A.D. 1085,) after a long siege; Ibn 'Alkamah, on Wednesday the 20th of Moharram, A.H. 478 (May 17, A.D. 1085); and he adds that the battle of Zalákah was fought the year after. Be this as it may, certain it is that the King of Toledo at the time was Al-kádir-billah [grand-] son of Al-mámún Yahya Ibn Dhí-n-nún, who, in return for the capital of his dominions which he gave up to Alfonso, received from that monarch the promise that he would help him to get possession of Valencia; which he did.

Taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI.

"Toledo," says one of the historians [of Andalus], "was a very ancient and "strongly fortified city, full of primeval buildings of the time of the 'Amalekites "(Phœnicians or Carthaginians), who were its founders. It is situated on the "banks of a large river called Tajoh (Tagus), has a *kassábah* or citadel of mar-"vellous strength, and a bridge of wonderful structure, consisting of only one "arch, through which the stream passes with great rapidity and force. Close "to the banks of the river is a *ná'úrah* or water-wheel, rising to the height of "ninety cubits, by means of which the water of the river is made to ascend to "the bridge, and is from thence conveyed, by means of subterraneous pipes, to "the city, for the use of the inhabitants." In times of old, Toledo was the court and residence of the ancient monarchs of Andalus; it was there that the enchanted palace was, which the Gothic kings warned each other not to open, until Roderic opened it and found inside the picture of the Arabs, as we have related elsewhere (vol. i. p. 262).

After the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, and when the governors, chiefs,

and other influential men of Andalus divided among themselves its provinces, Toledo and the neighbouring districts were occupied by the family of Dhí-n-nún, one of whom was Yahya Ibn Isma'íl, surnamed Al-mámún, who became in his time one of the most powerful kings of Andalus. He not only took Cordova from the Bení 'Abbád, but made himself formidable to the other kings of Andalus by his power and his resources.

Ibn Bedrún, in his commentary upon the *'Abdúniyyah,* speaks of a palace built at Toledo by this Al-mámún [Yahya] Ibn Dhí-n-nún, in the construction of which that monarch is reported to have lavished his treasures. He made a lake, and in the middle of the lake a kiosk [of crystal], to the top of which the water of the lake was made to ascend by geometrical art, and then fall down on all sides to mix itself with the water underneath. The pavilion was therefore enclosed within a shower of limpid water, which, being constantly renewed, was kept always cool, and Al-mámún would sit inside the pavilion without the water touching him; he could, moreover, have wax-tapers lighted within, if he chose. One day, as he was sitting in this pavilion, he heard a voice, saying,

> " Thou hast erected everlasting palaces; but thy dwelling in them will be of " short duration.
>
> " The *arák* affords sufficient shade to the traveller who is daily exposed to " the rays of a scorching sun."[5]

Some time after this adventure Al-mámún fell ill and died.

Al-mámún was succeeded by his [grand-]son, Yahya Al-kádir, under whose reign, as above stated, Toledo was reduced by Alfonso. It is generally related, that the Christian king remained for seven consecutive years encamped before the city, destroying the fields and plantations, cutting down the trees, and intercepting the supplies sent by other Moslem princes, until Al-kádir consented to surrender the city to him upon certain conditions which Alfonso swore to fulfil.

Thus fell the city of Toledo. Ibn Dhí-n-nún [Al-kádir] left his capital in the most wretched and ignominious plight possible. He carried an astrolabe in his hand, with which he intended to take the auspicious hour for setting out [for Valencia]. At the sight of such behaviour the Moslems were dumb with astonishment, and the unbelievers laughed with contempt.

About the taking of Toledo we find the following in Ibn Bessám: "At the " time that civil wars were succeeding each other in Toledo, and that dire calamities " were daily being heaped on the inhabitants of that place, when the Franks were " striving to convert their happiness and their joy into misfortune and exile, there " happened in Toledo a most marvellous circumstance, which was looked upon " by every one as the harbinger of its approaching ruin. Corn had remained

"stored in the subterranean magazines of that city for upwards of fifty years, "without showing the least sign of corruption; and was, moreover, in such "abundance, that, as long as the siege lasted, no restriction whatever was imposed "upon the people, who could use it in any quantity they liked. Yet when it "came to the year in which the enemy of God took possession of Toledo, the "corn began gradually to grow damaged, and corruption at last seized the whole "of it. This miraculous occurrence warned the citizens of Toledo that it was "the will of God to visit them with the gales of affliction and adversity; and "so it was; for, shortly after, the enemy of God took Toledo, and reduced the "inhabitants of that wealthy city to his obedience."

"Alfonso," continues Ibn Bessám, "began to govern the people with justice "and moderation, hoping to gain them over to polytheism, and make them "embrace his abominable religion; but, seeing that he could not accomplish "this, he set about polluting the principal mosque and turning it into a church "for the celebration of his detestable rites. The very day in which Alfonso "issued his orders to that effect, which was one day of the month of Rabi' "the first, A. H. 496, (Oct. 14, A. D. 1102,)[6] the Sheikh Al-moghámí (may God "show him mercy!) happened to go into the mosque and to say his prayers, "bidding all those who were present to do the same, and to read a certain chapter "of the Korán. Presently the Franks (may God Almighty exterminate them all!) "make their appearance in the mosque and begin to pull down the *kiblah*. Not "one of them, however, dared interrupt the Sheikh in his devotions, or expel "him from the mosque; God protecting him and the pious Moslems who were "with him, until he had finished reading his prayers, and had performed a "prostration, when he raised his head and wept profusely before he quitted the "mosque."

One day, a traitor Moslem said to the Christian king, "Thou shouldst put "on a crown like those of thy ancestors, who preceded thee in this kingdom;" and he answered, "Not until we have taken your city, Cordova, and taken the "bells which hang there as lamps, that I may ornament my royal diadem with "them." God, however, was pleased to give Alfonso the lie, sending against him the commander of the Moslems and defender of the faith, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, to prop up the tottering edifice of Islám, and to humble the pride of the insolent Christian.

Conquests of Sancho I. of Aragon.

But whilst the Galicians were assailing the Moslems on their northern frontier, the Franks (Aragonese) were not inactive. In the year 456 (beginning Dec. 24, A. D. 1063) they collected in large numbers and laid siege to Valencia, whose inhabitants were then untrained to war, and as little used to the hard life of a

camp, as to the handling of the spear and the sword. They were, on the contrary, plunged in pleasure and sloth, and thought of nothing but eating and drinking. At this juncture the Franks appeared in sight of the city, showing an inclination to become the guests of the Moslems, to join their convivial parties, and to take up their abode in the city. In this hope, however, they were completely disappointed, and, although they tried to deceive the inhabitants, they were themselves deceived. At last they retired from before the walls of Valencia; upon which the citizens, thinking that they were flying before them, went out in large numbers to attack the enemy, commanded by their king, 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and arrayed in all their finery. The Franks, however, had only retreated to a short distance from Valencia, to a place called Paterna, where they lay in ambush. No sooner had 'Abdu-l-'azíz and his host made their appearance than they rushed upon them, threw their ranks into confusion, and, following up the pursuit, slew or took prisoners all the Moslems, with the exception of a few. In allusion to this, a poet of that time composed two verses, which we have given elsewhere (vol. i. p. 68), and need not repeat here.[7]

Battle of Paterna.

The same thing, observes Ibn Bessám, happened afterwards to the people of Toledo; for when the enemies of God, after slaying numbers of the Moslems in a battle, showed themselves before their city, the citizens came out to them dressed in all their finery, and were defeated. Among the spoils made by the Christians on this occasion were no less than one thousand *ghifárah*,[8] besides other [useless] articles of dress.

Taking of Barbastro.

In the year 456 (A. D. 1064), the Christians took the city of Barbashter (Barbastro), one of the strongest places in all the *Thagher* (Aragon). Ibnu Hayyán calls it the *kassábah* (citadel) of the country of Birtanieh,[9] and says that it was close to Saragossa. Its capture is thus related by the above historian: "The army of Al-ardemelis [10] encamped before Barbastro and besieged it. Yúsuf "Ibn Suleymán Ibn Húd [at that time King of Saragossa], instead of hastening, "as he ought to have done, to the relief of the city, left the inhabitants to defend "themselves as they best could; and the consequence was that the enemy got "possession of it, as we will presently relate. The Christians besieged it for "forty consecutive days without gaining any advantage, until, having received "intelligence that the garrison were divided and had quarrelled among themselves, "owing to the scarcity of provisions, they pressed their attacks with increased "vigour, and succeeded in introducing five thousand of their best men at arms "into the suburbs. The Moslems were astounded, and betook themselves to "the inner city, where they fortified themselves. Great battles then ensued "between the two hosts, in which no less than five hundred Franks fell. At last

"it happened that the subterraneous aqueduct, by means of which the city was "supplied with water from the river, got out of repair; several large stones having "fallen into and choked the course, the progress of the water was arrested, and "the supply cut off from the river. Upon which the inhabitants of Barbastro, "despairing of their lives, hastened to the camp of the enemy, and bought security "for their persons and property at the price of certain sums of money, and a "number of slaves, which they immediately delivered into the conqueror's hands. "No sooner, however, had the Christian king received the money and other articles "stipulated in the convention, than he violated it; and, falling on the poor "inhabitants, slaughtered the whole of them, with the exception of the Káyed "Ibnu-t-tawíl, and the Kádí Ibn 'Isa, who, with a few more of the principal "inhabitants of the place, contrived to escape from the general massacre. The "spoil made by the Christians on this occasion, whether in money, furniture, "or apparel, exceeds all computation; since we are assured that the share of "one of their chiefs only, who was the general of the cavalry,[11] amounted to "about fifteen hundred young maidens, besides five hundred loads of merchandise, "dresses, ornaments, and every description of property, the whole of which he "carried to his stronghold. The number of Moslems who perished or were "made captives on this occasion amounted to one hundred thousand souls; "although others reduce that number to about one-half.

"Among the extraordinary occurrences of this siege, the following is one. At "the time when the aqueduct got out of repair, and the supply of water was "cut off from the city, there was a woman standing on the ramparts, who entreated "all those who came near to give her a sip of water for herself or her son. "Presently a Christian soldier made his appearance, and told her that if she would "give him every thing she had on,—dress, jewels, &c.,—he would bring her some "water wherewithal to quench her thirst; and the woman did not hesitate one "moment to accept the bargain.

Massacre of the inhabitants.

"The reason which induced the Christian king to order the massacre of the "inhabitants was this. They say that when he entered Barbastro and saw the "numbers of the population, fear lodged in his heart, and he became apprehensive "lest the Moslems of the neighbouring districts should come to their assistance, "and aid them to regain possession of their city. He therefore decided on "exterminating them all, if he could, and ordered a general slaughter; which lasted "until upwards of six thousand Moslems fell by the swords of the Christians. "At last the king ordered the massacre to cease, and commanded that such of the "inhabitants as remained should be spared, and allowed to quit the city. When the "order was made public, the rush of the people to the gate [of the city] was such

" that a considerable number of them lost their lives by suffocation; others were " wiser, they let themselves down from the walls by means of ropes; all, however, " ran to the river in order to quench their thirst. About seven hundred of the " principal inhabitants of the place, fearing for their lives, waited until their fate " should be known. When the massacre had ceased, and the Christians had " taken as many captives as they wanted, and the remainder had either fled through " the gates, or let themselves down from the walls, or perished in the pressure, " it was announced by the public crier that the slaughter had ended, and that " every citizen might return in safety to his dwelling; then they left their place of " concealment and hastened home to their families. No sooner, however, had they " arrived there, than, by the command of their king, the Franks (may the curses " of God fall on their heads!) summoned them out of their houses, and led them " all into captivity with their wives and children. May the Almighty save us from " a similar calamity!

" Another portion of the inhabitants fled to the top of the neighbouring " mountains, and fortified themselves there; but, being destitute of water, they " were on the point of dying of thirst, when messengers arrived from the king " to grant them security and pardon. They then came down from the mountains " more dead than alive, owing to the raging thirst to which they had long been " exposed, and were allowed to proceed unmolested wherever they pleased; but " having fallen in with a party of the enemy's cavalry, who were not aware of " the truce entered into with them, they were all put to death with the exception of " a few who contrived to escape."

Excesses committed by the Christians.

The same writer adds, " It was an invariable custom with the Christians, " whenever they took a town by force of arms, to ravish the daughters in the " presence of their fathers, and the women before the eyes of their husbands and " families. But on the taking of Barbastro the excesses of this kind committed " by them pass all belief;[12] the Moslems had never before experienced any thing " like it. In short, such were the crimes and excesses committed by the Christians " on this occasion, that there is no pen eloquent enough to describe them.

" When the Christian king had made up his mind to return to his own country, " he selected from among the sons and daughters of the Moslems the most beau- " tiful maidens and the handsomest boys; and having also selected from among " the married women those who were the youngest and prettiest, he sent them " onwards to his capital, intending to present them to his superiors in rank and " dignity. He himself, after leaving in Barbastro a garrison of fifteen hundred " horse and two thousand foot, returned to his dominions.

" We will put an end to this afflicting and heart-rending narrative," continues

Ibnu Hayyán, " by recording an anecdote which will of itself convey a sufficient " idea of the manifold sufferings of the Moslems on this occasion. Some time after " this catastrophe, a Jewish merchant went to Barbastro for the purpose of " redeeming the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants, who had escaped " from the massacre. At the division of the spoil, the maiden had fallen to the " lot of a count, whom the Jew well knew, one of those left in charge of the city " [after the king's departure]. The Jew went to the count's residence, and, " causing himself to be announced by the servants, was admitted into his presence. " He there found the Christian occupying the part of the house where its late " Moslem proprietor usually sat; reclining on his very couch, and clothed in his " most valuable robes. The room, however, with its carpets, cushions, and " hangings, was in the same state as when its owner left it on the fatal day; and " nothing had been changed or touched of its [arabesque] paintings and ornaments. " His female slaves, with their hair tied, were all standing by his bed-side, ready to " obey his will.

" The count," said the Jew, " welcomed me, and inquired the object of my visit; " which I told him plainly and without disguise, pointing to the many maidens " who were in the room, and in whose number was the one I came to redeem. " The count smiled, and said to me, in the language of his nation, ' Be quick, then, " and if the girl thou seekest be among these, point her out to me; if not, thou " mayst go to my castle, where thou wilt find many more among my prisoners " and captives; look for the person thou meanest,—we will then come to terms.' " I replied, ' I need not repair to thy castle, the person in search of whom I am " come is among yonder maidens; if thou consentest to part with her, I am ready " to meet thy demands.'—' And what hast thou brought to tempt me?' said the " count. ' I have brought thee fine gold in quantity, and costly and new mer- " chandise,' was my answer. ' And thou, no doubt, flatterest thyself that thou " hast brought things to tempt me, and which I do not possess already. O " Bahjah!' said he, addressing one of his female slaves, ' take some of thy fellow- " servants with thee, and bring here the large chest, that we may show him some " of our own property.' The chest was brought into the room, and Bahjah " proceeded to take out, first, a bag containing ten thousand gold dinárs; next, " several bags full of dirhems; lastly, many trays covered with gold ornaments, and " jewels in such profusion, that, when displayed before the Christian, there were " enough to cover him withal, and conceal him [from my view]. The count then " said to Bahjah, ' Bring yonder wardrobe closer;' which she did, taking out such " a profusion of costly silken and cotton robes, as well as gold and silver brocades, " of every colour and pattern, that I was actually bewildered, and saw plainly that I

" had brought nothing with me to be compared with the least valuable of the articles " exhibited before me. But what was my astonishment when the Christian told " me that what I saw was but a small portion of the treasures which he possessed, " and that he had so many other precious articles of all sorts, that nothing could " be produced which was either new or desirable to him. He then swore by his " God, that had he possessed none of the valuable objects [exhibited] before me, " and had I come for the express purpose of offering them to him as a ransom " for the fair captive, he would still not part with her; and he added, 'This " maiden is the daughter of the late owner of this house, who, if I am rightly " informed, was a man of rank and influence among his fellow-citizens; and " for this reason I intend to keep her in my service, as the people of her nation " were wont to do with our women, whenever they fell into their hands, at " the time that they were all-powerful in this country. Now that the scales are " turned, and that we have the superiority over them, we do as they did; nay, " we do still more. Seest thou yonder youthful and delicate maiden (pointing " to one who stood in a corner of the room with a lute in her hand), she is " actually trembling from fear of my anger.'—'Take thy lute,' said he to her in " his barbarous jargon, 'and sing to this our visitor in thy plaintive strain.' The " maid took the lute, as she was commanded, and sat down to tune it; and I saw " the tears rolling down her fair cheeks; but, the Christian darting upon her a " look of anger, she attempted to sing some verses which I did not understand " any more than her Christian master; although, strange to say, he kept drinking " draughts of the liquor he had before him, and giving signs of mirth [as if he " understood the meaning of them]. At last, seeing that I could not gain my " object, I took leave of the count, and went elsewhere [about the city] to dispose " of my goods, when I saw in the hands of the commonest Christians such amount " of plunder and captives as left me completely bewildered.

Barbastro retaken by the Moslems.

" About the end of Jumáda, the first, of the ensuing year (A. H. 457)," continues Ibnu Hayyán, " the news came to Cordova that Barbastro had been retaken by the " Moslems. This happened thus: Ahmed Al-muktadir Ibn Húd,[13] through whose " criminal negligence that city had been lost, (since, in order to revenge himself " upon the inhabitants who had gone over to his brother, he had suffered them " to become the prey of the Christians,) wishing to silence those who spoke ill " of him, to wash out the indelible spot cast upon his character, and to atone " for a sin which nothing short of the immense forgiveness of God can obliterate, " marched to Barbastro at the head of his own troops and the re-inforcements " which his ally 'Abbád [Al-mu'tadhed] had sent him. Having there attacked " the unbelievers, Ahmed displayed so much courage and performed such feats

" of arms, that even the cowards [in his army] hesitated, and felt an inclination " to behave well. (May God pour his favour on the brave!) The Moslems and " the unbelievers fought with renewed fury, until, at last, God was pleased to grant " the victory to the former, and to disperse their enemies, who turned their backs " in confusion, and ran tumultuously towards the city gates, followed by the " Moslems, who entered along with them, and slaughtered the whole of the " garrison with the exception of a few, who fled the field of battle [in another " direction], of a few children whom compassion saved from death, or those " among their principal men who redeemed themselves by the payment of heavy " ransoms. All the rest were either put to death or made slaves, together with " their wives and children.

" In this manner was the city of Barbastro restored to the Moslems by the " will of the Creator of all things, with the loss of about fifty of the bravest " Moslems only, who fell martyrs to the faith, and whose names God immediately " wrote down, to give them entrance into Paradise. The loss of the unbelievers " was very considerable, since it amounted to one thousand horsemen and five " hundred foot. The city was purified from the filth of idolatry, and cleansed " from the stains of infidelity and polytheism."

Ambitious projects of Alfonso.

But to return. No sooner did the tyrant Alfonso see himself master of Toledo, and of all those towns which had formerly acknowledged the rule of Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún, than he began to entertain the project of reducing the whole of Andalus under his sway. He accordingly made successive incursions into the territory of Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz, as well as into that of Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, at that time King of Seville, taking so many of their towns and castles, and causing such havoc and ruin, that those monarchs, together with many other petty princes, consented to pay an annual tribute to Alfonso, rather than have their dominions continually exposed to his devastating fury.

What follows is extracted from the *Raudhu-l-mu'attar fí dhikri-m-modon wa-l-akttár*, by the Faquih Abú 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-mu'anem Al-himyarí. " Whilst Al-mu'tamed was occupied in making war against Ibn Samádeh, King of " Almeria, he let pass the time at which he used to pay his annual tribute to Al- " fonso. However, he sent it to him as usual; but the Christian king was so highly " displeased and incensed [at the delay], that he would not receive it, and required " that Al-mu'tamed should, in addition [to the tribute], give up to him certain " fortresses which he named. He went still further; he asked that his wife, " Alkomjittah (Constanza?), who was then with child, should be allowed to " reside in the great mosque of Cordova, that she might be delivered [in that " sacred spot]. Alfonso was induced to make this extraordinary request at the

His insolent request.

"instigation of his bishops and priests, who recommended the measure to him "on account of a church of great veneration among the Christians, which stood "once westward of the great mosque, and was pulled down by the Moslems, in "order to build on its site the present magnificent structure. He asked, therefore, "that his wife should be allowed to reside at Medínah Az-zahrá, a city west of "Cordova, built by An-násir lidín-illah, who expended much time and treasure "in its construction, ornamenting it with the most costly rarities, with coloured "jaspers and transparent marbles, as well as with the far-famed [marble] fountain "resting on a single pillar, which he caused to be brought to Cordova from distant "lands, and in the acquisition of which he is said to have spent immense sums, "without counting those spent in the transport [to Cordova], and the salary of "the men employed [in the operation]. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, moreover, laboured "himself in the building, watching its progress, and encouraging the workmen; "the pleasure which he derived from that occupation being so great, that he "once left off going to the mosque for three consecutive Fridays; and when he "appeared on the fourth, the austere theologian, Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd Al-bolútti, "who was then the Khattíb (preacher), alluded to him in his sermon, and, in the "presence of the assembled multitude, threatened him [with the fire of hell], as is "well known. The palace of Az-zahrá was one of the most magnificent residences "ever built by a king in the dominions of Islám. Those who wish for further "information may consult the work of Ibnu Hayyán.

Al-mu'tamed puts to death the ambassador of Alfonso.

"But, to return to Alfonso. His physicians and priests advised him to procure "a residence for his wife at Az-zahrá, in order that she might visit the mosque of "Cordova every day until the time of her delivery should come, thus combining the "salubrity and amenity of the spot with the sanctity and virtues of the place where "she was expected to be confined. The bearer of the message was a Jew, who was "one of Alfonso's ministers. As may be presumed, Al-mu'tamed indignantly "refused to grant his indecent request. The Jew insisted, but the King of Seville "replied that he would never consent to it. Again the Jew repeated his demand "a third time, treating Al-mu'tamed in a very indecorous manner, and using "language which that spirited monarch could not well brook; upon which, being "unable to bear his impudence any longer, he seized an inkstand, which was close "by him, and hurled it at the head of the Jew. The missile was aimed with "such dexterity, and directed with such force, that it lodged in the skull of the "Jew, whose brain fell down his throat. After this, Al-mu'tamed ordered that "the Jew should be nailed to a post, with his head downwards, at the entrance "of the bridge of Cordova; which was done as he commanded.

"When Al-mu'tamed's anger was cooled, he sent for his theologians, in order to

" consult them as to the justice of what he had done with the Jew; upon which, " one of them, whose name was Mohammed Ibnu-t-talláh, told him that he was " perfectly justified in doing so, since the ambassador had outstripped the bounds " of his embassy, and uttered words which deserved death. Mohammed then told " his comrades, 'I have hastened to give him my advice, from fear he should not " persevere in his laudable purpose of opposing the enemy, and not permitting " Alfonso to inflict such an affront upon the Moslems.'"[14]

The above is differently related by Ibnu-l-lebbánah, in his history of the Bení 'Abbád, as well as by Ibnu-l-khattíb[15] in the article 'Al-mu'tamed.' We here subjoin a third version, borrowed from the historian Ibnu-l-athír, in his *Kámil* (complete history). " Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád was the most powerful king in " Andalus, and the one who possessed most dominions, being master of Cordova, " Seville, and other cities; yet with all this he paid tribute to Alfonso every " year. On the taking of Toledo by Alfonso, Al-mu'tamed, as usual, sent him " the tribute; but the Christian would not receive it, and wrote to him a threat- " ening letter, saying, that unless he surrendered to him all his fortresses, and " kept only the plains and the open towns for the Moslems, he would march " his army to Cordova and take that city [from him]. The ambassador intrusted " with this message proceeded with a numerous suite, amounting to five hundred " horsemen. Al-mu'tamed lodged him, and divided his followers among the " officers of his army, to whom he afterwards gave instructions to put every one " of their infidel guests to death; which was executed according to his orders. He " then sent for the ambassador, and, seizing him by the throat, he shook him and " beat him until the eyes came out of his head. Three men only [out of the five " hundred] escaped the general massacre; they returned to Alfonso, and told him " what had happened. Alfonso was then on the road to Cordova, which he was " going to besiege; but when he heard the news brought to him, he returned " immediately to Toledo, to provide himself with battering machines and stores " for a siege, and to increase his army.

Who prepares to revenge the outrage.

" When Alfonso heard what had been done with the Jew, he swore by his God " that he would march upon Seville, and besiege Al-mu'tamed in his palace. To " that end he collected two armies; giving the command of one to a Christian dog, " who was one of his most enterprising generals, with instructions to march to " the province of Beja, in the western part of Andalus, and, after laying waste its " lands and districts, to proceed by the road of Liblah (Niebla) to Seville, where he " promised to meet him on a certain day in sight of the suburb called Taryánah " (Triana). Accordingly, Alfonso put himself at the head of numberless troops, " and, following a different road from that taken by his general [in command of

" the other army], arrived, according to his promise, in sight of Seville, after " laying waste and destroying every thing on his way to that city. His general " did the same, and both armies encamped on the bank of the Guadalquivir, " opposite to the palace of Ibnu 'Abbád. One day, during his stay there, Alfonso " wrote an abusive letter to Al-mu'tamed, in which he said to him, 'My stay at " this place has already been too long. The heat is great and the flies intolerable; " make me a present of thy palace, that I may solace myself in its shadowy gardens " and keep away the flies from my face.' On the receipt of this letter Al-mu'tamed " wrote on the back of it—'We have perused thy letter, and understood its arrogant " and taunting contents; we intend to procure thee shortly such a shadowy spot, " made of the hide of the *lamt* (hippopotamus), as thou wilt comfortably lie under, " if God be pleased' [meaning the shields of the Almoravides].

Alfonso marches against Seville, and besieges it.

" When Al-mu'tamed's letter was brought to Alfonso, and he had its contents " read over to him, he understood the meaning [of those expressions], and became " suddenly thoughtful and silent, as a man who is taken by surprise. Being, " however, a very shrewd and treacherous man, he began to circulate through " Andalus the rumour of Al-mu'tamed's intentions, and how he was planning " to call to his help Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the Almoravide, and give him the " entrance into Andalus. The generality of the Moslems were delighted at this " news, as it opened to them the gates of hope. Not so the petty kings of " Andalus, who had no sooner ascertained Al-mu'tamed's real designs, and the " step he had taken without consulting them, than they began seriously to occupy " themselves in that business. Some wrote to him; others had interviews with " him; all warned him against the determination he had taken, and made him fear " its consequences, saying to him—'A kingdom without heirs and one long sword " do not find room in the same scabbard.'[16] To this Al-mu'tamed replied with that " saying which became afterwards a proverb [among the people of Andalus], " 'Better be a camel driver than a driver of pigs,' meaning that he would rather " be Yúsuf's prisoner, and guard his camels in the Desert, than become the captive " of Alfonso, and keep his swine in Castile. He then said to those who upbraided " him for his resolution—'My present position is of two sorts, one of doubt, and " one of certainty, and I must needs choose between the two. As to the one of " doubt, it is whether I am to apply to Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín or to Alfonso, since " it is equally possible that either of the two with whom I treat may either keep " his promise faithfully or not keep it at all. This is the position of doubt; " as to that of certainty, it is, that if I lean for support on Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, " I do an act agreeable to God; whereas if, on the contrary, I lean on Al- " fonso, I am certain of incurring the wrath of God; and, therefore, the position

Al-mu'tamed decides on calling Yúsuf to his aid.

"of doubt being in the present instance clear and evident, why should I leave "what is agreeable to God to take that which is offensive to him?' These reasons "allayed in some measure the fears of the petty kings of Andalus, and they "desisted from their reproaches.

Sends him an embassy.

"Al-mu'tamed having made up his mind [to implore the assistance of Yúsuf], "wrote to Al-mutawakkel 'Omar Ibn Mohammed [Ibn Al-afttas], King of Badajoz, "and to 'Abdullah Ibn Habús As-senhájí, King of Granada, commanding[17] them "to send their chief Kádís [to Seville], which they did. He himself summoned "to his presence the Kádí-l-jam'ah (supreme judge) of Cordova, whose name "was Abú Bekr 'Obeydullah Ibn Ad'ham, and who was one of the wisest men "of his time. When the three Kádís had been assembled in Seville, Al-mu'tamed "added to them his own Wizír, Abú Bekr Ibn Zeydún, and having signified to "them his intention to send them all four to Africa, as ambassadors to Yúsuf "Ibn Táshefín, he gave them the necessary instructions, and provided them with "the means to cross over to Africa, leaving entirely to their discretion the com-"position of the address to be made to that sovereign, and recommending par-"ticularly to his own Wizír, Ibn Zeydún, to uphold his master's royal dignity."

The historian Ibnu-l-athír, after relating what Al-mu'tamed did with the ambassadors [of Alfonso], and his putting them to death, and the fears of the kings of Andalus when they heard of his rash act, says, "That a number of chiefs "collected together [in Cordova], and went to the dwelling of the Kádí Abú "'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed, whom they addressed in the following words: 'Dost "thou not perceive the humble and abject condition to which the Moslems [of "this country] have been reduced, paying tribute [to the infidels], after being "so long in the habit of receiving it [from them]. The Franks have subdued "the greater part of Andalus, a small portion of which only remains in the "hands of the Moslems. If the present state of things continue for any length "of time, we may be sure that the Christians will soon regain in this country "the position they held [before the conquest]. We have thought of an expedient "to save ourselves from the impending ruin.'—'And what is that?' said Abú "Mohammed to them. 'To write to the Arabs of Africa [to come to us], and "to lavish upon them on their arrival half our riches. We will then go out "with them to fight for the cause of God.' To this Abú 'Abdillah replied— "'I only fear that if they once come among us they will not leave this country, "and will settle in it, as they have done in Eastern Africa; they will leave the "Franks alone, and they will set about [destroying] us; and yet, with all that, "the Almoravides are better [than the Christians], and more closely connected "with us [by religion].' The assembly then requested Abú 'Abdillah to write

" to the commander of the Moslems [Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín], asking him to cross over " to Andalus, or to send an army to their assistance. While they were occupied " in these transactions, Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád went to Cordova. Immediately " upon his arrival, the Kádí Ibn Ad'ham went up to him and informed him of " what had been determined upon in the assembly. That monarch approved of " the plan, and told Ibn Ad'ham that he should be his ambassador to the African " king; but Ibn Ad'ham refused to accept the charge offered to him, as he wished " to keep clear of all the consequences. Al-mu'tamed, however, insisted, and " he went."

The reader must have observed some slight discrepancy between the account of Ibn 'Abdi-l-mu'anem (Abú 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdillah), and that of Ibnu-l-athír; but as both authors are well known to have borrowed their information from the most authentic sources, we have preferred, in pursuance of the plan which we traced out to ourselves in the composition of the present work, to afford our readers several versions, however contradictory and opposite, of the same event, rather than deprive them of the least particle of useful information.

" During the course of these events Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín Al-lamtúní was estab- " lishing his power in Africa, and extending the sway of the Almoravides. When " he had conquered the whole of Western Africa, and founded the cities of Morocco " and Telemsán, the new;[18] when all the Berber tribes, dreading his vengeance, had " submitted to his rule and obeyed his commands; when, in short, he had reduced " large districts and extensive provinces under his sway, he conceived the design of " crossing over to the island of Andalus, and, after turning it over in his own " mind, began to prepare the ships and other things necessary for the undertaking.

Account of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín.

" When the petty kings of Andalus were informed of Yúsuf's project, they " disapproved of his intended passage to their island, and made every warlike " preparation to resist it. Yet they were all unwilling to incur his enmity, as " by doing so they would have been placed between two enemies, the Franks " on the north, and the Moslems on the south. At that time the Franks were " more successful than ever they had been against the Moslems; and they plun- " dered and laid waste every thing before them. Now and then only a peace would " be concluded between the contending parties, in consideration of a certain tribute " which the Moslems agreed to pay annually to their enemies. Yet with all this " the Franks were in no less awe of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the ruler of the West, " whose fame and military exploits had already reached their ears. They knew of the " reach of his authority, the extent of his empire, and the rapidity of his conquests; " they were well aware of the intrepidity of his followers, the wearers of the veil, " and of the Sheikhs of the tribes of Senhájah; and they dreaded their dexterity in

" wielding all the weapons of war, from the sharp-edged sword,—which, handled " by them, cuts a horseman in twain,—to the ponderous lance, which goes through " both horse and rider.

" These reasons rendered Yúsuf formidable to all those who sought to attack " him; so that at the same time that the kings of Andalus were anxious to take " shelter under the shade of his power, they feared for their dominions, lest Yúsuf " should cross over in person, should inspect [and like] their country, and keep it " for himself. No sooner, therefore, were the rulers of Andalus apprised of " Yúsuf's determination to cross the Straits, than they sent to acquaint one " another of that circumstance, and to ask each other's advice as to how they " should act in the emergency. Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, being " the most powerful among them, as well as the one who enjoyed the greatest reputa- " tion for his courage and his abilities, the rulers of Andalus naturally clung to him " for advice. After much deliberation it was unanimously agreed among them, " to ascertain whether Yúsuf really intended to cross over to Andalus, and if so, to " write to him, asking him to desist from his undertaking, and to say that they " were under his obedience. The letter, which was written in the name of all by a " Kátib of Andalus, ran thus:—'If thou desist from thy undertaking, and do " not attack us, thou wilt act generously, and thy name will not be coupled " with an unjust or dishonourable deed. On the other hand, if we answer thy call " and acknowledge thee for our master, we shall do that which is wise and prudent, " and our names will not be coupled with a foolish and inconsiderate act; we have " therefore chosen for thee and for ourselves that which is generous and wise; " we will acknowledge thee as our lord and sovereign, and thou wilt remain where " thou now art, and allow these poor dwellers in tents to continue as they " are; for upon their preservation depends, in a certain measure, the duration and " strength of thy empire.'

nego- ion with rulers of lalus.

" Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, although endowed with a clear understanding and much " wit, did not understand the Arabic language; so when he received the above " letter with the presents from the kings of Andalus, he handed it over to his " secretary, who was equally well versed in the language of the Arabs as in that of " the Almoravides, and asked him what it meant. 'O King!' said the secretary to " Yúsuf, 'this letter is from the kings of Andalus, who exalt and honour thee, and " acknowledge thee as their master, and place themselves under thy obedience; " they beseech thee not to treat them as enemies, since they are also Moslems " and dwellers in tents, and not to attack them, since they have already enough " to do to fight the infidels beyond their settlements. They tell thee that their " territories are narrow and exhausted, and will not bear armies [like thine],

"They conclude by entreating thee not to withdraw from them that generous protec-
"tion which thou hast dispensed to all those who have submitted to thy rule in
"the West.' Yúsuf then said to his secretary, 'What thinkest thou of all this?'
"—'O King!' answered the secretary, 'thou must know that the splendour of a
"crown is such that it must be owned by those even who are unwilling to [own it];
"that it is therefore incumbent upon a king, who has power and riches, to forgive,
"whenever his forgiveness is implored, and to give away whenever he is asked: the
"more largely and profusely he bestows his gifts, the more his fame spreads
"and the more his power increases, and his dominions extend; for if once it
"becomes an honour to be the vassal of such a king, people will flock to him
"on all sides without difficulty, and he will become the heir of an extensive empire
"without waiting for the death of others. Know that one of the great kings of
"yore, well versed in the means [to be employed] to arrive at empire, said,
"—The generous man becomes a lord [among his own people]; the lord rises to be
"a chief; the chief is the ruler of the country.'

"When Yúsuf heard his secretary utter the above sentiments, he was at once
"convinced of the soundness of the advice and the truth of his words, and he
"accordingly directed him to write an answer to that effect in his name, and read it
"over to him before he sent it to Andalus. The secretary then wrote as follows:
"'In the name of God the merciful! the compassionate! [This letter is] from
"Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, who salutes you all, and invokes upon you the mercy and
"the blessings of God. (May they descend at once on the saluter and the saluted!)
"Know ye that whatever you possess of empire, in the broadest acceptation [of
"this word], is perfectly secure in your hands, and that you are welcome to its
"possession; that we entertain for you all the greatest regard and esteem, and that
"therefore we are anxious to see good faith and amity exist between us, and hope
"that you will treat us as brothers. God is the imparter of help both to you
"and to me.'

"The letter being written, the secretary read it in his native tongue to Yúsuf,
"who approved of its contents. Having then prepared some suitable presents
"for the Andalusian rulers, among which were many valuable shields covered with
"the skins of the *lamt*, and which could not be procured elsewhere than in his own
"dominions, Yúsuf gave his reply to the messenger and dismissed him.

"When the kings of Andalus received Yúsuf's letter, and had perused it, they
"were extremely satisfied, and they praised and extolled above all things the
"modesty and moderation of that Sultán. Rejoiced at the idea of having him
"for an ally, their souls were inflamed, and their courage rekindled to oppose
"the Franks; and when, in the course of time, they saw that all their efforts to

" humble the pride of the infidels proved useless, they no longer hesitated to send " another embassy to Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, requesting him to cross over to Andalus, " or to send an army to their assistance.

His answer to the ambassadors of Al-mu'tamed.

" Such was the state of affairs when the ambassadors of Al-mu'tamed arrived " at his court. Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín had [for some time past] seen at the capital of " his dominions numbers of men from the frontier towns [reduced by Alfonso], " who came with tears in their eyes and sorrow in their hearts, calling to God " and their brothers in Islám [for protection], and imploring the Kádís and " theologians of his court and the Wizírs of his government to intercede for them. " Yúsuf had listened to their prayers, and sympathised with their sufferings; " his heart had melted at the narrative of their misfortunes. Just as the ambas- " sadors of Al-mu'tamed were crossing the Straits, Yúsuf was sending emissaries " over to Andalus [to ascertain the real state of the country]. The ambassadors " arrived [at Morocco], and Yúsuf received them with every show of attention and " honour, and promised to give the help required, which being reported to Al- " mu'tamed, he fitted out a fleet at Seville to communicate with the governor " of Ceuta,[19] and to keep him well informed of the movements of Yúsuf. After " various negotiations between the ambassadors of Al-mu'tamed and Yúsuf, the " Kádís returned to Seville, and the Almoravide Sultán crossed the Strait, and " landed without the least difficulty at Al-jezíratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras), the " inhabitants of which opened their gates, and went out to him with all sorts " of provisions, and erected a market-place, to which abundance of provisions was " taken [from the neighbouring districts]. It having been announced by the public " crier that Yúsuf had arrived in the country [for the purpose of waging war " against Alfonso], numbers of volunteers flocked from all parts to his banner, " until the public squares and the mosques [of the place] would no longer hold " them." So far the author of the *Raudhu-l-mu'attar*.

Ibn Ad'ham and the rest of the ambassadors found Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín at Ceuta, and, having delivered to him the credentials [of Al-mu'tamed], proceeded to describe to him the state of Andalus, and the constant fear in which the Moslems were of Alfonso's power.

CHAPTER VI.

Yúsuf crosses the Strait—Marches to Seville—Preparations of Alfonso—His dream—His message to Yúsuf—March of the Mohammedan army—Arrival at Badajoz—Yúsuf's letter to Alfonso—The Christian king tries to deceive the Moslems—His plans known and disconcerted—His attack upon Al-mu'tamed's camp—Perilous situation of that monarch—Yúsuf marches to his aid—Extricates him from his danger—Takes and plunders the Christian camp—Alfonso is wounded in the thigh—Flees the field of battle—Dies of sorrow and disappointment—Yúsuf visits Seville—Is magnificently entertained by the king of that city—The Almoravides evince a disposition to remain in Andalus—Advice given to Al-mu'tamed—Yúsuf's departure for Africa.

Yúsuf crosses the Strait.

Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín had no sooner heard the report of the ambassadors [of Al-mu'tamed], than he gave immediate orders for the crossing of his army, which came [to Ceuta] one division after the other. When all had arrived, Yúsuf crossed the Strait and joined Al-mu'tamed in Seville. This monarch had also made immense preparations, since, besides the troops of Seville and a considerable force sent him by the people of Cordova, he was joined by numbers of volunteers from the different provinces of Andalus. Ibn Khallekán says, that Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín had camels transported to Andalus in such numbers that the country was actually filled with them, and that their cries reached the sky. The people of Andalus had never seen camels, and their horses were greatly frightened at them. The sight of one of those animals, or his cry, was enough to make a horse rear and throw his rider. It was a good idea of Yúsuf's to take camels to Andalus, and to train them to war, and surround his camp with them, for they were afterwards of great assistance to him by throwing into disorder the Christian cavalry.

Marches to Seville.

But let us again see what the author of the *Raudhu-l-mu'attar* says on this topic, who not only has dwelt at full length on the history of Andalus, but was a native of that country, although I am unable to say to what tribe he belonged, or in what city he had his dwelling. "When Yúsuf, with all his army, had "crossed [the Strait] and landed at Jezíratu-l-khadhrá [Algesiras], he marched "to Seville in the finest order, army after army, general after general, and tribe "after tribe. Al-mu'tamed sent his own son to meet him, and issued orders "to the governors of the districts [through which Yúsuf had to pass] to furnish

" him and his army with provisions, and whatever else they might want. Every " where Yúsuf met with a reception that pleased him exceedingly, and he was " highly rejoiced. In this manner the several divisions of his army marched under " their respective commanders until they arrived in sight of Seville. At the " approach of Yúsuf, Al-mu'tamed went out to receive him, escorted by one " hundred cavaliers and the principal officers [of his court]. At a short distance " from the spot where Yúsuf had encamped, Al-mu'tamed put his horse to a " gallop, which being perceived by the people of the camp, they also went out " towards him. Yúsuf then left his tent and met Al-mu'tamed alone, when both " princes shook hands and embraced each other, and showed friendship and sin- " cerity, thanking God for his favours, and recommending to each other courage " [in the field] and compassion [towards the Moslems]. They congratulated each " other upon their determination to wage war against the infidel, and prayed to " God Almighty that he would render their act pure and acceptable to him. " They then separated; Yúsuf returned to his camp, Al-mu'tamed to his own " quarters, where, having collected together the presents, gifts, and provisions " which he had brought for Yúsuf, he sent them to the tent [of that monarch]. " Al-mu'tamed and Yúsuf passed that night under their tents; but on the ensuing " morning, after the prayer of sunrise, all mounted on horseback, and the former " having proposed to ride on to Seville, Yúsuf accepted the proposition, and " gave orders to that effect. Once in the capital of Al-mu'tamed, the Africans " witnessed enough of the splendour of royalty to make them glad. There was " no king of Andalus but who either hastened to Seville in person, or sent some " one to represent him, appearing there at the head of his own army, or sending " it under the command of an experienced general. [It is true] the people of " the Desert had done the same with respect to Yúsuf, every one of the tribes " or districts [of Western Africa] sending down their contingent of men to assist " in the undertaking.

Preparations of Alfonso.

" On the other hand, when Alfonso had ascertained that Yúsuf was marching " in hostile array against him, he summoned to arms all the men of his own and " the neighbouring kingdom, as well as those of the countries beyond them; " his priests, bishops, and monks raising every where their crosses and displaying " their gospels [in order to engage the people in the contest]. By these means " he collected round him an innumerable host of Franks and Galicians, and " established couriers to inform him of the movements of each army.

" These preparations being complete, Alfonso wrote a letter to Al-mu'tamed, " in which he said to him,—' Your friend Yúsuf is no doubt tired of his native " country, and has crossed the seas [in order to fix himself here]; but I am likely

" to give him occupation for the rest [of his days]. He was evidently so much " taken with you, and wished so much to see you, that he spared you the trouble " [of going over to him], and he came here to meet you in your country, and to " show you all the friendship and regard which he has for you.' Having then " assembled his favourites and the members of his council, he addressed them " in the following words: 'Methinks that were I to allow the enemy to cross " the passes [leading] to this my kingdom, and to engage my army on this side " of the mountain barriers [which encompass this country], if the fortune of war " decides against me, the Africans will doubtless take possession of this country, " and mow down its inhabitants at one stroke; whereas if, on the contrary, I " try my forces with theirs on the skirts of their country, and the fortune of " the day were to turn against us, they will be satisfied with the advantages " [gained] and will not follow us beyond the mountains, for fear of leaving the " passes at their back; or if they do follow us, it will not be before they have " made fresh preparations, and some time has been spent [in them]. This plan, " I imagine, will prove a preservative to our country, and a sort of palliative to our " defeat. If, on the contrary, the enemy should be beaten and we prove victorious, " I shall have over them, and in their country, that very advantage which I " fear they may reap in ours. I am, therefore, determined to fight them in the " very heart of their country.' In conformity with this resolution, Alfonso, having " taken with him the élite of his army and his choicest troops, advanced towards " the passes which lead into the Moslem territory, leaving the rest of his forces " behind. It is related that when Alfonso saw the flower of his troops formed " in line of battle, he could not help exclaiming in raptures, 'With such men " as these I engage to fight the genii, the demons, and the angels of heaven.' " According to the lowest computation the army which Alfonso chose to accompany " him on that expedition consisted of forty thousand men, clad in coats of bright " mail, without counting their [mounted] followers; but the Christians stared " with amazement at those who made such low reckoning, and declared that " their numbers were still greater. All agree, however, that the Moslems were " on this occasion less numerous than the unbelievers.

His dream.

" Whilst these events were passing, Alfonso dreamt one night that he was " riding on a huge elephant, which was all the time beating a drum with his " trunk. Being greatly terrified by this vision, he consulted his priests and " monks about it, but he found no one who could explain its meaning to him. " At last he bribed a Jew to go over to the Moslem territory, and try to ascertain " its meaning from some learned man well versed in the interpretation of dreams. " Having found a Moslem who professed to explain dreams, the Jew related to

" him Alfonso's vision as if he had seen it himself, and requested him to explain " it for him; but the Moslem, discovering the imposture, said immediately, 'Thou " liest; thou never hadst such a dream, and unless thou tell me who dreamt it, " I will give thee no explanation.' The Jew, seeing the imposture discovered, " told him the truth, but entreated him to keep it a secret. 'Thou tellest the " truth now,' said the interpreter of dreams; 'it was Alfonso, and he only, who " dreamt the dream, and the meaning of it is that a great calamity is about to " befall him and his army. The dream may be explained in those words of the " Korán,—'Seest thou not how thy Lord has dealt with the people of the elephant?' " As to the elephant beating [the drum] with his trunk, the meaning of it is that " Alfonso will receive a wound in his face, which will also happen on the same " ominous day.' The Jew returned to Alfonso, to whom he related the interview " he had held with the interpreter; but, instead of imparting to him the explanation " which the astrologer had given him, he offered him a satisfactory one, more " suitable to his position and views.

His message to Yúsuf.

" They relate that Alfonso wrote a letter to Yúsuf, which a traitor Moslem " composed for him, wherein he used very abusive language, and endeavoured to " intimidate that Sultán, by greatly exaggerating the forces, military stores, and " provisions which he had at his disposal. When the letter arrived and was " read to Yúsuf, he ordered his secretary Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-kossayrah [1] to answer it. " Abú Bekr, who was a learned and elegant writer, retired and soon returned " with a long epistle full of rhetorical beauties, which being read to Yúsuf, he " said to him, 'That answer is too long; bring me Alfonso's letter.' Abú Bekr " did as he was commanded, and Yúsuf wrote these words upon the back of it,— " 'He who shall live will see.' [2] When Alfonso read these words he trembled " with fear, and soon became convinced that he had to deal with a man against " whom all his power would be useless.

March of the Mohammedan army.

" However, after spending some time on the passes, Alfonso marched with his " army towards the western provinces of Andalus. He was there met by the " Sultán Yúsuf, who advanced against him. Al-mu'tamed had remained behind, " occupied in some pressing business; but when he had dispatched it, he followed " his track with an army composed of warriors trained to border warfare, and " the chiefs of Andalus. His son 'Abdullah led the van, and as he was marching " he recited extempore the following verses, which have since become cele- " brated:

'Joy is near at hand; it shall come to thee [coupled] with wonderful 'events.

'From this blessed expedition thou canst not fail shortly to return victorious:

'For God grants thee his help, whilst he sends down destruction upon the 'worshipper of the crucified.

'We may, indeed, expect a day as glorious as that of Koleyb.'[3]

"The [allied] armies arrived at Badhalios (Badajoz), and encamped outside the "walls. The king of that city, Al-mutawakkel 'Omar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-"afttas, went out to meet the Moslems some distance from this capital with "refreshments and provisions, and showed them every possible attention and "respect. He brought them news of the movements of Alfonso,[4] and told them "that he was already in the neighbourhood with all his forces. Upon the receipt "of this intelligence, Yúsuf advanced against the enemy, and the two hosts were "soon in sight of each other. Fearing some stratagem of the enemy, Al-mu'tamed "sent out experienced people to examine and reconnoitre the camp of the Al-"moravides;[5] he himself, after seeing the sentries placed at the gates [of the "camp], as well as detachments of cavalry and infantry [to guard against a "surprise], would go out every night and ride outside the camp, so that if a "soldier left his tent he was sure to find Al-mu'tamed going his rounds.

Arrival at Badajoz.

"When the two armies were in presence of each other, Yúsuf wrote to Alfonso, "offering him one of the three [conditions] prescribed by the law; namely, Islám, "tribute, or death. The letter was a long one, and elegantly written. Among "other things which it contained was the following: 'We understand, O Alfonso! "that thou didst once express the wish of coming over to us [in Africa], and "didst regret thou hadst no vessels to allow thee to do so. Thy wishes are now "accomplished. Here we are, ready to meet thee wherever thou pleasest, and "we shall see how thy prayers have been attended to. It is a thing well known, "that infidels never pray except in the path of error.'

Yúsuf's letter to Alfonso.

"At the receipt of this letter the unbeliever was highly indignant; he flew "into a most violent passion, and returned an answer indicative of the miserable "state [of his mind]. His bishops and monks then raised their crosses in the "air, and displayed their gospels, pledging themselves to die [for their religion]. "On the other hand, both Yúsuf and Al-mu'tamed addressed their respective "followers; after which, theologians, and other men distinguished by the sanctity "of their lives, assuming the functions of Khattíbs or preachers, erected temporary "pulpits from which they preached to the soldiers, stimulating them to show "courage and resolution in the approaching contest, and warning them against "cowardice or flight.

"On Wednesday morning, at break of day, the scouts came to the camp of Yúsuf "and informed him that Alfonso had struck his tents and was close at hand. "On the receipt of this intelligence, the Moslems fell into their ranks and prepared

"for battle; but Alfonso's courage failed [when he saw the fine order in which "they were], and, instead of advancing to the attack, he had recourse to artifice "and deceit, so that the Moslems returned to their encampment and passed that "night in their tents. On the following morning, which was Thursday, Alfonso "sent a message to Al-mu'tamed, thus conceived: 'To-morrow is Friday, and "a holiday for the people of thy creed; so is Sunday for those of ours; let the "battle, then, take place on the intermediate day, which is Saturday.' Al-"mu'tamed hastened to communicate to Yúsuf the message he had received; "at the same time intimating to him his conviction that it was merely intended "to deceive, and that Alfonso really meant to attack them on Friday. He there-"fore advised that Sultán to keep his men in readiness the whole of Friday. "This was done as he proposed; the men received orders to be prepared for "battle, and the sentries to be on the alert.

The Christian king tries to deceive the Moslems.

"In the middle of the night of Thursday, a devout and holy Faquih, named "Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Romeylah Al-kortobí, who followed the camp of Al-"mu'tamed, awoke in great exultation and delight, saying to all those whom "he happened to meet, how he had that very night seen in a dream the messenger "of God [Mohammed], who had assured him of the victory, and told him that "he himself would fall a martyr for the faith at sunrise of the ensuing day. "Accordingly, Abú-l-'abbás prepared himself; he passed a part of the night in "prayer, and anointed and perfumed his head. This circumstance having been "reported to Al-mu'tamed, he hastened to communicate it to Yúsuf, as one proof "more of the treason which the infidel king was meditating.

"The same night [of Thursday], two horsemen, belonging to the army of "Al-mu'tamed, came and informed that prince, that having, according to his "instructions, spied Alfonso's camp, they had heard a confused noise as of "troops marching to and fro, and soldiers getting their weapons ready. Shortly "after other horsemen arrived at full gallop into the camp, bringing positive "information of Alfonso's movements. These were quickly followed by some "scouts whom Al-mu'tamed had sent into the Christian camp to ascertain, if "possible, what were the intentions of the enemy. They returned, saying, 'We "sharpened our ears and listened; and heard Alfonso say to his people,—Al-"mu'tamed is well practised in Andalusian warfare; the Africans are not; for, "however intelligent and experienced in military affairs the latter may be, they "are totally unacquainted with this country and its different modes of warfare. "It is clear, therefore, that on the present occasion they are entirely guided by "the advice of Al-mu'tamed: against him, then, must your attacks be first "directed, and your utmost courage and perseverance be displayed; for, if once

"you defeat him, the victory over the Africans will be easily gained. For my "part, I do not think that Al-mu'tamed can resist you long, if you attack him with "vigour and determination.'

"Upon the receipt of this information, Al-mu'tamed dispatched his Kátib, Abú "Bekr Ibnu-l-kossayrah, to inform the Sultán Yúsuf of the approach of Alfonso, "and of his plan of attack, and to ask him at the same time to re-inforce his army "with some troops. Ibnu-l-kossayrah galloped through the camp, until he reached "the tent of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, to whom he delivered his master's message. "Yúsuf answered, 'Go and tell Al-mu'tamed that I will shortly hasten to his "assistance;' saying which, he directed one of his generals to take a body of "troops, which he named, and to attack and fire Alfonso's camp as soon as he "saw him engaged with Al-mu'tamed. Ibnu-l-kossayrah then returned to his "master; but scarcely had he had time to communicate the answer of which he "was the bearer, when the troops of the infidel king made their appearance.

His plans known and disconcerted.

"Al-mu'tamed [and his men] fought with the courage of despair, but the troops "of Alfonso being greatly superior in numbers, the Moslems were surrounded "and hemmed in on all sides. The struggle now became fiercer than ever, and the "furnaces of war burned with additional violence; death exercised its fury among "the followers of Al-mu'tamed, who himself performed on that day such feats of "arms as no warrior in his army could equal. Meanwhile the King of Seville was "anxiously expecting the re-inforcements which Yúsuf had promised to him. He "kept looking in the direction of the African camp, but no troops came; the "Christians, on the other hand, repeated their attacks with increasing fury, until, at "last, the Andalusians, disheartened by their own loss, and not seeing the Africans "come to their assistance, began to lose courage. Some of them even gave way, "and in their number Al-mu'tamed's own son, 'Abdullah. However, that monarch "continued fighting until he was thrice wounded; he received a sabre cut on the "head, which went through his helmet and lodged in his head, as far as the "temples; he received another sabre cut in the right hand, and a thrust of a spear "in his thigh; he had three chargers killed under him, and whenever he was "dismounted he was immediately supplied with another steed. Often did he seek "death in the ranks of the enemy by rushing into the middle of them and dealing "blows right and left. In that situation, and whilst the blood was dripping from "his wounds, Al-mu'tamed happened to think of a pet child of his, surnamed "Abú Háshim, whom he had left behind [in Seville] owing to a slight indis-"position, and he exclaimed—

His attack upon Al-mu'tamed's camp.

Perilous situation of that monarch.

'O Abú Háshim! the sword [of the enemy] has fractured my bones;
'but God gave me courage and endurance throughout the bloody conflict.

' [Even now] amidst the clouds of dust [raised by warriors' feet] I think of ' thy little person, and yet the pleasant thought induces me not to flee.' [6]

Yúsuf marches to his aid.

" At last the expected re-inforcements came, and Al-mu'tamed was extricated " from his perilous situation. The first among the generals of Yúsuf who came to " the assistance [of the Andalusians] was Dáwúd Ibn 'A'yeshah, an experienced " and brave officer. Next came Yúsuf himself with banners displayed and drums " beating, the sounds of which resounded loudly through the air. This being " perceived by Alfonso, he sent against the Africans a body of his best troops; " he in person followed them with the greater part of his army. Yúsuf then " hastened towards them, and having charged the enemy at the head of all his " forces, made them fall back upon their cantonments. The relics of Al-mu'tamed's " division gathered round Yúsuf's host; the men began to sniff up the odoriferous " gales of victory, and congratulate each other upon their forthcoming success. " This done, the Moslems again charged the enemy together and at once; the " earth quaked under the hoofs of their horses; the sun was obscured by the clouds " of dust rising under the feet of the warriors; the steeds swam through torrents of " blood. Both parties, in short, fought with equal animosity and courage. At " last, Al-mu'tamed and Yúsuf met together, and they united in a furious and irre- " sistible charge; upon which the Andalusian fugitives, seeing the Africans closely " engaged with the Christians, returned little by little [to the camp], and joined " also in the attack, which was so spirited and so well conducted, that the " Christians gave way every where, and took to flight. Alfonso then fled the " field of battle, not without having received a wound in one of his knees, which " made him lame for the rest of his life."

Extricates him from his danger.

Takes and plunders the Christian camp.

According to Ibn Khallekán (in the life of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín), when, as above related, Alfonso had nearly destroyed Al-mu'tamed's division, Yúsuf summoned round him his best infantry, and the cavalry of Senhájah and the chiefs of the principal [Berber] tribes, and, putting himself at their head, led the attack against the camp of Alfonso, which he surprised and entered, putting to the sword all the troops left for its defence. The stormy din of drums, the clash of clarion and trumpet, filled the air; the earth quaked [under the weight of the warriors], and the neighbouring mountains echoed the thousand discordant sounds. The Christians [who were closely engaged with Al-mu'tamed] seeing the Moslems in possession of their camp, returned to expel them therefrom; upon which, the Amír, Yúsuf, went out [to assist them, and having repulsed the assailants,] returned to the camp, and expelled the Christians from it.[7] Again the enemy returned to the attack, but they were a second time repulsed, and the camp remained in the possession of the Moslems. In this manner the attacks succeeded each other, until the

Amír of the Moslems [8] summoned his own body-guard, composed of black slaves, and, having picked out four thousand of them, armed with sharp Indian swords, short spears of *Zán*, and shields covered with hippopotamus-hide, he directed them to dismount and join the fight, which they did with awful execution, cutting the horses' houghs, spearing their riders when on the ground, and throwing confusion into the enemy's ranks. In the middle of the conflict Alfonso attacked, sword in hand, a black slave who had spent all his javelins, and aimed at his head; but the black avoided the blow, and, creeping under Alfonso's horse, seized the animal by the bridle; then taking out a *khanjar*,[9] which he wore at his girdle, he wounded the Christian king in the thigh, the instrument piercing both armour and flesh, and pinning Alfonso to his horse's saddle. The rout then became general, the gales of victory blew, and God sent down his spirit to the Moslems, rendering the true religion triumphant. A charge more desperate than the others at last expelled the Christians from their camp, and completed their discomfiture. Every where the infidels turned their backs before the Moslems, quietly giving up their throats to the caresses of the swords, and their bodies to the thrusting of the spears. Those who escaped fled to a small eminence in the vicinity of the camp, where they tried to make a stand. They were immediately surrounded by the cavalry of the Moslems, and would inevitably have been taken had not night come on, under cover of which Alfonso and his followers were enabled to come down and escape destruction, when they must already have felt the fangs of death upon their throats. The Moslems, however, took possession of every thing they found in the Christian camp,—stores, weapons, provisions, tents,[10] vases, and so forth.

Alfonso is wounded in the thigh.

But let us hear what the author of the *Raudhu-l-mu'attar* says on the subject. "After the defeat of his army, Alfonso ascended a small eminence close to his "camp, with five hundred of his knights, every one of whom had been more or less "wounded in the conflict: from thence they all disappeared in the course of the "night. All those who did not follow the example of their king were either "killed or taken prisoners; the number of those who died in the battle or after it "being so great that the plain was actually covered with their bodies, and that "the heads of the slain, piled up in various places, formed several pulpits from "which the muezzins called the faithful to prayer: indeed, had Alfonso stayed "to contemplate the field of battle, he would have found it a terrible lesson to "him and to his followers.

Flees the field of battle.

"As it was, when he arrived at his city [Toledo], and began to inquire about "his friends and courtiers and the brave warriors of his army, and was told that "every one of them was either slain or a captive in the hands of the Moslems, "—when he perceived that wherever he went there was nothing but wailings and

Dies of sorrow and disappointment.

" lamentations,—he fell suddenly into a dejected state of mind, and neither ate nor " drank, until he actually died of sorrow and disappointment. He left no male " children, and was succeeded by a daughter, who shut herself up in Toledo.[11]

" Immediately after the battle, Al-mu'tamed went to see Yúsuf, shook hands with " him, congratulated him upon the victory he had gained, and thanked and praised " him [for the assistance he had lent to the common cause]. Yúsuf, on the other " hand, thanked Al-mu'tamed for his exertions, and the courage which he had " displayed in the contest. Yúsuf having, in the course of conversation, asked " Al-mu'tamed how he was when his timely aid came to extricate him from his " dangerous position, that monarch answered him, 'Thou hadst better ask [the " fugitives]; there they are before thee.'

" Al-mu'tamed wrote from the field of battle, announcing to his son in Seville " the victory which the Moslems had gained. The letter was thus conceived: " 'From the camp of victory, this Friday, the 20th of Rejeb, [A. H. 479]. God " has exalted the faith, and rendered the Moslems victorious, granting them a " manifest victory, routing and putting to flight the idolaters and unbelievers. He " has made the latter taste the awful punishments and excruciating tortures which " await them [in hell]. Praise [be given] to God for the signal favours he has " just granted to us, and the contentment and joy he has this day sent down unto " us by breaking down the power and scattering the forces of Alfonso, annihilating " the whole of his army, and committing so many of his followers to the raging " fires of hell, where they will not fail to be subjected to those everlasting torments " which are reserved for the infidels. Our victory was complete: we took and " plundered his camp, and put to the sword the whole of his men, his most " renowned warriors and stoutest champions; the slaughter being so great that " the Moslems are now piling up the heads of the slain, and raising towers from " which to proclaim the hours of public prayer. Praise [be given] to God for all his " favours. As to me, I received a few slight wounds, which at first were painful " enough, but are now closed. Praise be given to God. Fare thee well.' "

In this battle numbers of Moslems won the crown of martyrdom, among whom were several chiefs and doctors distinguished by their virtues or their talents, such as Ibn Romeylah, whose dream we have related above, Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Al-masmúdí, Kádí of Morocco, and others. (May God Almighty have mercy on their souls!) Yet the loss of the Moslems was trifling when compared with that experienced by the Christians. For many years after the field of battle was so covered with the carcasses of the slain, that it was impossible to walk through it without treading on the withered bones of some infidel.

The Moslems remained four days encamped on the field of battle, occupied in

collecting the spoils of the enemy. When every thing had been got together, Yúsuf's pleasure was consulted with regard to the partition; but Yúsuf would not touch any portion of the spoil, and gave it to the Andalusian chieftains to be divided among them, saying, "I came not to this country for the sake of "plunder; I came for no other purpose than that of waging war against the "infidel, and thereby deserving the rewards promised to those who fight for the "cause of God." When the Andalusian princes saw Yúsuf's generous conduct with regard to the division of the spoil, they praised his liberality, and thanked him for it.

But to return to the principal subject of our narrative. "The battle being over, "Al-mu'tamed invited Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín to accompany him to Seville, and the "latter having accepted the invitation, both princes repaired to that capital, ac-"companied by a numerous and brilliant escort. When Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín saw "Seville, which, as is well known, is one of the most splendid and magnificent cities "[in the world], he could not remove his eyes from the sight, and his mind was "absorbed in the contemplation of its many beauties. Seville is situated on the "banks of a large river, into which the tide pours the waters of the sea, and "which is navigated by merchant ships trading between Maghreb (Western Africa) "and Andalus. To the west of the city lies a fertile district, twenty parasangs in "length, in which are upwards of one thousand hamlets surrounded by orchards "and gardens, where the vine, the olive, and fig-tree grow in great luxuriance. "The district is called *Sharaf* (Axarafe), and constitutes one of the greatest "beauties of Seville, there being no other city in the West to be compared to "it on this account. On one side of the city are the palaces of Al-mu'tamed and "of his father, Al-mu'tadhed, both extremely beautiful [in their proportions], and "most splendid in their decorations. In one of these palaces, which was furnished "for the occasion with every requisite article, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín was lodged "with his suite, Al-mu'tamed taking care that they should be daily provided with "food, drink, clothes, beds, &c., and appointing persons to see that all the wishes "of his royal guest were fully gratified. Such, indeed, was the attention and "courtesy which Al-mu'tamed displayed on this occasion, that Yúsuf could not "forbear showing his gratitude, and thanking him for his hospitality.

Yúsuf visits Seville.

Is magnificently entertained by the king of that city.

"There were in the suite of Ibn Táshefín [Yúsuf] several courtiers who were "dexterously calling the attention of that Sultán to the comforts and luxuries "by which he was surrounded, and to the pleasures and enjoyments which his "host was daily procuring for him, as well as instigating him to adopt a similar "mode of living. One of them said once to him, 'Among the great advantages "which power confers upon a king, one is that it enables him to pass his life

The Almoravides evince a disposition to remain in Andalus.

" in pleasure and comfort, as this Al-mu'tamed and his colleagues [the petty kings " of Andalus] are doing.' Ibn Táshefín [Yúsuf] was a wise and shrewd man; " he was neither too prompt in his determinations, nor too slow in carrying them " into effect; and as he had passed the greater part of his life in his native deserts, " exposed to hunger and privation, he had no taste for the life of pleasure and " enjoyment which was recommended to him, and he accordingly rejected the " advice of his counsellor, saying to him, 'It strikes me that this man (meaning " Al-mu'tamed) is throwing away the power which has been placed in his hands; " for there can be no doubt that the sums of money which he is daily expending to " support all this pomp and vanity were formerly in the hands of his subjects, " from whom he cannot have obtained them by legal means, but through unjust " proceedings, to spend them in the indulgence of forbidden pleasures and frivolous " pastimes; and instead of giving his attention to the good administration and " defence of his kingdom, and to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects, he " thinks of nothing else than satisfying the cravings of his passions.' And by my " life," observes the author from whom we borrow the above narrative, " Yúsuf " was right when he said so.

" After this, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín inquired how Al-mu'tamed conducted himself " in his pleasures; whether he always led the same dissipated life, or whether " he sometimes refrained and lived more soberly. The answer was, that Al- " mu'tamed always led the same life [of dissipation and pleasure]. 'And do " Al-mu'tamed's friends, do his allies, and the high functionaries of his court, " approve of his conduct and imitate him?'—'No, they do not.'—'Well, then, " how are they pleased with him?'—'They are not pleased at all,' was the courtier's " answer. Hearing this, Yúsuf kept silence, and remained for some time wrapt " up in his thoughts.

Advice given to Al-mu'tamed.

" In this manner Yúsuf passed some days at Seville. One day, during his " stay at that city, a man badly dressed presented himself at the gate of Al- " mu'tamed's palace, and asked to be admitted into that monarch's presence. " Permission being granted to him, the man, who was one of those endowed " with intelligence and foresight in mundane affairs, entered the hall where Al- " mu'tamed was, and having previously bowed down to the earth before him, " addressed him thus: 'May God prosper thee, O Sultán! It behoves him who " has received a benefit to show his gratitude for it, and give good advice in " return. I am thy subject, and although my condition [in life] is one of the " humblest, yet I deem it incumbent on me to bestow on thee such warning " and advice as may hereafter insure thy rule in this country. Know, then, that " it has reached my ears that one of the Africans who came in the suite of thy

" guest, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, has uttered certain expressions, indicating that his " countrymen consider themselves and their king more deserving than thyself of " the comforts and pleasures [which this thy kingdom affords]. I have been " thinking of an expedient, which, if thou art inclined to listen to me, I will " proceed to state.'—' Speak,' said Al-mu'tamed impatiently. ' This man,' con- " tinued the stranger, ' whom thou hast allowed to pry into thy kingdom, is " well known to have sprung like a lion upon the kings of various countries, " and to have dispossessed them of all their dominions. Witness the Zenátah " of the opposite coast, whose chiefs he attacked in succession, and deprived of " all their power, and would mercilessly have destroyed, had not the sight of " the luxuries and comforts by which thou art surrounded suddenly filled him " with a desire to seize on thy kingdom; nay, on the whole of this island; for " I do not imagine that thy colleagues, the rulers of Andalus, will fare better " than thou. Indeed, I am told that Yúsuf is constantly being importuned by " his sons, relatives, and others, who all wish him to fix his residence in this " happy and fertile kingdom of thine. Now that he has humbled the pride of " Alfonso, destroyed his army, and delivered thee from him, he will have no " difficulty in accomplishing his design; for, in delivering thee from an enemy, " he has also deprived thee of the most powerful auxiliary thou couldst have " against him. I can, however, procure thee a better ally and a warmer friend " than Alfonso himself could be, if thou wilt only follow my advice and seize " the favourable opportunity which presents itself to-day, and not let it pass " as thou didst that of Alfonso.'—' And pray what is it?' said Al-mu'tamed. " ' That thou seize the person of thy guest, keep him a prisoner in thy palace, " and threaten not to release him unless he issues orders for all Africans to leave " this island forthwith and cross over to the deserts whence they came. This " being done, and when not even a child of his nation remains in this country, " thou wilt, in concert with the other rulers of Andalus, adopt such measures " as may be required for the protection of this sea and its shores against any " vessels of his that should attempt a passage. When all these preparations " are made thou wilt release him, but not without having first compelled him " to swear a most solemn oath never again to return to this island, unless there " be a previous agreement between thee and him. Thou wilt, moreover, ask " him for hostages, to insure the fulfilment of his word; for I have no doubt " he will grant thee any thing thou mayst ask him, his life being more valuable " to him than all that is required of him. He will then be satisfied with his " own native soil, which none else but him can like, and will not covet other

"people's countries. Thou wilt be delivered of him, after being delivered of "Alfonso; and thou wilt remain in thy present condition, enjoying every pro- "sperity: thy fame will spread among the kings of this island; thy power will "increase, and thy kingdom extend; and when the people of this country know "what thou hast accomplished, they will praise thy act and extol thy wisdom. "Kings shall dread thee, and thou wilt be enabled to accomplish any thing thou "pleasest for the extension of thy empire and the protection of thy dominions. "Know, therefore, that thou art called by Heaven to do a deed which shall satisfy "the nations, and without which oceans of human blood shall flow.'

"When Al-mu'tamed heard the man's speech, he seemed to approve of it, and "began to ponder in his mind whether he should seize the opportunity which "presented itself to him or not. Whilst he was absorbed in his thoughts, one "of his courtiers, whom, like many others, Al-mu'tamed was in the habit of "admitting to his parties of pleasure, addressed himself to the counsellor, and said: "'It is not for princes like Al-mu'tamed, who is the pattern of every virtue, to "commit such a treacherous act as to seize the person of his guest.'—'No "matter,' replied the man, 'treason always takes the right from the hands of "its possessor, to protect the man who is hard pressed by his enemy.'[12]— "'Injury with good faith,' replied the courtier, 'is preferable to prudence with "injustice.' The counsellor would go on defending his opinion, but Al-mu'tamed "dismissed him, after thanking him for his good advice, and making him a hand- "some present.

Yúsuf's departure for Africa.

"It appears, however, that Yúsuf got intelligence of what had passed; for when, "on the morning of the ensuing day, Al-mu'tamed came up to him, as usual, with "costly presents and valuable gifts, he took leave of him and departed on the "same day. Some historians relate that Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín dwelt outside of "Seville, and that when he hád been there three days news came to him from "Maghreb (Western Africa), which required his presence in that country; that "[Al-mu'tamed] Ibn 'Abbád accompanied him one day and one night, after which "Yúsuf, seeing that his wounds were sore, begged and entreated him to return "to his capital, which Al-mu'tamed did, not without appointing his own son, "'Abdullah, to accompany his illustrious guest to the sea shore, and to cross "over to Africa with him."

On his return to Seville, Al-mu'tamed sat one day in public, and the people were admitted to his presence. He was then congratulated upon his victory, the Korán was read [in his presence], and the poets who stood on each side of his throne recited poems in his praise. "I was present that day," says

'Abdu-l-jelíl Ibn Wahbún,[13] "and I recited before Al-mu'tamed a poem which "I had composed for the occasion; the reader [of the Korán] read that passage "which stands thus: 'If ye do not help him, God will nevertheless render him "victorious [against his enemies].' I then recited my own composition, which, "by Allah! turned entirely upon the meaning of that verse."

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

Yúsuf again crosses over to Andalus—Lays siege to Toledo—Deprives 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín of his dominions—His generals subdue the rest of Andalus—Seyr, the Almoravide, attacks the King of Saragossa—Takes the castle of Roda—Dethrones the Kings of Murcia and Almeria—Puts to death Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz—Preparations against Al-mu'tamed—Al-mu'tamed besieged in Seville—Implores the aid of Alfonso—Taking of Seville by the Almoravides—Al-mu'tamed is conveyed a prisoner to Africa—His son 'Abdu-l-jabbár revolts in Andalus—Is killed in the attempt—Death of Al-mu'tamed—Death of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín—Accession of 'Alí—His campaigns with the Christians of Andalus—Taking of Saragossa by the Aragonese—'Alí returns to Andalus—Alfonso I. invades Andalusia—Arrives before Granada—The Christians of Granada transported to Africa—'Alí goes to Andalus the fourth time—His death.

Yúsuf again crosses over to Andalus.

Yúsuf had no sooner left the shores of Andalus than Alfonso began again to plan the destruction of the Moslems. Having put himself at the head of considerable forces, he invaded the dominions of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, King of Murcia, and laid siege to a strong castle, called Aleyt (Aledo), which he attacked so vigorously that he soon after took it by storm. Leaving a large force for the defence of the place, Alfonso retired into his own dominions; but the Christian garrison of Aledo made so many incursions into the dominions of Al-mu'tamed, that this Sultán was again[1] compelled to cross over to Africa, and implore Yúsuf's assistance. Accordingly, in the month of Rabi'-l-awál of 481 (May or June, A. D. 1088), the commander of the Moslems again landed at Algesiras at the head of a considerable army, and, having united his forces to those of Al-mu'tamed, marched to Aledo, which he besieged. Owing, however, to some misunderstanding which arose among the Andalusian chieftains,[2] Yúsuf was unable to reduce the place, and after some slight incursions made into the neighbouring districts of the enemy, he crossed over to Africa.

Lays siege to Toledo.

In the year 483 (beginning March 5, A. D. 1090), Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín visited Andalus for the third time, in order to wage war against the infidels. Having penetrated as far as Toledo, the court and capital of Alfonso, he besieged it; but, although he repeatedly attacked the city, laid waste all the country around,

and prevented provisions and stores being conveyed to it, he was in the end compelled to raise the siege and return to his dominions across the sea. They say that on this occasion not one of the Andalusian chieftains joined the banners of Yúsuf, although they had been particularly requested to do so, which so incensed that Sultán, that he decided to chastise them for their negligence, and to deprive them of their dominions.

Deprives 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín of his dominions.

Among the Andalusian rulers who would not answer the summons of Yúsuf was 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín, who not only did not join that Sultán with his forces, but had actually concluded a treaty of alliance with Alfonso. Upon him Yúsuf first wreaked his vengeance. At his approach, 'Abdullah shut the gates of his city, and made some show of resistance; but his mother having advised him to try by his submission to quiet Yúsuf's anger, he went out to meet him, and gave him the *salám*. After this he returned to Granada to prepare for the reception of his illustrious guest; but Yúsuf had no sooner gained admittance into 'Abdullah's palace than he seized the person of his host, and sent him in irons to Aghmát, together with his brother Temím, governor of Malaga, after taking possession of the immense treasures which that Sultán had amassed during a long and prosperous reign. This 'Abdullah was the grandson of Bádís, son of Habús, founder of the dynasty of the Zeyrítes of Granada.

His generals subdue the rest of Andalus.

In the month of Ramadhán of the same year (A. H. 483), Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín quitted Andalus for Africa, leaving one of his best generals, named Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr, with a body of troops to prosecute the war against the unbelievers. After allowing some days' rest to his men, Seyr led them against Alfonso, whose kingdom he invaded, plundering and laying waste the land, slaying and making captives of the inhabitants, reducing the best fortified towns and the strongest and most inaccessible fortresses. In this manner he penetrated far into the Christian territory, collecting rich spoils and immense treasures. Having left bodies of infantry and cavalry to garrison the places which he had taken from the enemy, Seyr sent to apprise Yúsuf of his success, and to inform him that whilst his own troops were performing a service of danger on the frontiers, waging incessant war against the Christians, and leading at the same time a life of hardship and privation, the kings of Andalus were plunged in pleasure and sloth, and their subjects were enjoying a happy and easy life. He therefore requested him to send him his instructions respecting the said kings, and to inform him how he was to deal with them. Yúsuf's answer was thus conceived: "Order "them to accompany thee to the enemy's country; if they obey, well and good; "if they refuse, lay siege to their cities, attack them one after the other, and "destroy them without mercy. Thou shalt begin with those princes whose do-

"minions border on the enemy's frontier, and shalt not attack Al-mu'tamed "until thou hast reduced the rest of Mohammedan Spain to thy obedience. To "every city or town which may thus fall into thy hands thou shalt appoint a "governor from among the officers of thy army."

Seyr, the Almoravide, attacks the King of Saragossa.

Agreeably to his instructions, Seyr first turned his arms against Ibn Húd [King of Saragossa], who was then [residing] at Rottah (Roda), a strong castle[3] fortified with great art and skill, having abundance of fresh water springing up at great height, and in which there was, moreover, such a quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds collected by the kings his predecessors, that time only could consume them. This castle Seyr besieged; but perceiving that he could not reduce it, owing to its marvellous strength, he had recourse to the following stratagem. One day he raised the siege, struck his tents, and went away some distance from the castle: having then selected a division of his army, he dressed them in the Christian fashion, and directed them to approach the castle, as if they were friends, and came to sell them provisions; whilst he himself with the remainder of his forces lay concealed in the neighbourhood. It happened as Seyr had anticipated. No sooner had the garrison of Roda perceived the disguised Africans, than, seeing them in small number, and not suspecting any treason, they came out of the castle, and the governor among them; upon which, Seyr left his place of concealment, and, rushing suddenly upon the governor, seized him with his own hand, made him prisoner, and obliged him to surrender his castle.

Takes the castle of Roda.

Dethrones the Kings of Murcia and Almeria.

Seyr next attacked the Bení Táhir in the eastern parts of Andalus. Having advanced upon Murcia, where ['Abdu-r-rahmán] Ibn Táhir[4] was ruling at the time, he invested that city with all his forces, and compelled that chieftain to surrender the place to him and cross over to Africa. The taking of Murcia happened in the month of Shawwál of the year 484 (A. D. 1091).

The campaign of Murcia being at an end, Seyr next attacked Al-mu'tassem Ibn Samádeh, King of Almeria. He sent against him a division of his army under the command of Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Wásinis, or, according to other authorities, of Mohammed Ibn 'A'yeshah. Having shut himself up in the citadel, which was of wonderful strength, Ibn Samádeh at first made a stout resistance; but hearing that the Almoravides were in possession of the city, and were preparing to invest the citadel, he fell into a low state of mind, and died of sorrow. His son Hosámu-d-daulah[5] then surrendered to the Almoravides, and crossed over to Africa in a ship which lay at anchor in the bay.

Puts to death Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz.

Seyr then marched to Badajoz, where a king of the dynasty of Al-afttas, named Al-mutawakkel 'Omar Ibn Mohammed, of whom previous mention has been made, was reigning at the time. Seyr besieged him [in Badajoz], made him prisoner,

and seized on all his dominions and treasures. Some time after he put him to death, together with his two sons, Al-fadhl and Al-'abbás.

Preparations against Al-mu'tamed.

Only Al-mu'tamed remained.[6] Seyr wrote to acquaint Yúsuf with what he had done, and to ask him for further instructions respecting the Sultán of Seville. Yúsuf's answer was, that he should propose to him to cross over to Africa with all his family and household: if he consented, he was to be nowise molested; but if he refused, he was to make war against him and to besiege him in his capital; and, when taken, to transport him to Africa, like the rest of the Andalusian rulers. Accordingly, Seyr sent a messenger to Al-mu'tamed, acquainting him with Yúsuf's pleasure, and begging to be informed what his intentions were; but Al-mu'tamed returned no answer; upon which Seyr besieged him in his capital, which he took by storm, and having made Al-mu'tamed his prisoner, sent him over to Africa with his family and children, as we are about to relate in the words of an Andalusian writer.

Al-mu'tamed is besieged in Seville.

Seyr had no sooner heard of Al-mu'tamed's disobedience to the orders of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín than he prepared to execute that Sultán's commands. Accordingly, having detached a portion of his army to Cordova against Al-fat'h Al-mámún, one of Al-mu'tamed's sons, he himself, with the remainder of the Almoravides, marched to Seville. After taking possession of Carmona, which surrendered to him on Saturday the 27th of Rabi' the first, before the hour of sunset, Seyr advanced upon that capital, which he invested. Meantime, Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-háj, who went in command of the forces sent against Cordova, after reducing on his road the cities of Baeza and Ubeda, and the castle of Al-balate, appeared in sight of that city, which he soon after took by storm, on Wednesday the 3rd day of Safar.[7] Al-mámún was taken prisoner and immediately beheaded. Another of Al-mu'tamed's sons, whose name was Yezíd Ar-rádhí, shared a similar fate. His father had appointed him governor of a strong castle called Ronda, to the north of Malaga. Seyr having dispatched against him one of his officers, named Jerúr Al-hashemí,[8] he was taken and put to death, and his head brought to the camp of Seyr, who had it paraded on a spear before the walls of Seville.

Implores the aid of Alfonso.

Al-mu'tamed, seeing himself surrounded by enemies, sent to implore the aid of Alfonso, who sent an army to his relief; but Seyr having detached ten thousand horse under an experienced officer, named Abú Is'hák Al-lamtúní, the Christians were kept in check, and did not proceed beyond Almodovar. The siege meanwhile was prosecuted with unabated vigour; Al-mu'tamed defended himself with great courage for a whole month, until the Almoravides having fought their way into the city, he was compelled to surrender. The poet Ibnu-l-lebbánah has preserved some details of this memorable siege, from which we borrow the following passage:

" During the siege of Seville by the Almoravides under Seyr, a party of Al-" mu'tamed's men meditated treason against him; but that Sultán received intel-" ligence of their plans, and was enabled to defeat them. Although their crime " was proved, and he was advised to seize their persons, and take away their lives, " he was prompted by his magnanimity and his generosity to leave them un-" molested, and allow them to fly from the city.

" One day Al-mu'tamed quitted his palace to inspect the fortifications and " encourage the garrison by his example. He was dressed in a wide tunic [over " his armour], and in his hand glittered a sharp scimitar, which soon became " notched and tarnished through repeated striking. Having arrived at one of the " city gates, he found there a warrior renowned for his courage and strength, who " had just forced his way into the city. The warrior aimed a blow at him with his " spear; but the weapon buried itself in Al-mu'tamed's tunic without touching his " body. Al-mu'tamed let fall his scimitar on the back of the warrior's neck, and " made his head roll on the ground. At sight of this exploit," adds Ibnu-l-lebbánah, " several of the Almoravides, who were standing on the top of the " city walls, threw themselves down, the enemy abandoned the gates of which they " had taken possession, and directed their steps elsewhere. We all thought that " after this [manifestation of fear] the city would be freed from the enemy, and " that the cloak of protection was once more thrown over us; but we were greatly " mistaken: on Sunday, the 21st of Rejeb, affairs grew all of a sudden much " worse, and the Almoravides entered the city on the river side."

Taking of Seville by the Almoravides.

Another historian says that the Almoravides took possession of Seville on the 22nd day of Rejeb;[9] that they had no sooner entered the city than they began to slay the inhabitants and to plunder their houses. Al-mu'tamed then left his palace, mounted and armed, taking with him his son Málik, surnamed *Fakhru-d-daulah* (glory of the state), who was soon after put to death by the Almoravides, and trampled under the horses' feet. After performing prodigies of valour, Al-mu'tamed returned to his palace, dejected in spirits and torn by affliction. When night came on, he sent his eldest son, Ar-rashíd, to the tent of Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr; but the Almoravide general would not receive him, and commissioned one of his slaves to hear his message. Ar-rashíd then returned to his father, and told him that there was no hope of mercy; upon which Al-mu'tamed took an affectionate leave of all his family, and, hiding his face in his hands, waited with resignation for his fate. Shortly after Seyr entered the palace, and having communicated to Al-mu'tamed the orders of which he was the bearer, told him to prepare to go

Al-mu'tamed is conveyed a prisoner to Africa.

to Africa. Accordingly, having embarked with his family and children on board a galley prepared for him, he sailed under an escort to Tangiers, where he landed in

the month of Sha'bán. Soon after there came an order from Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, enjoining him to go to the castle of Aghmát; and he was accordingly removed to that fortress with such among his wives, children, and servants, as consented to share his captivity. Al-mu'tamed's eldest son, surnamed Ar-rashíd, accompanied him thither. His name was 'Obeydullah, and his *kunyá* or appellative Abú-l-hasan. His father, who destined him for his successor, had caused him some time previous to be proclaimed as such at Seville. Al-mu'tamed was likewise followed to Aghmát by his wife 'Itimád, who was the mother of most of his children, to whom he always was more deeply attached than to any other of his women. Her name at first was Romeykiyyah, and she was so named from her master, Romeyk Ibn Hejáj, of whom Al-mu'tamed had purchased her. The surname of 'Itimád was given to her by Al-mu'tamed.[10] She was a good poetess, and well versed in literature. She died at Aghmát some time before her husband.

Historians have recorded many acts of gallantry of Al-mu'tamed towards his wife Romeykiyyah, among which we select the following one. That princess happened one day to meet, not far from her palace in Seville, some country women selling milk in skins, and walking up to their ankles in mud. On her return to the palace, she said to her royal spouse, "I wish I and my slaves could do as those "women are doing." Upon which Al-mu'tamed issued orders that the whole of his palace should be strewn with a thick paste made of ambergris, musk, and camphor, mixed together and dissolved in rose-water. He then commanded that a number of vessels, slung from ropes of the finest spun silk, should be procured; and thus arrayed, Romeykiyyah and her maids [went out of the harem and] splashed in that mud.[11] It is likewise related that on the same day in which Al-mu'tamed was deprived of his liberty and throne, some angry words passed between him and Romeykiyyah, as is often the case between man and wife. In the middle of the dispute, Romeykiyyah, whose pride was wounded, said to Al-mu'tamed, "By Allah! I never saw any good come from thee."—"Not even "the day of the mud?" inquired Al-mu'tamed, meaning by that the day in which, to satisfy a mere whim of her's, he had spent treasures the amount of which no one but God can estimate. When Romeykiyyah heard this answer she blushed and kept silence.

Al-mu'tamed remained in confinement till the moment of his death, which took place four years, or thereabouts, after the taking of Seville by Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr. Some time before his death one of his sons, named 'Abdu-l-jabbár, made an attempt to re-establish the power of his family in Andalus; but he failed, and perished in the undertaking. The event is thus related by a credible historian:

An influential citizen of Malaga, named Ibn Khalaf, was put under arrest, together with other friends and relatives of his, for some misdemeanour of which they were accused. One day, however, Ibn Khalaf and his comrades broke out of their prison and fled. Having arrived at night before the castle of Montmayúr (Montemayor), Ibn Khalaf and his followers surprised and expelled the governor, but did him no harm. Whilst they were thus engaged, there happened to pass near the castle a man whom they did not know at first, but who, upon inquiry, turned out to be 'Abdu-l-jabbár, son of Al-mu'tamed. Hearing who he was, Ibn Khalaf and his friends immediately chose him for their commander, and conducted him to the castle, where he remained, the people [of the country] thinking all the time that he was Ar-rádhí.[12] Some time after a ship, called the ship of Ibn Zaraká, arrived from Western Africa, and cast anchor in the port of As-sajrah (Sagra), close to the castle; and the crew, having landed, [entered the castle, and] took the banners, the drums, and all the stores and provisions which it contained. In this manner the rebellion increased and spread. The mother of 'Abdu-l-jabbár then came to the castle; upon which the prince sent messengers to Algesiras and to Arkosh (Los Arcos), and seeing that they were well received, repaired thither in person, and made his entry into that fortress in the year 488 (A. D. 1095).

His son 'Abdu-l-jabbár revolts in Andalus.

When Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín heard of the rising of 'Abdu-l-jabbár, he sent orders to Aghmát to have Al-mu'tamed put in chains. It was in allusion to this that he composed these two verses:

"Chains! do ye not know that I am a Moslem? I will watch at night,
"until ye are moved to pity.
"Abú Háshim will gaze on ye, until he melts your iron heart."[13]

Is killed in the attempt.

'Abdu-l-jabbár, however, did not maintain himself long in his position. No sooner was Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr apprised of his rebellion, than he sent against him a body of troops, who besieged him for some months in his castle of Arcos, until he was killed by an arrow shot by the enemy. After the death of 'Abdu-l-jabbár, his partisans still held out, but they were at last overpowered and slaughtered to a man.

Death of Al-mu'tamed.

Al-mu'tamed died at Aghmát in the month of Rabi' the first, of the year 488 (March or April, A. D. 1095). Ibnu-s-seyrafí says in Dhí-l-hajjah of the same year (Dec. A. D. 1095).[14] He was born at Beja in the year 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 1039), and had occupied the throne of Seville for a period of twenty-seven years, from 461, when he began to reign, to 488 (A. D. 1095), when he was dethroned and conveyed to Africa, as above related.

The histories of Andalus are filled with praises of this monarch. "Al-mu'tamed," says Ibnu-l-kattá', in his work entitled *Lamahu-l-malh* (sallies of wit),[15] being a

biography of the Andalusian poets, "was the most liberal, high-minded, and "munificent of all the rulers of Andalus, owing to which circumstance his court "became the meeting-place of the learned, and his capital the resort of poets and "literary men; so much so that there never was a king at whose court a greater "number of eminent men were assembled."

He was himself an excellent poet, as appears from the many elegant verses which Al-fat'h, Ibnu-l-hijárí, Ibnu Sa'íd, and, above all, Ibnu-l-lebbánah, cite in their works. The last-mentioned writer, who was one of Al-mu'tamed's Wizírs, and visited that prince in his confinement, made a collection of all his verses, as well as of those of his father and grandfather, which he entitled *Sakíttu-d-doror wa lakíttu-zohor fí sha'ri-bni 'Abbád* (the falling of the pearls and the spreading of the flowers: on the poetry of the Bení 'Abbád).[16] Ibn Bessám, in the *Dhakhírah*, gives also many, which he describes as being sweeter than the blooming calyx of odoriferous flowers. "No poet," he says, "ever equalled him in tenderness "of soul, and in the sentiment which prevailed throughout his verses. Wishing "upon one occasion to send the women of his harem from Cordova to Seville, "he went out and travelled part of the road with them from night till sunrise "of the ensuing day; he then took leave of them, and returned [to Cordova], "repeating extempore several verses, of which the following two form part:

'I accompanied them when night had spread her impervious veil, so as to 'conceal to the sight the traces of the travellers.

'I stopped and took leave [of them]; and the hands of morning stole from 'me those bright stars.'[17]

"This last idea," observes Ibn Bessám, "is exceedingly beautiful."

Among the singular and extraordinary circumstances connected with Al-mu'tamed one is, that when he was buried at Aghmát and the funeral service was read over his tomb, the prayer of the stranger was chanted, as if he had been an adventurer, without having regard either to the nobility of his birth, or to the extension of his empire, or the splendour and magnificence of his court; or to his having ruled over Seville and its districts, Cordova and its Az-zahrá. Such, however, are the ways of this world.

We might fill volumes with anecdotes respecting that prince; but as we have already given in the seventh chapter of this work several extracts from the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán* and other works where the biography of Al-mu'tamed is given at large, we will abstain from dwelling any longer on the subject. Suffice it to say, that the memory of that illustrious Sultán is still alive in the West, and that his tomb at Aghmát is well known and much frequented by travellers. The Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb once went to that place for the express purpose of

visiting the spot where Al-mu'tamed lay (may God show him mercy!); and his mind being disposed to reflection by the sight of it, he composed those celebrated verses which we intend giving hereafter, when we come to treat of his poetry,—sweeter than the odoriferous gales of spring, and more beautiful than beauty itself.

We also visited the tomb of Al-mu'tamed, and that of Romeykiyyah, the mother of his children, when we were at Morocco in the year 1010 (A. D. 1601). We arrived at Aghmát, and, not knowing where that prince was buried, we proceeded to inquire from such of the inhabitants as we chanced to meet. For some time our inquiries were unsuccessful, but at last an old man, bent with age, showed us the place, saying, "Here lies a king of Andalus, and by his side she whom his heart loved tenderly." We recognized the spot, such as Ibnu-l-khattíb described it in his verses,—a gentle eminence. We remained for some time fixed to the spot, assailed by fear and thought; our mind soon carried us away to the contemplation of the impenetrable mysteries of Providence, and we could not help exclaiming, "Praise to Him who gives the empire to whomsoever he pleases! "There is no God but Him! He is the heir of the earth, and of every thing that "is on it, and he is the best of heirs!" But to resume the thread of our narrative.

Death of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín.

In the year 500, some historians add in the month of Moharram (Sept. A. D. 1106), died at Morocco the commander of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. Some time before his death he had appointed his son Abú-l-hasan 'Alí to be his successor, and caused him to be recognized as such throughout his African, as well as Andalusian dominions. They say that when he felt his end approach, Yúsuf sent for him, and recommended to him three things. He was not to disturb the African tribes inhabiting the gorges of the Atlas or the deserts to the south [of Morocco], such as the Masmúdah and others; he was to conclude a peace with Ibn Húd, the Sultán of Saragossa, in order to allow him to carry on war against the infidels; and, lastly, he was to fix his court at Seville, not at Cordova.

Accession of 'Alí.

On the death of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, which, as above related, happened in the year 500 (Sept. A. D. 1106),[18] his son 'Alí, surnamed Abú-l-hasan, succeeded him. 'Alí was then twenty-three years old, having been born at Ceuta in the year 477 (beginning May 9, A. D. 1084). He followed the steps of his able father, although he fell short of him in some things. In Andalus he kept off the enemy of God from the dominions of Islám, and made incessant war on the Christians. He was equally prosperous in Africa, until God Almighty decreed the rising of Mohammed Ibn Tuimarta, surnamed Al-mahdí, the founder of the dynasty of the Al-muwáhhedún (Almohades), who ceased not to sap the

foundations of the Lamtúnite dynasty until he nearly accomplished its ruin; for, although he himself never could reduce Morocco, he conquered extensive provinces, and appointed for his lieutenant and successor 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí, who, in the year 541, took that wealthy capital by storm, and became in time the ruler of the West.

His wars with the Christians of Andalus.

'Alí crossed four times to Andalus; once in the lifetime of his father. He crossed a second time in the year 503 (beginning July 30, A. D. 1109), when he reached as far as Toledo, and besieged it for some time. Although he could not reduce that city, owing to the strength of its walls, he nevertheless took Talavera, Majoritt (Madrid), Wáda-l-hajárah (Guadalaxara), and other fortresses and towns of those districts, defeated the Christians whenever they dared show themselves, and collected incredible spoil. Meanwhile his general, Seyr[19] Ibn Abí Bekr, was inflicting terrible blows upon the Christians of Al-gharb (Algarve), who, profiting by the absence of the Almoravides, had extended their conquests in those parts. Seyr retook the cities of Shantireyn (Santarem), Battaliós (Badajoz), Bortokál (Oporto), Yéborah (Evora), and Alishbúnah (Lisbon),[20] and purged the whole of those western provinces from the filth of the infidels.

Whilst these events were passing, Adefunsh Ibn Radmir (Alfonso I. of Aragon), king of a nation of Franks called the Barcelonese, was grievously afflicting the Moslems upon their north-eastern frontier. Having defeated and slain Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd in an encounter near Tudela,[21] in A. H. 503, he thought of nothing less than subjecting the whole of the *Thagher* (Aragon) to his detestable rule. Accordingly, he kept going backwards and forwards to Saragossa, casting a wistful eye over that city, and hovering in its immediate neighbourhood, as the hungry vulture over his prey; but Temím Ibn Yúsuf, whom 'Alí had left to govern Andalus in his absence, was so much on the alert that the Christian monarch found no opportunity to carry his wicked plans into execution. At last, in the year 512 (beginning April 23, A. D. 1118), thinking that the time was come to strike a decisive blow, Alfonso sent [messengers] to the land of Afranjah (France), summoning all the Christian nations there to assist him in his undertaking; and the people of those countries, having answered his call, flocked under his standard like swarms of locusts or ants. Alfonso soon found himself at the head of innumerable forces, with which he encamped before Saragossa. In order the more effectually to attack the city, he came provided with lofty wooden towers placed upon wheels, by means of which his men could approach the walls; he also brought thundering machines[22] which he planted against the city, as well as twenty *manjanik* or catapults. The siege lasted until the provisions were exhausted, and the greater part of the population had died of hunger, when

Taking of Saragossa by the Aragonese.

those who remained sent a message to Alfonso, asking for a truce, and offering, if they were not relieved within a certain time, to surrender the town to him. The [grand-]son of Ramiro granted their request; but as no succour came, the people of Saragossa were obliged, at the expiration of the truce, to open their gates and surrender their city to the enemy.[23] The Christians had not been many days in possession of Saragossa when a body of twelve thousand cavalry, which the commander of the Moslems, 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, had sent to its relief, appeared before the walls; but finding that the infidels had taken the city, the Almoravides went away without attempting even to snatch it from their hands. Saragossa, however, was not the only city which that accursed Christian reduced; he took also Kal'at Ayúb (Calatayud), and other important towns of those districts,[24] and soon after he defeated the Almoravides at a place called Kutandah (Cutanda).

Battle of Kutandah.

"This city," says a contemporary writer, "the name of which some authors "write with a *kef*, and others with a *kof*, is a town of the district of Darúkah "(Daroca), in the province of Saragossa, in the upper *Thagher* (Aragon). Near "it the Moslems (may God restore them to their pristine vigour!) were com-"pletely defeated by Alfonso, with the loss of about twenty thousand volunteers, "although, strange to say, not one of the regular army perished in the action. "The Moslems were commanded on the occasion by the Amír Ibráhím, son of "Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín,[25] the same prince to whom Al-fat'h dedicated his *Kaláyidu-l-"'ikiyán*. Among the illustrious Moslems who died martyrs for the faith on that "disastrous day, we may count the Sheikh Abú 'Alí As-sadfí, and his equal in "virtue and talents, Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Al-fará. Both went out of Valencia to "fight against the enemy of God, but never returned to their friends."

The Kádí Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-'arabí was also present at the battle, but he escaped alive. It is related by more than one historian that when the discomfited army entered Valencia, a man came up to Abú Bekr and asked him how he was, and that he answered, "I am like one who has lost both his tent and his cloak," thereby meaning that he had lost all that he possessed in this world. The above is a proverb well known in the West, and it means that whoever has lost his clothes and his tent has lost every thing in this world.

'Alí returns to Andalus.

The news of these disasters induced the commander of the Moslems again to cross the Strait at the head of his Almoravides. In the year 513 (beginning April 13, A. D. 1119), he landed at Algesiras, and, after staying some time first at Seville and then at Cordova, directed his march towards the western provinces of Andalus, where he caused the ravages of a storm. His presence, moreover, was enough to cast terror into the hearts of the enemy, whose stoutest warriors fled for refuge behind the walls of their castles. Having recovered some of the

lost fortresses, and provided for the government of Andalus, which he again intrusted to his brother Temím, the commander of the Moslems crossed over to his African dominions in the year 515 (beginning March 21, A. D. 1121).

'Alí Ibn Yúsuf had no sooner quitted the shores of Andalus than the Christians of every denomination began to get into motion and to prepare themselves for fresh aggressions on the Moslem territory. Alfonso, the King of Toledo, had, it is true, died of sorrow and disappointment when he heard that his only son [Sancho], the heir to his crown, had been slain in a battle with the Almoravides;[26] but there remained to the east of the Mohammedan possessions another Alfonso, who proved equally destructive to the worshippers of the true God. Elated with his past successes, and with the taking of Saragossa, he made an incursion into the south of Andalus, and having traversed the greater part of that country in his march, arrived before Granada, where he encamped.

Alfonso I. invades Andalusia.

According to the author of a history of the Almoravides, entitled *Anwáru-l-jaliyyah fí táríkh daulati-l-morábetiyyah* (the rays of dazzling light: on the history of the Almorábite dynasty),[27] the *Mu'áhidín* or Christian population of Granada[28] were the cause of this invasion, for they had frequently written to Ibn Radmir (Alfonso), inviting him to come among them, and promising to rise in arms the moment he should show himself in those parts. Accordingly, about the beginning of Sha'bán of the year 515 (October, A. D. 1121), Alfonso started [from his dominions] at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, without acquainting any one with the object of his expedition, and proceeded to Valencia, where there was a body of Almoravides under the command of Abú Mohammed Ibn Yedersen.[29] After besieging the city in vain for several days, Alfonso raised his camp and proceeded to Jezírah-Shukar (Alcira), where he was not more fortunate, for the inhabitants made a valiant defence. He then went to Denia and to Xatiba, and thence to Murcia, and afterwards to Beyrah (Vera). After this he crossed the valley of Al-mansúrah (Almanzora), descended to Bursénah (Purchena), and halted some time at Wáda Taghlah.[30] He then went to Bastah (Baza), and thence to Wádi-Ash (Guadix), in the neighbourhood of which he halted, taking up his quarters at a village close to that city, called Al-kasr (Alcazar). Here Alfonso remained for about a month, making attacks upon the city of Guadix, which, however, he could not reduce.[31] After this he marched to Dejmah[32] (Dierma), close to Granada, and encamped there. It was at day-break of the great festival, or 10th of Dhí-l-hajjah, that the tents of Alfonso were first seen in the distance in an eastern direction: the inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation by the sight, and the prayer of fear was said in the mosques; the people flew to arms and prepared for resistance. Alfonso, however,

Arrives before Granada.

made no attack upon the city; and, after remaining for about ten days encamped at Dejmah, where the Christians of the neighbourhood brought him provisions for his host, he raised his tents on the 25th of Dhí-l-hajjah (March 5, A. D. 1122), and went to Marsénah [Marchena], and thence to Yenish; [33] and the next morning to a town called As-sekáh, in the district of Kal'ah Yahssob. After stopping three days at that place, Alfonso took the road to Bayénah (Baena), passed by Kabrah (Cabra), where he halted some days, and went to Al-lusénah (Lucena). Having received intelligence that the Almoravides of Granada, under the command of Temím Abú Táhir, were in pursuit of him, he went to Belali,[34] and thence to Fahssu-d-danísúl, where he was overtaken by the Moslems. A battle ensued, in which the Moslems had at first the advantage; but their general having given orders to remove the tents from a low to a high ground, the order was misunderstood, a panic struck the troops, and the Christians made themselves masters of their camp.

Alfonso next went towards the sea shore by the road of Shalúbániah (Salobreña). They say that as he crossed the deep and narrow valleys watered by the river of that name, he exclaimed in his native language, "What a fine tomb this would make, if we had any one to throw the earth over us!" From Shalúbániah Alfonso took a western direction and reached the coast of Belesh (Velez-Malaga), where he caused a small boat to be made, and, sending out people to fish for him, ate of the fish which they brought him, as if he had made a vow, or wished to have his memory perpetuated by the exploit. From Velez-Malaga the Christian king returned once more to Granada, and pitched his tents at a village called Dolar,[35] three parasangs south of Granada. After staying two days there he removed to the town of Hamadán,[36] in the neighbourhood of which there were some notable skirmishes between his host and that of the Moslems. Two days after he marched to Al-faraj, and encamped at a place called *'Ayn Atesah,*[37] but perceiving that the Moslems were surrounding him on every side, he marched in the direction of Al-borájelát,[38] thence to Al-laghún,[39] and lastly to Wádi-Ash (Guadix). Here, seeing that the cavalry of the Almoravides were close upon him, and that he had lost a number of his bravest knights, he determined upon returning to his own dominions. Accordingly he took an eastern direction, and passing by Murcia, Xativa, Denia, Valencia, &c., reached the capital of his kingdom, not without having lost in the expedition the best part of his warriors.

The Christians of Granada transported to Africa.

It has been said above that the *Al-mu'áhidín* or Christians living in the territory of Granada were the principal cause of Alfonso's invasion, since they had not only instigated him to penetrate so far into the Mohammedan territory, promising him every aid and assistance in their power, but they had provided his army with

every necessary, had guided him, and numbers of them had joined his banners. The traitors, however, did not escape the chastisement which they deserved. At the solicitation of several respectable citizens of Cordova, Seville, and other places, the celebrated Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd (Averroes) crossed over to Africa, and, having had an interview with 'Alí, explained to that Sultán the dangerous situation in which the Moslems of Andalus were, having to fight enemies abroad and guard against traitors at home. He besought him to remedy the evil, by ordering the transportation of the Christians who lived about Granada, and the other districts lately overrun by Alfonso; and the commander of the Moslems, yielding to his solicitations, issued the requisite orders, and thousands of that treacherous population were embarked and removed to Meknásah, Salé,[40] and other towns of Western Africa.

'Alí goes to Andalus the fourth time.

In the year 515, the commander of the Moslems crossed over again to Andalus, in order to put down some serious disturbances which had arisen in Cordova, and also to wage war against the infidels. He had not been long in that country when messengers came to him from Africa, announcing the rising of Mohammed Ibn Tiumarta, better known in history by the surname of *Al-mahdí* (the leader). 'Alí, therefore, crossed over to Morocco, and never afterwards visited his Andalusian dominions, the government of which, as before, he intrusted to his brother Abú Táhir Temím, and at his death, which happened in 520 (A. D. 1126), to his own son Táshefín.

Death of 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf.

'Alí died at Morocco in Rejeb of the year 537 (Jan. or Feb. A. D. 1143). His death, however, was not made public until three months afterwards. He appointed his son Táshefín to be his successor, and desired to be interred in the public cemetery, which was done. He had reigned thirty-six years and seven months.[41]

CHAPTER II.

Accession of Táshefín Ibn 'Alí—His wars with the Almohades—His death—Conquests of the Christians—Formation of small kingdoms—The Almohades invade Andalus—Almeria taken by Alfonso II. of Castile—Cordova besieged by Alfonso—The Almohades retake Almeria—Account of the rebel Ibn Mardanísh—'Abdu-l-múmen crosses over to Andalus—Builds the castle of Gibraltar—Ibn Humushk takes by surprise the city of Granada—Is besieged by the Almohades—Makes his submission—Death of 'Abdu-l-múmen.

Accession of Táshefín Ibn 'Alí.

On the death of 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, his son Táshefín, surnamed Abú Mohammed,[1] succeeded him. The whole of his reign—which was of very short duration—was spent in war with the Al-muwáhhedún or Almohades, whose rising under his father's reign we have recorded. Although their leader, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Tiumarta, had died in 524 (August, A. D. 1130), his successor 'Abdu-l-múmen had since followed in his track, and was fast overthrowing the tottering empire of the Almoravides. Táshefín fought several engagements with them, in some of which he came off victorious; but in 539 (A. D. 1144), having left his capital, Morocco, to attack 'Abdu-l-múmen, he was defeated by that general near the city of Telemsán, and compelled to take refuge within its walls. Shortly after, not deeming himself secure there, he fled to Wahrán, whither he was followed by the victorious Almohades. For some time Táshefín defended himself valiantly; but at last, seeing that he could not escape the hands of his enemies, he determined upon leaving the city at night and retiring to a castle which he had built on the sea shore, hoping to be able from thence to cross over to Andalus. 'Abdu-l-múmen, however, having received intelligence of his plans, ordered that the city should be more closely invested, that the sentries should be doubled, and fires lighted at certain distances in his camp, to prevent the Sultán's escape. On the 27th of Ramadhán, A. H. 539 (March 23, A. D. 1145), Táshefín left Wahrán under cover of night, accompanied by a few confidential servants. He rode a celebrated mare called *Ríhánah*, a very swift animal, but whilst galloping over

His wars with the Almohades.

His death.

the mountains she fell down a precipice, and the body of Táshefín was found the next morning stretched at the bottom of a deep ravine.

Táshefín was succeeded by his son Abú Is'hák Ibráhím, whom he had left to command at Morocco during his absence; but 'Abdu-l-múmen, after reducing Telemsán, in A. H. 540, and Fez and Salé in 541, marched against that capital, which he besieged and took in Shawwál, A. H. 541 (March, A. D. 1147), putting to death the unfortunate Ibráhím, who fell a prisoner into his hands.

Conquests of the Christians.

During the wars between the Almoravides and Almohades, the Moslems of Andalus were left a prey to the murderous infidels, who attacked them every where with the greatest fury, took their cities and towns, and led thousands of them into captivity. In this manner the Christians of Toledo extended their ravages to the very walls of Cordova,[2] and thought of nothing short of establishing their abominable rites in the very city which had so long been the citadel of Islám. On the other hand, Alfonso, King of the Franks (Catalonian and Aragonese), whose conquests we have recorded above, was not inactive; he surprised several fortresses bordering upon his dominions, and carried fire and sword into the very heart of the Mohammedan territory. God, however, was pleased to deliver the Moslems from the demon's mischief; for having laid siege to Fraga, a considerable town of the *Thagher* (Aragon), the general of the Almoravides [3] hastened to the assistance of the besieged, defeated the Christians, and put Alfonso to death. This happened in the year 528 (A. D. 1134).

Formation of small kingdoms.

The above period [of civil war in Africa] was also remarkable for the rising of several chieftains, who, seeing the Almoravides engaged with their enemies the Almohades, took the opportunity to assume independence and to shake off the African yoke. On his departure for Africa, Táshefín had appointed a Lamtúnite chief, named Ibn Ghániyyah [Yahya Ibn 'Alí], to govern Andalus during his absence; but what with the Christians of every denomination who assailed his frontiers, and what with the Moslems of Andalus themselves, who showed every where symptoms of disaffection and wished to rid themselves of the Almoravides, that chieftain was unable to stem the torrent of calamity and misfortune which broke out more furiously than ever in the fair dominions of Islám. At last, when the people of Andalus saw that the empire of the Almoravides was falling to pieces; when they heard that Táshefín had been slain, and that his son, Abú Is'hák Ibráhím, was shut up in his capital and surrounded by his enemies, they waited no longer, and, casting away the mask of dissimulation, broke out into open rebellion against their African rulers. In the same manner as at the overthrow of the house of Umeyyah the provinces of their vast empire had been parcelled out among their generals and governors, so now every petty governor, chief, or

man of influence, who could command a few followers and had a castle to retire to in case of need, styled himself Sultán, and assumed the other insignia of royalty; and, as the historian Ibnu Khaldún has judiciously remarked, Andalus afforded the singular spectacle of as many kings as there were towns in it. As some writers, but especially Ibnu-s-seyrafí, Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, and others, have written in detail the events of this period of confusion and anarchy, which they have designated by the name of *Al-fitnatu-th-thániyyah* (the second civil war), to distinguish it from that which followed immediately after the massacre of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-mansúr, we will abstain from relating them here, having done it already in our work entitled *Az'háru-r-riyádh fí akhbár Kádhí 'Iyádh* (the flowers of the garden: on the history of the Kádhí 'Iyádh). Suffice it to say, that Ibn Hamdín rose at Cordova; Ibn Maymún ['Alí Ibn 'Isa] at Cadiz and the neighbouring districts; that Ibn Kasí [Ahmed] and Ibn Wazír [Seddaray][4] shared among themselves the whole of that country which had once belonged to the Beni Al-afttas; that a chief named Maymún Al-lamtúní rose in command of Granada; and lastly, that Ibn Mardanísh Al-jodhámí took possession of Valencia and a great portion of the east of Andalus. Among these chieftains some were of Andalusian origin, and detested alike the rule of the Almoravides and that of the Almohades; others belonged to some of the tribes which Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín led into Andalus, such as the Lamtúnah, Senhájah, Zenátah, &c., and they were naturally hostile to the Almohades. All, however, shortly disappeared before the victorious banners of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who deprived all and every one of them of their usurped dominions, and subjected the whole of Andalus to his rule. The last-named chieftain, however [Ibn Mardanísh], maintained himself longer than any other, and fought successfully against the Almohades, as we shall hereafter relate.

The Almohades invade Andalus.

In the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 539 (June, A. D. 1145), an army of Almohades, commanded by Abú 'Imrán Músa Ibn Sa'íd, landed at Jezírah Taríf (Tarifa), of which place they took possession, as well as of Algesiras and the surrounding country. Early in the ensuing year Malaga and Seville shared the same fate. Three years after, Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah surrendered to them the city of Cordova,[5] and shortly after Jaen. In the year 546 (beginning April 19, A. D. 1151), 'Abdu-l-múmen announced his intention of crossing over to Andalus. Having made every ostensible preparation to that effect, he left his capital, Morocco, and proceeded to Kasr 'Abdi-l-kerím, where he passed his troops in review; but the news which he there received from Eastern Africa induced him to relinquish his purpose and repair to that country. Hearing, however, that the Moslems of Andalus were much pressed by the Christians, who had lately

taken Almeria, he sent thither one of his sons, named Abú Sa'íd, with orders to recover that city.

Almeriyyah (Almeria) was a fine city situated on the coast of the sea of Shám (Mediterranean). It was the port of Andalus, and the resort of merchants from Eastern Africa, Egypt, Syria, and other distant parts. It was the maritime arsenal of the Bení Umeyyah, and the port where those fleets were equipped which furrowed in all directions the waters of the Mediterranean, spread devastation over its shores, and allowed no Christian vessel to sail in it. Almeria was celebrated all over the East and West for its pottery, its glass, its silken robes of every colour and pattern, and many other articles of trade, which its merchants shipped to all parts of the world. The fertility of the soil, moreover, the abundance and cheapness of provisions, the sweetness of its waters, the mildness of the air, and the salubrity of its climate, made it a favourite residence for the Moslems, who went to settle there from all parts of Andalus, until its population could not find room within its precincts. All these advantages, and many others which we do not specify, made Almeria a desirable prize to the Christians, who for a long time past had cast a wistful eye over its delightful fields and well-filled storehouses.

Almeria taken by Alfonso II.

At last, in the year 542 (A. D. 1147), As-soleytán (Alfonso II. of Castile),[6] King of Toledo, assisted by a Christian fleet which came from Jenewah (Genoa), besieged Almeria by sea and land. Ibn Mardanísh, King of Valencia, the only Moslem who could effectually have defeated the plans of As-soleytán, entered into some secret compact with him and kept away: the consequence was, that, after besieging that city for some time, the infidels lodged themselves in one of the suburbs, and having from thence attacked the citadel, took it by storm on Friday, the 20th of Jumada the first, 542 (October 16, A. D. 1147).

It is related by Abú Zakariyyá Al-ja'ydí, on the authority of Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'ádah Ash-shátibí Al-mo'ammar (the long-lived), that about two years or so before the taking of Almeria, a respectable inhabitant of that city, whose name was Abú Merwán Ibn Ward, saw in a dream an old man of imposing height, who approached him, and, placing his hands suddenly on his sides from behind, shook him with great violence until he made him wake all terrified; after which he bade him repeat the following verses:

"Up, up with thee, thou careless and deceived man! do not sleep;
"For God has some hidden views concerning the people [of this town].
"There is no escape, [to his will they must submit,] and yet not abuse
"what is detrimental to them;
"For otherwise they would be guilty of a crime against the Lord of
"mankind."[7]

This happened in the year 540 (beginning June 23, A. D. 1145). About two years after (A. D. 1147) the Rúm (Castilians) took possession of Almeria. The above anecdote is borrowed from the Háfedh Ibnu-l-'abbár, who relates it in a work of his entitled *Tekmílah* (complement).

Among those who gained the crown of martyrdom on this occasion one was the celebrated Imám Ar-rushátti, whose entire name was Abú Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Alí Ibn Khalaf Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Omar Al-lakhmí Ar-rushátti Al-meriyí, a man deeply versed in sacred traditions, biography, history, and other sciences, the author of an excellent work entitled *Iktibásu-l-anwár wa iltimásu-l-azhár fí nasabi-l-sihábat wa rawati-l-athár* (the borrowing of lights and the begging of flowers: on the genealogy of the companions and selected traditions of their times),[8] which many a scholar learned under him. It is an excellent work, in which Ar-rushátti collected [much that is useful], without failing in any part of his arduous task. He wrote it on the model of the celebrated *Kitábu-l-ansáb* (book of lineages), by the Háfedh Abú Sa'íd Ibn As-sam'ání. Ar-rushátti was born at a small town of the province of Murcia, called Auriwelah (Orihuela), in the year 466 (beginning Sept. 5, A. D. 1073); he died, as above related, at the storming of Almeria, on the morning of Friday, the 20th of Jumáda the first, 542 (October 16, A. D. 1147). The surname of *Ar-rushátti* was given to one of his ancestors owing to a large mole on his body, which his nurse, who was a Christian woman, called in her language *rusháttah* (roseta), whence he was called *Ar-rushátti*. The above is borrowed from the *Wafiyyátu-l-'áyán* (the deaths of the illustrious), by Ibn Khallekán.

Treating of the taking of Almeria [by the Castilians], Ibn Hobeysh, the last of the traditionists of Andalus, says as follows: "I was in the castle of Almeria "when the Christians took possession of that city, and presented myself to the "chief of the Christians, As-soleytán, who was the son of the daughter of Alfonso,[9] "and I said to him,—'I know of a tradition which traces thy genealogy to Hirkal "(Heraclius), the Emperor of Constantinople.' The Christian [king] seemed "pleased at this, and told me to repeat the tradition, which I did, as I had "learned it; upon which he said,—'Thou and all those who are with thee are "free; you may go out [of the castle] without paying any ransom.'" This Ibn Hobeysh was the master of Ibn Dihyah, and of Ibn Haut-illah, and of Abú-r-rabi' Al-kalá'í, (may God show them mercy!) His entire name was 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yúsuf, but he was better known by the surname of Ibn Hobeysh. He was the author of several works, and one in particular on the first conquests of Islám,[10] which he inscribed to Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf Al-mansúr.

In the year 545 (beginning April 29, A. D. 1150), Alfonso, King of Toledo and Galicia (Alfonso II. of Castile), marched to Cordova with forty thousand cavalry, and laid siege to that capital. The inhabitants defended themselves with great vigour; but the scarcity of provisions began to be felt, and they were in great tribulation. 'Abdu-l-múmen had no sooner heard of their dangerous situation, than he sent an army of twelve thousand horse to their assistance. On the approach of the African forces, Alfonso raised the siege and retired into his dominions, upon which the Káyid Abú-l-ghamr As-sáyib, who commanded in Cordova, gave up that city to Yahya Ibn Maymún, who was 'Abdu-l-múmen's general, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Almohades. On the morning of the day following the arrival of Ibn Maymún, the Christians were seen returning to their encampment before the city, upon which that general left a portion of his forces for the defence of Cordova, and with the remainder crossed over to Africa. Some time after, Alfonso, despairing of reducing that capital, raised the siege and returned to his kingdom.

Cordova besieged by Alfonso.

In the ensuing year [A. H. 546] 'Abdu-l-múmen sent to Andalus another army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Al-hentétí [Abú Hafss], who had instructions to retake the city of Almeria, which, as above related, had some time previous fallen into the hands of the Christians. When the news of their disembarkation became known, Maymún, the Lord of Granada, Ibn Humushk, and other chieftains, hastened to pay their respects to the general of 'Abdu-l-múmen, and to place themselves under the obedience of that Sultán. They all instigated him to make war against Ibn Mardanísh, King of the eastern provinces of Andalus; but the latter had no sooner received intelligence of their plans, than, fearing for himself, he sent an embassy to the Christian Lord of Barcelona, imploring his help against the Almohades. The Lord of Barcelona granted the request of Ibn Mardanísh, and sent him an army of ten thousand men, under a brave and experienced general. Meanwhile the Almohades were marching against Ibn Mardanísh; but when their general [Al-hentétí] heard of the arrival of his Frank auxiliaries, he retraced his steps and proceeded towards Almeria. Having arrived there, Al-hentétí invested the city on every side; but the want of provisions soon compelled him to raise the siege and to return to Seville, where he remained some time. It was not till some months afterwards that the Moslems succeeded in wresting that city from the hands of the enemy, after a siege of seven months.

The Almohades retake Almeria.

" In the year 546 (A. D. 1151)," says an African historian, "Síd Abú Hafss " and Síd Abú Sa'íd, sons of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-múmen, " marched to Almeria, and besieged the Christians, who held its *kassábah*. Abú " 'Abdillah Ibn Mardanísh, King of the eastern parts of Andalus, then hastened

" to attack the princes, who had thus to defend themselves against the Christians " inside and against the Moslems outside. At last, Ibn Mardanísh, perceiving " all the shame of his act, in thus attacking his brethren in religion whilst engaged " in the extermination of the Christians, desisted from his undertaking and marched " off, leaving the execution of his vengeance for another opportunity. When the " Christians inside the castle [of Almeria] saw Ibn Mardanísh raise his tents and " go away, they said [to each other], 'Surely Ibn Mardanísh would not decamp, " unless he had heard that the Almohades were on the point of receiving re-inforce- " ments.' Upon which they offered to capitulate, and surrendered [the city] to " the Moslems."

Account of the rebel Ibn Mardanísh.

This Ibn Mardanísh was a man of Christian origin, who, profiting by the confusion which followed the overthrow of the Almoravide dynasty, had made himself the master of Valencia, Murcia, and other towns in the east of Andalus. According to Ibn Sáhibi-s-salat, who, as is well known, wrote a history of the Almohades,[11] in which he treats at full length of this and other chieftains who resisted their authority in Eastern Africa as well as in Andalus, Ibn Mardanísh was the son of Sa'd, son of Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Mardanísh. His name was Mohammed, and his *kunyá* or appellative Abú 'Abdillah. He was, however, better known by the surname of Ibn Mardanísh. His father, Sa'd, had served under the Almoravides. He was governor of Fraga when Ramiro, King of the Franks, besieged that city in the year 528 (A. D. 1134). His uncle, Mohammed, surnamed *Sáhibu-l-basít* (the hero of Albacete), had also been one of the most distinguished warriors of his time. Trained to arms under the eyes of his father and uncle, Ibn Mardanísh soon became a very experienced captain. He entered the service of Ibn 'Ayádh, King of Murcia, who, in reward for his eminent services, appointed him governor of Valencia, and gave him his daughter in marriage. On the death of Ibn 'Ayádh, Ibn Mardanísh retained possession of Valencia, and shortly after added Murcia, Jaen, and other cities to his dominions. He was a very powerful monarch when the Almohades arrived in Andalus.[12] But to return.

'Abdu-l-múmen crosses over to Andalus.

In the year 555 (A. D. 1160), the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí, after subjecting the whole of Eastern Africa to his rule, and retaking the city of Mahdiyyah,[13] which the Sicilians had taken in 543 (beginning May 21, A. D. 1148), as well as Safaks (Sfax), and other towns of that coast, returned to Fez. After making a short stay in that city, 'Abdu-l-múmen marched to Ceuta,[14] where he embarked for Andalus. He landed at Jebal-Tárik (Gibraltar), which from that day was called *Jebalu-l-fatah* (the mountain of the entrance or victory), and ordered that a strong fortress should be erected on the top of it. He traced out

Builds the castle of Gibraltar.

the building with his own hands, and when, after remaining for two months there,[15] and providing for the government of Andalus, 'Abdu-l-múmen returned to his African dominions, he appointed his son Abú Sa'íd, then governor of Granada, to superintend the building and report its progress to him.[16] One of the architects employed was Hájí Ya'ysh, the geometrician. This Ya'ysh, who was an excellent engineer, is said to have constructed some wonderful machines during his residence at Jebal-Tárik (Gibraltar), and among others a large windmill, which stood on the very top of the mountain.

During 'Abdu-l-múmen's residence at Gibraltar, the Almohades made several incursions into the enemy's territory by his express command. A body of eighteen thousand horse, having penetrated into the district of Badajoz, defeated Ibn Errink (Alfonso Enriquez), reduced Bájah (Beja), Yéborah (Evora), Al-kasr (Alcazar do Sal),[17] and other towns which the accursed Christians had taken some time before, and returned victorious and laden with plunder to the dominions of Islám.

Ibn Humushk takes by surprise the city of Granada.

In the year 556, in the month of Jumáda the first (May, A. D. 1161), an Andalusian chieftain named Ibráhím Ibn Humushk, who was the father-in-law of Ibn Mardanísh, and made common cause with that rebel, took by surprise the city of Granada. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb this happened thus: "Síd Abú Sa'íd, "son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who was then governor of that city, having crossed "over to Africa to assist his father in putting down a rebellion, Ibráhím and "his partisans among the Almoravides thought the opportunity a favourable "one again to take the field against their enemies, the Almohades. Putting "himself at the head of a band of resolute followers, Ibráhím approached Granada "secretly and at night, and entered it by a gate which his partisans[18] had left "open [for him]. Having then attacked the Almohades who composed the "garrison, he killed a great many of them and obliged the remainder to take "refuge in the *kassábah*, which he besieged immediately, battering its walls "and throwing inside all sorts of projectiles. When this intelligence reached "Morocco, Abú Sa'íd hastened to the assistance of the besieged, taking with him "his own brother, Síd Abú Mohammed Abú Hafss, and a considerable body of "African troops. Ibn Humushk, however, was not discouraged by the arrival "of so powerful an army; he sallied out of Granada, formed his troops in the "spot called *Merju-r-rokád* (the field of the sleepers), and engaged the Almohades, "whom he defeated, notwithstanding their superior numbers, making great slaughter "among them, owing to the trenches and canals into which the plain before that "city is cut up for the purpose of irrigation, and which arrested the flight of "the fugitives. Among the slain was Síd Abú Mohammed: his brother, Síd Abú

"Sa'íd, escaped, and reached Malaga with the relics of his army. As to Ibn "Humushk, he returned to Granada with his prisoners, whom he caused to be "taken near the walls of the *kassábah*, and there slaughtered in the presence "of their friends. Meanwhile the Khalif 'Abdu-l-múmen, who had put down "the insurrection, and was then at Salé, being informed of this disaster, dispatched "another large army to Andalus, under the command of another of his sons, "named Abú Ya'kúb, assisted by the Sheikh Abú Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán, one of "the bravest and most experienced warriors of the time. These troops, which "were joined by many thousands of volunteers anxious to wage war against the "infidels, arrived at Dilar, a hamlet close to Granada, where they encamped. "This happened in 557 (A. D. 1162). Meanwhile Ibn Humushk, seeing the "tempest gather over his head, had sent to apprise his son-in-law, Ibn Mardanísh, "of his perilous situation, and to beg him to come to his assistance. No sooner "had Ibn Mardanísh received the message, than having quickly raised in his "dominions an army composed of Christians and Moslems, he hastened to his aid "and encamped with his forces on an eminence close to the suburb inhabited by the "people of Baeza[19] (Albayzin), which still bears his name, *Kudyat Ibn Mardanísh* "(the hillock of Ibn Mardanísh). The two armies came soon after to an engage-"ment in the Vega of Granada, when, after a bloody and hard-contested battle, "fortune decided in favour of the Almohades, and Ibn Mardanísh fled to Jaen.

Is besieged by the Almohades.

"Some time after this, Ibn Humushk and his son-in-law having quarrelled, "the former made his submission to the Almohades. The cause of their quarrel "was this: Ibn Mardanísh divorced his wife, the daughter of Ibn Humushk, "who, accordingly, returned to her father. Having, some time after, sent for "a son of hers to be educated at her father's house, her late husband refused "to comply with her request, and would never deliver up her son. At last, "seeing her application disregarded, the mother said one day,—'After all, what "is the son of a dog but a puppy? Let him keep him; I do not want him;' "which expressions she caused to be circulated among the women of Andalus. "From that moment Ibn Mardanísh and Ibn Humushk became sworn enemies, "and the latter, in order the better to revenge himself, embraced the party of the "Almohades in 565 (beginning Sept. 24, 1169), and served under them against "Ibn Mardanísh. In the year 571 (beginning July 21, A. D. 1175), however, Ibn "Humushk asked for leave to cross over to Africa, and, having obtained it, "settled with his family and children at Meknásah, where he died in Rejeb of "572 (January, A. D. 1177)."

Makes his submission.

In the year 558 (A. D. 1163), 'Abdu-l-múmen made public his intention to cross over to Andalus, and summoned the tribes of the Desert to engage in the holy

Death of 'Abdu-l-múmen.

war. He left Morocco on Thursday the fifth of Rabi' the first of that year (Feb. 11, A. D. 1163), and arrived at Rabáttu-l-fatah (the station of the victory, now Rabát), where he passed in review three hundred thousand men of the Arabian tribes of Eastern Africa and of the Zenátah and other [tribes] professing the doctrines of the Mahdí,[20] and one hundred and eighty thousand volunteers, who hastened also to that town for the purpose of sharing the reward promised to those who fight against the infidel. God, however, had decreed that this formidable armament should never quit the shores of Western Africa; for whilst the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-múmen, was making every preparation for the crossing, death, whose fierce blows spare neither the great nor the small, surprised him on Friday the 6th of Jumáda the second of the same year (May 12, A. D. 1163).

CHAPTER III.

Accession of Yúsuf I.—Conquests of Alfonso Enriquez—Death of Ibn Mardanísh—Yúsuf lays siege to Toledo—Dies before Santarem—Is succeeded by Ya'kúb Al-mansúr—Who attacks and defeats the Christians—Battle of Alarcos—Death of Ya'kúb—He is succeeded by Mohammed An-násir—The Moslems lose the battle of Al-'akáb or Las Navas—Its fatal results—Accession of Yúsuf II.—'Abdu-l-wáhed—Al-'ádil—Idrís Al-mámún—As-sa'íd—Al-murtadhí—Al-wáthik.

Accession of Yúsuf I.

ON the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen, his son Yúsuf, surnamed Abú Ya'kúb, received the oaths [of the Almohades]. When the affairs of the government had been settled, and the foundations of the kingdom strengthened, Yúsuf crossed over to Andalus, in order to exhibit in that country the benefits of his government. This happened in 566 (beginning Sept. 13, A. D. 1170). He landed in Andalus, accompanied by ten thousand horse of the Almohades and Arabs, and proceeded to Seville, where he fixed his court.

Conquests of Alfonso Enriquez.

Some time before the landing of Yúsuf, a Christian named Ibn Errink (Alfonso Enriquez) had been committing great depredations in the western parts of Andalus, and had even reduced some considerable towns,[1] as Turjeloh (Truxillo), Yéborah (Evora), Káseresh (Cazeres), and others; but Yúsuf had no sooner arrived in Seville than the accursed Christian shut himself up in his stronghold, and the Moslems were for some time delivered from his mischief.

Yúsuf's arrival had also the effect of checking the progress of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mardanísh, who, as before related, ruled undisturbed over Murcia and the greater part of Eastern Andalus; for no sooner did he hear of that Sultán's landing than fear lodged in his heart, and he fell dangerously ill and died: some authors say that he was poisoned.

Death of Ibn Mardanísh.

On the death of Ibn Mardanísh, his sons and relatives presented themselves to the Commander of the Faithful, Yúsuf, then residing at Seville, placed themselves under his rule, and delivered the whole of their dominions into his hands.

Yúsuf received the princes kindly, married them to his own daughters, and raised them to a station higher even than that which they occupied before.

This being done, the Commander of the Faithful began to give his serious consideration to retaking from the Christians those districts and towns which they had subdued [under the preceding reigns]. After a successful campaign his dominions were considerably enlarged, and his victorious army ravaged the Christian territory to the very gates of Toledo, which city he is said to have besieged [for a length of time]. But all the Christian nations of Andalus having collected their forces to attack him, and famine, moreover, having seized on his army, he was compelled to raise the siege and to return to Morocco, the capital of his [African] dominions. From thence he proceeded to Eastern Africa, and having appeased the troubles which agitated that country, returned to Morocco.

Yúsuf lays siege to Toledo.

In the year 580 (beginning April 13, A. D. 1184), the Commander of the Faithful again crossed over to Andalus at the head of considerable forces. This time he directed his march towards the western provinces, and laid siege to Shantireyn (Santarem), one of the greatest cities of the enemy. He remained encamped before it for a whole month, until he was attacked by a disease which caused his death in the same year [A. H. 580]. He was carried on a litter to Seville. Others say that he was killed by an arrow shot by the Christians;[2] but God only knows the truth of the case. It was Yúsuf who ordered the building of the great mosque of Seville,—which, however, was not completed till the reign of his successor,— and who put the maritime arsenal of Ceuta[3] in its present efficient state.

Dies before Santarem.

Yúsuf was succeeded by his son Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb, surnamed *Al-mansúr-billah* (the victorious by the grace of God), a monarch whose fame travelled far and wide, who upheld the glory of the Almohade empire, who raised the banners of holy war, suspended the balance of justice, and spread the decrees of civil law,—rendered Islám triumphant, ordained what is right and forbade what is wrong, and made his orders obeyed over near as well as distant [lands], of all which acts history affords abundant records. During the reign of this Sultán the Christians of Andalus received many a severe blow, for he triumphed over them on several occasions, and principally at Alarcos, where the victory equalled—if it did not surpass in importance —the celebrated one of Zalákah. The learned and celebrated poet, Abú Is'hák Ibráhím Ibn Ya'kúb Al-kánemí, a black of Súdán, has said in allusion to this Sultán,—

Is succeeded by Ya'kúb Al-mansúr.

"Well may his Hájibs conceal him from my view; my reverence [for him] "is such that I see his image on the curtain.

"My knowledge of his virtues prompts me to approach, but fear and "respect fix me to my place."[4]

Who attacks and defeats the Christians.

"In the days of Ya'kúb," says an African historian, "conquests succeeded each "other without interruption. The first thing that he did on his taking possession "of the command was to direct his attention towards Andalus and to inquire "into the state of that country. Having collected a numerous army, he landed "at Algesiras on Thursday the third of Rabi' the first of the year 585 (April 20, "A. D. 1189), and started immediately for the west of Andalus, where he com-"mitted the ravages of the tempest. He then proceeded to Seville, and after "providing for the welfare of the country in general, and steadying the warriors "in their ranks, he returned to Morocco, the capital of his dominions."

Again, in the year 586 (beginning Feb. 7, A. D. 1190), having received intelligence that the Franks had taken Shilb (Silves), one of the principal cities of Al-gharb, Ya'kúb marched thither in person at the head of considerable forces, and having laid siege to the city, restored it to the rule of Islám. Immediately after he sent forward [into the enemy's country] a large army of Arabs and Almohades, which reduced four other towns of those which had been taken by the Christians forty years before. The Lord of Toledo [Alfonso II. of Castile] feared Ya'kúb, and asked him for a truce, which he granted to him, to last for five years, after which he returned to Morocco. It was on this occasion that the Káyid Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Wazír Ash-shelbí (from Silves), one of the general officers of the army stationed at Seville, composed that beautiful ode, in which he addresses Al-mansúr, and congratulates him upon his successful campaign against the Christians. Abú 'Abdillah had attended the expedition as commander of the van. The ode begins thus:

"When we met, the spears were crossed, and the blows [followed each "other] like the revolutions of the millstone.

"The sharp Indian swords sported on our necks and on those of our "enemies; some [of us] kept their saddles, and some fell;

"Not a breast but what had an arrow fixed in it; not a jugular vein but "what had afforded a lodging to the scimitar.

"We fought until no refuge was left save the helmet and the spear, and the "greatest courage was displayed on both sides.

"At last we charged and they staggered; [the victory was ours], for the "staggerer soon after falls." [5]

This Abú 'Abdillah was a very experienced officer and an excellent poet. An-násir, one of the Sultáns of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen, appointed him governor of Kasr Abí Dánis; but when Ibn Húd, who afterwards rose against the Almohades, made his entrance into Seville, he caused Abú 'Abdillah, [who was residing there,] to be arrested and put to death.

But to return to Al-mansúr. When the truce made with the Christians was over, or nearly so, a large party of them invaded the Moslem territory, and began to plunder and lay waste the country, and to commit all manner of ravages and depredations, which being reported to Al-mansúr, who was then absent in Africa, he resolved upon chastising their insolence. Having, accordingly, collected a numerous and well-appointed army, that Sultán crossed the Strait and landed at Jezírat Al-khadhrá (Algesiras), in Rejeb of the year 591 (A. D. 1195). The Christians of Andalus were no sooner informed of the landing of Ya'kúb, than they began to collect troops from the most remote parts [of Christendom], which being done, they marched against the Almohades. They say that soon after his arrival at the port of Salé for the purpose of crossing over to Andalus, Ya'kúb fell so dangerously ill that his physicians despaired of his life, upon which Alfonso, who was aware of the Sultán's indisposition, sent him an embassy, threatening, abusing, bragging, and thundering; asking to be put in possession of some of the fortresses bordering upon his dominions. The result, however, is well known; Ya'kúb met the infidels at the head of his forces, and gained over them a victory which equalled, if it did not surpass in importance, the victory of Zalákah. Indeed, some writers assert that it exceeded it in every respect.

Battle of Alarcos.

Alfonso with his Christian auxiliaries having encamped at Alark (Alarcos), a spot in the district of Badajoz,[6] Ya'kúb marched thither at the head of his forces, and the two hosts were soon in presence of each other. Some time before the battle, Ya'kúb devised the following stratagem. Knowing that the Christians would attack in preference that part of the camp where he himself was, he bade his kinsman, the Sheikh Yahya Ibn Abí Hafss, change place with him, and to occupy with his troops the space round the royal pavilion. This Ibn Abí Hafss was the uncle of Abú Zakariyyá Al-hafssí, who afterwards became Sultán of Eastern Africa, as well as of a portion of Andalus whose inhabitants said the *khotbah* in his name. It happened as Ya'kúb had foreseen. The Christians, thinking that the banners in the middle of the camp marked the spot where Ya'kúb and his body-guard were, directed a most furious attack upon that quarter; but it availed them not; for they had exchanged only a few blows with the Moslems, when Ya'kúb fell unexpectedly upon them and defeated them most completely.

This memorable battle was fought on Thursday, the 9th of Sha'ban, A. H. 591 (A. D. 1195), which year, moreover, is well known all over the West as *'A'mu-l-alark* (the year of the battle of Alarcos). Never was there a more signal victory gained by the Moslems of Andalus. It is said that the loss of the Franks amounted to one hundred and forty-six thousand men, besides thirty thousand prisoners. The amount of spoils, too, said to have been gained on this occasion is almost incredible: some

authors say one hundred and fifty thousand tents, eighty thousand horses, one hundred thousand mules, and four hundred thousand asses; as the infidels, having no camels, used those animals to carry their baggage. Another account says sixty thousand suits of armour, and that the horses, mules, &c., were innumerable. As to the money and jewels, they were beyond calculation. A captive sold for one dirhem, a sword for half a dirhem, a horse for five, and an ass for one. All this spoil Ya'kúb divided among the Moslems agreeably to law. The relics of the Christian army fled to Kal'át Rabáh (Calatrava), where they fortified themselves; but the Sultán Ya'kúb followed them thither, and, after besieging them some days, took possession of the place. The Christian king, Alfonso, fled to Toledo with a few followers, in the worst possible plight. They say that when he arrived in that city, he had his head and beard shaved, turned his cross upside down, and swore not to sleep in bed, approach a woman, or mount a horse or mule, until he had revenged his defeat. He then began to collect troops and warlike stores from distant islands and countries; but he was again met by Ya'kúb, who, having defeated him, pursued him to Toledo, which city he besieged and battered with war engines, until he was on the point of taking it. The mother of Alfonso, accompanied by his wives and daughters, then came out of the city, and, with tears in her eyes, implored the conqueror to spare the city. Being moved to compassion, Ya'kúb not only granted the request, but, after paying them due honour, he dismissed them with splendid presents in jewels and other valuable articles.[7] The Amír then returned to Cordova, where he passed a month occupied in the distribution of the spoil among his soldiers. Whilst there, ambassadors came to him from King Alfonso to sue for peace, which the Amír granted, as he had just heard of the rising in Eastern Africa of Al-mayúrkí,[8] who was assisted in his rebellion by Korkúsh, the mameluke of the Bení Ayúb, Sultáns of Syria and Egypt; so that the people of Andalus for some time enjoyed security and rest.

Death of Ya'kúb.

After a prosperous reign of fourteen years and eleven months, Ya'kúb Al-mansúr died at Morocco, on Friday, the 22nd of Rabi' the first, A. H. 595 (Feb. A. D. 1199). His body was conveyed to Tínmelel, where it was buried by the side of his father and grandfather. As to the report that this Sultán abdicated his royal power, and travelled to Syria, where he died and was interred in the district called Beká'h,[9] there is not the least foundation for it, although Ibn Khallekán says something to that purpose. No author, however, has so well exposed the unsoundness of such a statement as the Sheríf Al-gharnáttí (Abú-l-kásim Mohammed) in his commentary upon the *Makssúrah* of Ibn Házem, who says, "This is one of the "stories of the vulgar, who were in love with that Sultán." Ya'kúb completed the building of the great mosque of Seville,[10] and erected several useful or ornamental

works in other parts of his dominions. He was a powerful monarch, dreaded by his enemies and respected by his equals. In the year 587 the Sultán Saláhu-d-dín (Saladin), son of Ayúb, sent an embassy to solicit his aid against the Franks who had attacked him on the coast of Palestine; but this Ya'kúb would not grant, because Saláhu-d-dín had not in his letter addressed him by the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful). Such, however, was Ya'kúb's benevolent disposition that, although highly offended with Saláhu-d-dín, to whom he returned a despicable present, he rewarded munificently the ambassador of that Sultán, whose name was Ibn Munkid; having given him on one occasion, for a poem of forty verses,[11] forty thousand dirhems, being at the rate of one thousand for each verse, adding, when he gave him that large sum, "This we give thee, not "for Saláhu-d-dín's sake, but for thy learning and poetry." Ibn Munkid left Andalus in 588 (A. D. 1192).

Ya'kúb Al-mansúr was succeeded by his son Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, surnamed *An-násir lidín-illah* (the defender of the faith), whose reign proved so fatal to the cause of the Moslems, and principally to those of Andalus; since, having in the year 609 (A. D. 1212) collected an army amounting to six hundred thousand warriors, he not only accomplished nothing advantageous to the cause of religion, but actually sustained one of the most complete defeats that ever disgraced the arms of Islám. The author of the *Adh-dhakíratu-s-saniyyah fí táríkhi-d-daulati-l-meríniyyah* (the valuable treasure: on the history of the Merínite dynasty),[12] says that Mohammed was so astonished and pleased with the number of his troops that he thought himself invincible. The Franks, on the other hand, made [ample] preparations [to resist him], and they fought the celebrated battle of Al-'akáb, which the Moslems lost, and the result of which was that the greater part of Maghreb was deserted and that the Franks conquered the greater part of Andalus. Out of the six hundred thousand men who entered the field of battle only a few escaped; some authors even state that their number did not reach one thousand. This battle was like a curse, not only to Andalus, but to the whole of Maghreb, and the defeat is to be ascribed to the bad policy of An-násir; for, although the Moslems of Andalus were well trained to war and accustomed to fight with the Christians, that Sultán and his Wizír entirely disregarded their advice, and even offended some of them; and the consequence was that the minds of the Andalusian officers were alienated and the Christians gained an easy victory. However this may be, certain it is that this defeat may be regarded as the real cause of the subsequent decline of Western Africa and Andalus,—of the former country, because the loss sustained in the battle was so great that her districts and towns were almost depopulated through it,—of Andalus, because the

Accession of Mohammed An-násir.

The Moslems lose the battle of Al-'akáb or Las Navas.

Its fatal results.

enemy of God was thereby enabled to extend his conquests; for, after the death of An-násir, the empire of the Almohades became convulsed, the princes of the royal family, who held the government of Andalus, each seized the opportunity of extending his own power and authority; and in the subsequent decline of their empire at Morocco, they came at length not only to hire the enemy's troops, but to surrender to the Christian kings the fortresses of the Moslems, that they might secure their aid against each other.[13] At last the Andalusian chieftains and the descendants of the Arabs of the time of the Bení Umeyyah, such as Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, Ibn Mardanísh, and others, united together and expelled them from the country, as we shall hereafter relate.

Accession of Yúsuf II.

On the death of An-násir, which happened at Morocco in Sha'bán of the year 616 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 1219), his son Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf *Al-mustanser* (he who implores the help of God), succeeded him; but as he was fond of pleasure and repose, the affairs of the Andalusian Moslems, far from improving, went on declining rapidly, and the empire of his family became still weaker. He died without posterity at Morocco on the 12th of Dhí-l-hajjah, 620 (Jan. A. D. 1223), and was succeeded by his father's uncle, 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, whose rule, however, was not more prosperous than that of his predecessors. A relative of his, named Al-'ádil Ibn Al-mansúr, who was then at Murcia in Andalus, considering himself more entitled to the crown than his kinsman, raised the standard of revolt, and was proclaimed without opposition in all those towns which acknowledged the rule of Islám in that country.

'Abdu-l-wáhed.

'Abdu-l-wáhed's rule was not of long duration; for no sooner had the news of Al-'ádil's revolt reached Morocco, than he was deposed and strangled there on the 21st of Sha'bán, 621 (A. D. 1224). Meanwhile the Christians of Andalus were stirring against Al-'ádil, who marched against them at the head of his forces. Having, however, fought a pitched battle with them, he and the Moslems under his orders sustained a most severe and shameful defeat, which was like an ulcerated wound [to the body of Islám]. At last Al-'ádil fled over the Straits, and landed in Africa with the intention of going to Morocco, leaving a brother of his, named Abú-l-'ala Idrís, to command at Seville during his absence. After some negotiation [with the Sheikhs of the Almohades], Al-'ádil entered Morocco; but shortly after, the same parties, having risen against him, secured his person, and appointed in his stead Yahya, son of An-násir (Yúsuf II.), a youth without experience, and totally incapable of conducting the affairs of the Moslems.

Al-'ádil.

Idrís Al-mámún.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Abú-l-'ala Idrís assumed the title of Khalif at Seville, and was immediately proclaimed by the Moslems of Andalus under the surname of *Al-mámún* (the trusted by the grace of God). In the course of time he

was also recognized at Morocco, although he would still dwell in Andalus. At last an Andalusian chief, named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf [Ibn Húd] Al-jodhámí, having revolted against him and defeated his troops in several encounters, Idrís was compelled to abandon Andalus to him, and to cross over to Africa, where he ceased not to carry on war against Yahya Ibn An-násir, until he put him to death in the year 633 (beginning Sept. 15, A. D. 1235), and became the only ruler of Western Africa; although, as above related, the empire of Andalus was for ever lost to him and to the Sultáns of his race.

Idrís died in the year 640 (beginning June 30, A. D. 1242), and was succeeded As-sa'íd. by his brother[14] As-sa'íd (Idrís II.), who was killed near a castle distant one day's march from Telemsán, in 642 (beginning June 8, A. D. 1244). As-sa'íd was succeeded by 'Omar Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, surnamed *Al-murtadhi-billah* Al-murtadhi. (the accepted by the grace of God); but his dominions having been invaded in 665 (beginning Oct. 1, A. D. 1266), by Al-wáthik, better known Al-wáthik. by the surname of Abú Dabús, he fled [from his capital], was taken prisoner, and conveyed before Abú Dabús, who put him to death. Al-wáthik himself was slain in the year 668 (beginning August 30, A. D. 1269) by the Bení Merín, who subjected the whole of Western Africa to their rule. He was the last member of the dynasty founded by 'Abdu-l-múmen, one of the most powerful dynasties of Islám.

CHAPTER IV.

Account of Ibn Húd—Prophecy in his favour—Rises in the province of Murcia—Subdues the greater part of Andalus—Proclaims the Khalif of Baghdád—Some chiefs dispute his authority—The Christians take Merida and Badajoz—Attack and conquer the island of Mallorca—The governor of Minorca capitulates with them—Siege and taking of Valencia by the Aragonese—Ferdinand III. takes Cordova.

IDRÍS AL-MÁMÚN was, as before stated, the last Sultán of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen who held rule in Andalus, for his successors were too much occupied in Africa, where the Bení Merín were daily assailing their empire, ever to think of reconquering their dominions across the sea. The Moslems of Andalus then perceiving the helpless state in which they were left, turned their eyes in another quarter, and began to look about among themselves for men capable of conducting the government in those perilous times, and stemming the torrent of Christian invasion.

Account of Ibn Húd.

Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Al-jodhámí was descended from Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd, fourth Sultán of Saragossa of the dynasty called the Bení Húd. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb the cause of his revolt was as follows: about the time that the dynasty of the Almohades began to show visible signs of decay, there prevailed an impression among the people of Murcia and other cities in the east of Andalus, that the power of their African rulers was shortly to be overthrown by a man named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf, who would rise in arms against them, expel them from the country, and restore the Mohammedan empire to its pristine power and splendour. Other authors assert that it was an astrologer who communicated that information to one of the Almohades, saying, "There will soon rise in this "country against you a man from the ranks of the army whose name will be Mo-"hammed Ibn Yúsuf," and that by order of the prince, to whom the information was communicated, a strict search was made all over Andalus, when all those who bore that name were put to death without mercy, and among them a citizen

Prophecy in his favour.

of Jaen. They add that Ibn Húd was not aware at first either of the existing prophecy or of the orders issued for the apprehension of all those bearing a name similar to his. One day a wise man, dressed in the garb of a faquir, came up to him in Murcia and said, "Why art thou still here? Dost thou not know "that a kingdom awaits thee? Away, away! Look for Al-kashí,[1] and he will "pave thee the way to power." This Al-kashí was nothing more than a celebrated brigand, who, at the head of a few desperadoes, infested the roads about Murcia, and practised all manner of cruelties and extortions upon the country people, or the travellers who fell into his hands. On the ninth of Rejeb of the year 625 (June 13, A. D. 1228), Ibn Húd left Murcia secretly and joined Al-kashí, to whom he imparted what the faquir had told him. The brigand chief received him kindly, and, as he knew him to be descended from kings, had no difficulty in giving up to him the command of his small force. Shortly after, the two chiefs, having made an incursion into the Christian territory, returned to their usual haunts, with many captives and rich booty, which being divulged, soon brought them numbers of adventurers anxious to enlist under their banners. Little by little, Ibn Húd's partisans increased, until, seeing himself at the head of a respectable force, he caused himself to be proclaimed [king] by his men at a place called As-sokheyrah,[2] in the neighbourhood of Murcia. At the news of this rebellion, Síd Abú-l-'abbás, at that time governor of Murcia, left that city at the head of considerable forces, and attacked Ibn Húd; but he was defeated with great loss, and obliged to return to the seat of his government. Shortly after the inhabitants of Murcia rose against their governor, expelled him and his Almohades, and proclaimed Ibn Húd, who repaired thither at the head of his forces, and made his triumphant entry about the end of 625, or the beginning of 626. Denia, Xatiba, and other cities of the east of Andalus soon followed the example of Murcia. Ibn Húd himself reduced Granada, Malaga, and Almeria; and towards the close of the year 626 (Nov. A. D. 1229), Cordova, Jaen, and other important cities, sent also their allegiance to him. Seeing himself the sole master of Andalus, Ibn Húd hesitated not to assume the title of *Amíru-l-moslemín* (commander of the Moslems), and to dispatch an embassy to Al-mustanser Al-'abbásí, the reigning Khalif at Baghdád, requesting to be allowed to hold his dominions from him, and to mention his name in the public prayers. Ibnu-l-khattíb relates that the ambassadors returned to Andalus in 631 (beginning Oct. 6, A. D. 1233), bringing a favourable answer from the Khalif, together with a letter granting Ibn Húd the investiture of all the dominions which he then held or might acquire in future. That Sultán was then at Granada, and he ordered that the letters of the Khalif should be read to the people, which was done in the principal mosque of the place.

Rises in the province of Murcia.

Subdues the greater part of Andalus.

Proclaims the Khalif of Baghdád.

Ibn Húd himself was present at the ceremony, and he stood dressed in the sable uniform [of the 'Abbássides], and holding in his right hand a black banner. The same historian adds that the day when the ceremony took place happened to be one in which prayers for rain had just been said, and that no sooner was the Khalif's letter read to the people than the sky was suddenly obscured by clouds, and the rain began to fall in torrents. On this occasion Ibn Húd assumed the honorary surname of *Al-mutawakkel 'ala-illah* (he who relies on God).

Some chiefs dispute his authority.

Ibn Húd did not long enjoy in peace his newly-acquired sovereignty. Other chieftains rose in various parts of Andalus, and either assumed the same titles and authority which he had usurped, or refused peremptorily to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Among the former was Ibnu-l-ahmar [Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf], who, in the year 629 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 1231), rose at Arjona, and having made himself master of Jaen, Granada, Malaga, and even Cordova and Seville, became eventually the sole ruler of Andalus, and the founder of a powerful dynasty. Among the latter we may count Abú Jemíl Zeyyán Ibn Mardanísh, a descendant of that Mohammed Ibn Mardanísh whose wars with the Almohades we have elsewhere related. This chieftain, who enjoyed considerable power and influence in the eastern districts of Andalus, made himself master of Valencia and the surrounding country, where he maintained himself until the accursed Christians reduced that city in the year 636 (A. D. 1238), as we shall hereafter relate.

Another chief, named Al-bájí (Abú Merwán Ahmed), of the posterity of the celebrated theologian Abú-l-walíd Al-bájí, revolted at Seville, and held the sovereignty of that place until he was treacherously slain in 631 by a lieutenant of Ibnu-l-ahmar.

The Christians take Merida and Badajoz.

Whilst the above-mentioned chieftains divided among them the provinces of Andalus, or were at war against each other, the Christians of every denomination were furiously assailing the dominions of Islám. In the year 627 (beginning Nov. 19, A. D. 1229), for instance, they occupied the whole province of Merida, and from that time woe and perdition fell to the lot of the wretched inhabitants of that once flourishing district (may God restore it to the rule of Islám!). Merida had been the capital of Al-jauf,[3] both in the times preceding the [Arabian] conquest, and in those of the Cordovan Khalifate; but subsequently[4] the city of Badajoz became the court and residence of the rulers of those districts. Between Merida and Cordova the distance is five days' journey. As before stated (p. 256), Merida, Badajoz, and the neighbouring districts had formerly been subject to Al-modhaffer Mohammed Ibn Al-mansúr Ibn Al-afttas, a personage well known in history, and whose biography may be read among those of the illustrious men of the *Dhakhírah* and *Kaláyid*; he was without dispute the most learned and accomplished

of the kings of his age; he was likewise the author of many excellent works, and, among others, of that admirable production entitled *At-tedhkar*[5] *Al-modhafferí*, in fifty volumes, which treats of all and every department of science, such as battles, biography of illustrious men, proverbs, history, and, in short, of all the branches of polite literature. His son Al-mutawakkel ['Omar Ibn Al-afttas] was likewise one of the [eminent] men mentioned in the *Dhakhírah*, *Kaláyid*, and *Mas'hab*. But to return.

Ever since the rebellion of Ibn Húd and the departure of Idrís Al-mámún for Africa, the whole of Al-gharb or Western Andalus had acknowledged the rule of the former. Accordingly, no sooner did the people of Merida, Badajoz, Cazeres, and other towns of those districts, hear of the arrival of the Christians among them, than they sent to implore the assistance of Ibn Húd, who hastened thither at the head of his best troops. Ibn Húd found the Christian king (Alfonso IX. of Leon) encamped before Merida, which he was besieging. He attacked him with great fury, and was at first successful; but in the end his troops were worsted, and he was compelled to relinquish his enterprise. Shortly after the Christians took possession of Merida,[6] and some time after of Badajoz.

Attack and conquer the island of Mallorca.

" At the time that the people of Andalus rose against the descendants of " 'Abdu-l-múmen, Abú Yahya Ibn Abí 'Imrán At-tínmelelí was governor of " Mallorca.[7] In his days the island was taken by the Franks." Such are the words of Ibnu Sa'íd. Ibnu-l-abbár places the conquest of that island on Monday, the 14th of Safar, A. H. 627 (Jan. 12, A. D. 1230). Al-makhzúmí,[8] in his history of Mallorca, gives the following details:—" Mallorca was governed at the time " by an Amír, named Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Músa, who, being a man of quality " and influence among the people of the extinct dynasty of [the Almohades], had " been intrusted with the government [of the Balearic Islands], which he held " ever since 606 (beginning July 5, A. D. 1209). Happening once to want some " timber, which in the neighbouring island of Iviza is very abundant, Mohammed " sent thither some light vessels under the convoy of a few of his war galleys. " The Christian governor of Tortosa, having received intelligence of the departure " of the expedition, sent out a fleet to capture the Moslem vessels, and succeeded; " upon which Mohammed was so angry at the loss of his ships that he resolved " upon declaring war against the Christians and making a descent upon their " territory. In an evil hour did he form such a determination; for he lost his " dominions in the contest. An occasion soon presented itself for carrying his " project into execution. About the end of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 623 (Dec. " A. D. 1226) news came to him that a vessel from Barcelona had appeared in " sight of Iviza, and that another ship from Tortosa had also come up with it. " Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Mohammed dispatched his son with some

"armed vessels in chase of the enemy. The son of Mohammed having entered "the harbour of Iviza, found lying there at anchor a large Genoese galley, which "he attacked and took. This done, he sailed in chase of the Barcelonese ship, "which he likewise boarded and took. This trifling success had the effect of "completely turning the head of the governor of Mallorca, who from that moment "fancied himself a conqueror, and thought that no king could resist his victorious "arms, forgetting that he was as ill-fated as the camel cursed with sterility, and that "the Christians would not fail to take ample vengeance for the injury they had "received. And so it happened; for the people of Barcelona had no sooner heard "of the capture of their vessel, than they said to their king, who was of the posterity "of Alfonso,[9] 'How does the king like to see his subjects used in this manner? "We are ready to assist thee with our persons and our money to revenge this "insult.' The king, taking them at their word, immediately raised an army of "twenty thousand men in his dominions, and, having equipped a considerable "fleet, set sail for Mallorca with upwards of sixteen thousand soldiers. This took "place in 626 (A. D. 1228); but as these immense preparations could not be made "secretly, the news of the armament soon reached the governor of Mallorca, who "began also to collect his forces, and prepared to repel the invasion. Having "selected upwards of one thousand cavalry, he distributed them about the island, "and he raised besides another body consisting of one thousand horse from among "the country people and the inhabitants of the capital; his infantry amounted "to eighteen thousand men. All these levies were ready by the month of Rabi' "the first, of the said year (A. D. 1228). Unluckily, however, all these active "preparations were counteracted by the following unfortunate event. One day "Mohammed ordered the captain of his guards to bring into his presence four "of the principal inhabitants of the town, and when, in pursuance of his order, "they appeared before him, he caused them to be immediately beheaded. Among "the number of these victims were two sons of his mother's brother, Abú Hafss Ibn "Sheyrí, a man of rank and influence in the island. The people went to him "and related what had occurred, warning him against the tyrant, and saying, "'By Allah! this state of things can no longer be endured; the Amír is not fit "either to govern us or defend us, and as long as he rules our lives will be entirely "at his mercy.' After this declaration, the citizens bound themselves to revenge "the blood spilt by the tyrant, and Ibn Sheyrí having consented to become their "chief, they determined upon ridding themselves of the Amír at all hazards. It "was on a Friday, about the middle of the month of Shawwál (A. D. 1228). What "with the fear of Mohammed's vengeance, should their plans be discovered, and "the dread caused by the enemy, who was known to be at no great distance from

" the island, the citizens were actually trembling. Presently Mohammed summons " to his presence the captain of his guards, and commands him to bring before him " fifty of the principal citizens, the most distinguished by their birth, wealth, " or talents. The tyrant's orders were immediately complied with, and the fifty " individuals stood before him: they were all expecting to be marched to immediate " execution, when, lo! a horseman appears, dressed as a courier, who, being " introduced into the Amír's presence, informs him that the Christian fleet, " composed of upwards of forty sail, is in sight, and making for the shore. " No sooner, however, had the horseman finished his recital, than a second mes-" senger from a different quarter rushed breathless into the audience chamber, " saying, 'The Christian fleet is in sight, and I can count seventy sail.' The fact " was soon ascertained, and the news found to be true. Mohammed then pardoned " the fifty citizens who had been sentenced to death, and having apprised them " of the arrival of the enemy, bade them go and prepare for the defence of the city. " Accordingly they all went home, and were received by their families as if they " had risen from the tomb. Soon after the news arrived that the Christians were " just at hand, and that their fleet was composed of one hundred and fifty sail.

" After crossing the bay, the Christians made for the harbour [intending to " land]; but the Amír having sent against them some infantry and cavalry, with " orders to station themselves on the shore and to remain there encamped both " day and night, they were prevented from landing. At last the Christians gained " their object; and on the 18th of Shawwál (A. D. 1228), which was a Monday, an " engagement took place in which the Moslems were completely defeated. After " this, the enemy marched to the city and encamped on the deserted and unculti-" vated plain, close to the gate of Al-kahl,[10] whence they made several assaults " upon the city, and were on the point of taking it by storm. When Ibn Sheyrí " saw that the Christians were masters of the neighbouring country, and that " the city could not hold out much longer, he left it secretly and made for the " interior of the island, with such among the inhabitants as would follow him. " On Friday, the 11th of Safar, A. H. 628 (Dec. 18, A. D. 1230), the Christians " made a general attack on the city, and on the following Sunday[11] became masters " of it; when in the massacre that ensued no less than twenty-four thousand of the " inhabitants were inhumanly sacrificed for the fault of a single individual. The " Amír was taken[12] and subjected to all manner of torture, under which he " expired forty-five days after his capture. As to Ibn Sheyrí, he betook himself to " the mountainous part of the island, in which were many places strongly fortified " by nature, and having collected around him a force of sixteen thousand men,

" he defended himself bravely for some time, until he was killed on Friday the 10th " of Rabi' the second, of the year 628 (Feb. 14, A. D. 1231).

" This Ibn Sheyrí derived his pedigree from the sons of Jubalah Ibn Al-ahyam " Al-ghossání. The remaining fortresses in the island were taken by the Christians " about the end of Rejeb of the same year, 628 (May, A. D. 1231); and by the " month of Sha'bán all those who succeeded in making their escape reached the " dominions of Islám." The above is borrowed from the work of Ibn 'Omayrah Al-makhzúmí.

There were at Mallorca several distinguished theologians and eminent poets. Among the latter was one named Ibn 'Abdi-l-walí Al-mayurkí, who composed the following verses:

" Who can be secure against thy looks, or thy slender waist, bending like " the Indian cane?

" My blood boils when I see thee; my eyelids hang down and preclude my " vision.

" Thy bewitching looks tempt me, and yet I fear not the temptation of " Satan." [13]

The governor of Minorca capitulates with them.

Not far from Mallorca is another island called Menorkah (Minorca), which was governed at the time by the noble, righteous, and learned Sheikh Abú 'Othmán Sa'íd Ibn Hakem Al-korashí. When the Christians, as above related, took possession of Mallorca and put to death its Amír Abú Yahya, Abú 'Othmán, who owed his appointment to the latter, made his peace with the enemy, and agreed to pay them an annual tribute on condition that no Christian should land on the island. The treaty was ratified, and Abú 'Othmán remained master of Minorca, which he governed with great moderation and wisdom.

Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'íd says, " I was told by one of the inhabitants of " Mallorca, who, after the taking of that island by the Christians, took refuge " in Minorca, that the governor received him very kindly, and tried several times " to persuade him to settle in that out of the way island. He told me that he " once rode out with Abú 'Othmán, who, having observed that his sword-belt was " so tight that it actually left a mark upon his neck, sent him a handsome " present in money besides a dress called *ghonbáz*, with a paper containing the " following verses:

' The sword-belt always reveals the excellence of its bearer, especially on ' days of trepidation and haste.

' The best thing that men can use on such days is a sharp heavy sword ' which makes necessary the wearing of a *ghonbáz*.' " [14]

The *ghonbáz* is among the people of the West a kind of coarse dress, which covers and protects the neck.

The governor Abú 'Othmán was originally from a town in the western part of Andalus, called Tabirah (Tavira). He was a patron of literature, and many are the works celebrated for their merits in Western Africa which were dedicated to him, as the book entitled 'the soul of the trees and the spirit of the verses,' and others.

Siege and taking of Valencia by the Aragonese.

Valencia was another of the cities which fell into the hands of the Christians during the above period of civil war and confusion. As early as the year 488 (A. D. 1095), that city had been taken by the *Kanbittúr* (El Cid Campeador); but the Almoravides had retaken it from them, and it had remained the abode of Islám until Jakmish (Jayme), King of Aragon, the same who conquered the island of Mallorca, took it in the year 636, as we are about to relate.

When Abú Ahmed Ibn Jeháf, who was Kádí of Valencia, assumed the command in that city, and proclaimed Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún, the same who had been expelled from Toledo by Alfonso, marched thither at the head of his forces, and besieged him in it; but Ibn Jeháf having, with the assistance of a body of Almoravides, made a sudden attack upon the camp of Al-kádir, defeated that Sultán and put him to death.[15] It appears, however, that Ibn Jeháf exceeded the limits of his authority; for the same party of the Almoravides [who had assisted him against Al-kádir] now deserted him and left him to fight single-handed against his enemies. In this extremity the Kádí of Valencia sent to implore the assistance of Yúsuf, who promised to send troops to his aid, but the succour never came. In the mean while, Yúsuf Ibn Ahmed Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, who was the enemy of Ibn Jeháf, instigated the tyrant Rudherik (Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar) to march to Valencia, which he did, taking possession of that city after a short siege. They relate that Ibn Jeháf surrendered the city by capitulation, and that Rodrigo asked him to give up [to him] the treasures of Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún; that Ibn Jeháf swore that he knew nothing of them, and that Rodrigo told him that he would put him to death if he found them; that he discovered them in his possession, and caused him to be burned alive. Rodrigo, moreover, plundered Valencia, and almost destroyed it.

The taking of Valencia by the Kanbittúr [El Cid Campeador], may the curse of God fall on his head! happened in the year 488 (A. D. 1095). Some authors refer it to the year before [A. H. 487].[16] But let us hear the account of Ibnu-l-abbár, who, alluding to that deplorable event, writes as follows: "Valencia "was besieged by the Kanbittúr for a period of twenty months, after which it "was taken, some say by capitulation, others by storm. The Christians set fire

"to it and destroyed it. Among the Moslems who perished that day in the "flames was the learned Abú Ja'far Ibnu-l-bana, the celebrated poet (may God "have mercy on him and forgive him his sins!). Some years after the Amír "of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, sent thither one of his generals, named "Abú Mohammed Modhzelí,[17] who retook it from the enemy in 495 (beginning "Oct. 25, A. D. 1101). Valencia was then governed by a succession of Almo-"ravide chieftains till the time of Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, who, at the breaking "out of the civil war in the sixth century of the Hijra, was expelled from that "city by Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz.[18] This latter ruled over Valencia and the "neighbouring districts until the year 539 (beginning July 3, A. D. 1144), when "the army rose against him, deposed him from the command, and appointed in "his stead Ibn 'Iyádh, King of the Eastern provinces of Andalus. Merwán fled "to Almeria."

After this, Valencia fell into the hands of Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Mardanísh, who succeeded Ibn 'Iyádh in the kingdom of Murcia. Abú 'Abdillah appointed a brother of his, named Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mardanísh, to be governor of the city, and he kept the government of the place until he made his submission to the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen.

Under the Almohades, Valencia continued to be ruled, as before, by African princes, the first of whom was Síd Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Síd Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Hafss, and grandson of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí. When, as before related, (p. 324), Al-'ádil raised the standard of revolt at Murcia, fortified himself [in that city], and assumed the supreme command under pretensions which concealed his ambitious views,[19] and when Abú-l-'ala [Idrís] Al-mámún followed in his steps, a chief named Zeyyán Ibn Abí-l-hamalát Ibn Abí-l-hejáj Ibn Mardanísh, who was one of his most influential partisans, laid siege to Valencia and took it by storm. Síd Abú Zeyd fled to the Christians.

The affairs of Valencia grew worse and worse; the enemy went on reducing its towns and districts, until the King of Barcelona laid siege to it. Zeyyán then implored the aid of Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Hafss, Sultán of Eastern Africa, and sent as his ambassador the celebrated Kátib Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-abbár Al-kodhá'í,[20] the author of the *Tekmilah* (complement), of the *A'tábu-l-kottáb* (the degrees of the scribe), and other works. Ibnu-l-abbár presented himself to that Sultán, and recited before him that celebrated *kassídah* of his, rhyming in *sin*, which has since become so celebrated both in the East and West.

The Sultán hastened to their assistance; he fitted out his fleet and sent it to Valencia with money, provisions, and stores of every description. But when the

African fleet appeared [in sight of Valencia] they found that the garrison had been reduced to the last extremity, and shortly after the enemy of God took possession of that city by capitulation on Tuesday, the 17th of Safar of 636 (Sept. 29, A. D. 1238).[21] May God Almighty restore it to the Moslems!

Not satisfied with the taking of Valencia, the tyrant Jayme prosecuted his conquests in those eastern districts, plundering and destroying wherever he went, and putting to the sword the unfortunate Moslems. On the other hand, Ferdeland (Ferdinand III. of Castile) was not inactive. After a siege of several months he reduced Cordova; and on Sunday, the 23rd of Shawwál of the year 636 (May 29, A. D. 1239), that seat of the western Khalifate, repository of the theological sciences, and abode of Islám, passed into the hands of the accursed Christians. (May God destroy them all!). In the year 645, moreover, the above-mentioned infidel, Ferdeland, King of Kastellah, besieged the city of Seville by sea and land, and took it by capitulation on Monday, the 5th of Sha'bán of the ensuing year (A. H. 646), after a siege of one whole year and five months, or thereabouts. The historian Ibnu-l-'abbár, in his biographical dictionary entitled *Tekmilah* (complement), at the article Abú 'Alí Ash-shalúbeyn, says, "Ash-shalúbeyn died "[at Seville], during the siege of that city by the Castilians, on Thursday, the "15th of Safar of the year 645 (June 21, A. D. 1247). The year after Seville was "taken by the enemy." The same author, Ibnu-l-abbár, says that the rout of Aynajah,[22] in which the Háfedh Abú-r-rabi' Al-kalá'í was killed, happened on Thursday, the 20th of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 634 (August, A. D. 1237), and that 'Abú-r-rabi' never ceased fighting in the foremost ranks, striking the infidels with his sword, encouraging the Moslems, recalling the fugitives, and reminding them of the pleasures of Paradise, until he himself was slain. Abú-r-rabi' used to say that he would live to be seventy, having, when only a boy, had a dream to that effect; and so it was; for at the time he was killed he had just entered his seventieth year. The Háfedh Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-abbár wrote an elegy rhyming in *mim* on the death of Abú-r-rabi'. One of the historians of Andalus says that Abú-r-rabi' was the disciple of Abú-l-kásim Ibn Hobeysh, and of his class or school. He wrote several works, among which the following are most celebrated: *Misbáhu-dh-dholam fí-l-hadíth* (the lamp of darkness: on sacred traditions); *Al-arba'ún 'an arba'ín sheykhan liarba'ín min-assáhibah* (the forty traditions collected from forty doctors who held them from forty of the companions of the Prophet); *Al-iktifá fí magházi rasúli-llah wa maghází-l-thaláthi-l-kholafá* (the sufficient: on the wars of the messenger of God and the three [first] Khalifs); *Meydánu-s-sábikín wa halbatu-s-sádikín-l-musaddikín fí gharas kitábi-l-isti'áb* (the hippodrome of the active and the arena for the sincere who fulfil their religious duties: or a treatise on

Ferdinand III. takes Cordova.

the meaning and objects of the *Isti'áb*),[23]—this last work he is said to have left incomplete;—*Al-mu'ajem fí men wáfikat kunyatuhu min wajihi-s-sihábat* (a dictionary of the names of those companions who bore the same *kunyá* or surname); *Al-á'lám bi-akhbári-l-bokhárí-l-imám* (the signs: on the history of the Imám Al-bokhárí); *Al-mu'ajem fí mashyakhati Abí-l-kásim Ibn Hobeysh wa barnámej rawáyatihi* (a biographical dictionary of the masters of Abú-l-kásim Ibn Hobeysh, and an index to those doctors who learned under him); *Jena-r-rotab fí sena-l-khotab* (fresh gatherings: on the art of preaching eloquent sermons); and several others.

We have related elsewhere (p. 313) how the city of Almeria, after remaining for a length of time in the hands of the enemy, was recovered by the two Almohade princes [Abú Sa'íd and Abú Hafss] in the year 546 (beginning April 19, A. D. 1151).[24] The city, however, had been almost destroyed [during its occupation by the Christians], and would have been entirely deserted, had not 'Abdu-l-múmen appointed as governor a chief named Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Kemmál, who was a native of it, and who took pains for its preservation. A sister of this Abú-l-'abbás was made prisoner at the taking of Bejennah (Pechina) by [the troops of] 'Abdu-l-múmen, and conveyed to the palace of that Sultán, with whom she rose so much in favour that she obtained for her brother the government of his native [town]. Abú-l-'abbás was a man of a generous and benevolent disposition.

Among the governors of Almeria during the rule of the sons of 'Abdu-l-múmen, in the seventh century of the Hijra, one of the most distinguished was the Amír Abú 'Imrán Ibn Abí Hafss, the uncle of Abú Zakariyyá [who became afterwards] ruler of Eastern Africa. But to return.

When, in the year 625 (A. D. 1228), the people of Andalus, as before related (p. 326), revolted against their Sultán Al-mámún [Idrís], of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen, and Ibn Húd rose in arms at Murcia, a chief named Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Yahya Ibnu-r-remímí, a descendant of that Ibnu-r-remímí from whom the Christians had taken Almeria[25] [in A. H. 542], rose in that city and proclaimed Ibn Húd. This being done, Ibnu-r-remímí repaired to Murcia, where Ibn Húd was at the time, and acquainted that chief with what he had done. Ibn Húd received Ibnu-r-remímí kindly, and, as a reward for the important service he had just performed, appointed him governor of Almeria, chose him for his Wizír, and intrusted to him the entire management of his affairs. Things continued in this state for some time until Ibnu-r-remímí dexterously persuaded Ibn Húd to have the castle of Almeria repaired and fortified, in order that it might be made a bulwark [to his kingdom]; but the truth was that Ibnu-r-remímí intended it as a stronghold for himself. Ibn Húd acceded to his request, and the castle of Almeria was accordingly repaired and strongly

fortified. It happened that [in one of his visits to Almeria], Ibn Húd left under the care of Ibnu-r-remímí a mistress of his on whom he doted; but Ibnu-r-remímí, who was also passionately fond of her, violated the laws of hospitality, and seduced her. Intelligence of their criminal intercourse being secretly conveyed to Ibn Húd, he hastened to Almeria, intending to take ample revenge on the governor; but Ibnu-r-remímí was beforehand with him, and had him strangled whilst in his bed. Ibnu-l-khattíb relates the above differently: he says that "Ibn Húd had promised his wife never to marry another as long as she lived. "When, however, he rose into power, his eyes fell on the daughter of a Christian "chief taken in one of his campaigns: she was one of the most beautiful creatures "that ever lived, and Ibn Húd became so deeply enamoured of her that he "determined upon living with her, notwithstanding the solemn promise he had "made to his wife. In order, however, to conceal his guilt from the latter, he "gave her in charge to his lieutenant, Ibnu-r-remímí, the governor of Almeria, "who, they say, conceived likewise a strong attachment for the woman, and "seduced her. Finding that she was pregnant, and that Ibn Húd, who was shortly "expected in Murcia, could not fail to discover the guilt, Ibnu-r-remímí had "recourse to the following stratagem. When he heard that Ibn Húd was close "to Almeria, he went out to meet him, and invited him to come to his palace. "Ibn Húd accepted the invitation, and in the dead of night four men stole into "the sleeping apartment of that Sultán and suffocated him with the pillows of "his bed. On the morning of the following day, it was announced that Ibn "Húd had died suddenly during the night; notaries and witnesses were called "in to certify the fact, and his body was placed in a coffin and sent by sea to "Murcia. The death of Ibn Húd took place on the 24th of Jumáda the second, of "the year 635 (Dec. 12, A. D. 1237)."

After the death of Ibn Húd, Ibnu-r-remímí made himself master of Almeria. A son of his revolted against him, and after several revolutions and events which would take us too long to relate, the city fell into the hands of Ibnu-l-ahmar, King of Granada, whose posterity retained it until the infidels took it from them when they conquered the whole of Andalus, as we shall hereafter relate. There is no conqueror but God!

As to the Bení Húd, the last of the family was Al-wáthik,[26] son of Al-mutawakkel. Being hard pressed [in Murcia] by Alfonso of Barcelona, he sent to implore the assistance of Ibnu-l-ahmar, offering himself as his vassal. Ibnu-l-ahmar granted his request, and sent him some troops under the command of Ibn Ashkilúlah, who took possession of Murcia in his master's name, and had him proclaimed [in the mosques]. After this, Ibn Ashkilúlah returned to Ibnu-l-

ahmar; but on his road [to Granada?] the Christians attacked and defeated him. Al-wáthik then returned to Murcia for the third time, and remained [sovereign of that place] until the enemy took it from him in the year 658 (A. D. 1260), and gave him instead of Murcia a fortress of its district called Yozar, in which he resided until his death. Some authors state that this was at the hour of noon of Thursday, the 15th of Shawwál (A. H. 668),—that Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Húd, son of the Wálí of Murcia, presented himself before that city with a party of Christian nobles and knights, and put them in possession of it. In him ended the dynasty of the Bení Húd. God is the heir of the earth and of all that which is on it!

CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Bení Nasr—Account of Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar—His revolt at Arjona—His wars with Ibn Húd—He takes possession of Granada—Attacks and defeats the Christians—Dies—Is succeeded by Mohammed II.—Death of Don Nuño de Lara—The Infante Don Sancho is defeated and slain—Taking of Quesada and Alcaudete—Death of Mohammed II.—His son Mohammed III. succeeds him—His brother Nasr revolts against him—Compels him to abdicate—Ferdinand of Castile takes Gibraltar—The Aragonese besiege Almeria—Revolt of Abú Sa'íd and his son Abú-l-walíd Isma'íl—The latter defeats Nasr—Forces him to abdicate—Battle of Elvira—Death of Don Pedro—Taking of Christian fortresses—Assassination of Isma'íl.

Origin of the Bení Nasr.

It now behoves us to speak of the Bení Nasr, a powerful dynasty which reigned for nearly three centuries at Granada, and is well worthy of mention, not only because Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb was Wizír to one of them, but because they were the last [Mohammedan] rulers of Andalus, since from one of them the Christians conquered the whole of that country, as we shall hereafter relate.

The origin of this dynasty is thus given by the historian of Africa, Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún Al-hadhramí. "The Bení Nasr were originally "from Arjúnah (Arjona), a castle in the jurisdiction of Cordova. Their ancestors "had been officers of rank [in the army], and were well known in that country "as the Bení Nasr, or the sons of Nasr. They connected their genealogy with "Sa'd Ibn 'Obádah, Lord of the tribe of Khazrej. The head of the family, towards "the close of the dynasty of the Almohades, was Nasr [*lege* Mohammed] [1] Ibn Yúsuf, "better known as *Ash-sheikh* (the Sheikh); his brother's name was Isma'íl: the "former especially enjoyed considerable influence among his kindred. When the "fortune of the Almohades began to decline, and rebels rose against them in "Andalus,—when the Síds [2] or members of the royal family began to give up "their castles and fortresses to the Christian king,—when, in short, Mohammed "Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd rose at Murcia, and, having proclaimed the reigning Khalif "of the house of 'Abbás, took possession [in his name] of the eastern provinces "of Andalus,—the Sheikh [Ibnu-l-ahmar] prepared also for rebellion, and in the

" year 629 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 1231) caused himself to be proclaimed Sultán " of Andalus, although he ordered that the name of Abú Zakariyyá [Yahya Ibn Abí " Hafss], Sultán of Eastern Africa, should be mentioned in the public prayers, as " Commander of the Faithful. In the following year, A. H. 630 (beginning Oct. 17, " A. D. 1232), Jaen and Sherísh (Xerez) submitted to him. All this Ibnu-l-ahmar " accomplished with the assistance of his relatives the Bení Nasr, and of the family " of Ibn Ashkilúlah, to whom he was related by marriage.[3] Subsequently to this, " in the year 631 (beginning Oct. 6, A. D. 1233), hearing that Ibn Húd had " received from Baghdád a favourable answer to his petition, Ibnu-l-ahmar sent " in his allegiance to that Sultán.[4] Then happened the rebellion at Seville of Abú " Merwán Al-bájí, who, taking advantage of the departure of Ibn Húd [from that " city] to return to Murcia, rose and declared himself independent. With this " chieftain Ibnu-l-ahmar entered into a treaty of alliance, giving him one of his " daughters in marriage, and promising to defend him against Ibn Húd on condition " that he would acknowledge himself his vassal. Al-bájí accepted the proposition, " and Ibnu-l-ahmar accordingly entered Seville as its lord in 632 (beginning Sept. 25, " A. D. 1234); but in the course of time he had Al-bájí seized and put to death, " through the means of Ibn Ashkilúlah, whom he sent thither for that purpose.

" One month after the above event, the people of Seville returned to the alle-" giance of Ibn Húd, and expelled [the troops of] Ibnu-l-ahmar; but in 635 " (beginning Aug. 23, A. D. 1237), the latter prince made himself master of Granada " by means of his secret partisans there. An influential citizen of that place, " named Ibn Abí Kháled, who was his friend, having risen against Ibn Húd, " prevailed upon the citizens to proclaim Ibnu-l-ahmar, and, hastening to Jaen, " where that Sultán was at the time, tendered to him the allegiance of the " inhabitants. Immediately upon the receipt of this news, Ibnu-l-ahmar dispatched " Ibn Ashkilúlah to Granada with a portion of his forces; he himself followed with " the rest of his army, and having taken up his abode in that city, built the fortress " of the Al-hamrá (Alhambra), as a residence for himself. Soon after the acquisition " of Granada, Ibnu-l-ahmar obtained possession of Malaga, and in the year 643 " (beginning May 28, A. D. 1245) received Almeria from the hands of Ibnu-r-" remímí, the Wizír of Ibn Húd, who had risen and taken the command of the " place. Ibnu-l-ahmar was next proclaimed by the people of Lorca, who, in 663 " (beginning Oct. 23, A. D. 1264), sent their allegiance to Granada.

" During the events above related the Christians reduced several important cities " of Andalus, chiefly through the division and perversity of their Mohammedan " rulers. At the commencement of his reign, Ibnu-l-ahmar had entered into an " alliance with the Christian king [Ferdinand III. of Castile], for the purpose of

"obtaining his aid [against Ibn Húd]; and the infidel king had accordingly sent "him occasional succours of troops. Ibn Húd, on the other hand, wishing to "detach the Christian from the cause of Ibnu-l-ahmar, had offered him thirty "castles on the western frontier of his dominions, if he would forsake that Sultán "and assist him to take possession of Cordova: the offer was accepted, and the "castles delivered to the Christians. At last, in the year 633 (beginning Sept. 15, "A. D. 1236), the enemy took possession of Cordova (may God restore it to Islám!), "and, in the year 646 (beginning April 25, A. D. 1248), laid siege to Seville, "Ibnu-l-ahmar himself co-operating with his forces [against the Moslems]. After "a vigorous and long protracted defence, the city was taken by capitulation, and "the Christians became masters of its districts. Murcia also fell into their hands "in 665 (beginning Oct. 1, A. D. 1266); in short, the Christian king [Ferdinand III. "of Castile] ceased not to assail the dominions of Islám, and to take district after "district and castle after castle until the whole of the Moslem population were "driven to the coast between Ronda in the west and [Almeria in] the eastern parts "of Andalus, about twenty *marhala*[5] in length and one *marhala* or less in width "from the sea to the furthermost point on the northern frontier.

"Subsequently to this, Ibnu-l-ahmar grew angry, and sought to obtain possession "of the rest of the island; but he found the task too difficult, and was unable "to accomplish his purpose. Troops, however, sent by the Bení Merín and other "African dynasties, occasionally crossed over to his assistance, and with them "Ibnu-l-ahmar was enabled to keep the Christians at bay. For instance, in the "year 660 (beginning Nov. 25, A. D. 1261), according to previous stipulation, the "Sultán of Western Africa, Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk, sent him three thousand "warriors, whose arrival Ibnu-l-ahmar welcomed, and with whom he repelled the "attacks of the enemy, and inflicted serious losses upon them. On the return "of these auxiliary troops to Africa, others kept continually going over in their "stead, until the death of the Sheikh Ibnu-l-ahmar, which happened in 671 "(A. D. 1272)."

So far Ibnu Khaldún, who, as is well known, resided some time at Granada,[6] and must have been in possession of authentic records respecting the founder of the dynasty of the Bení Nasr; but as we are also able to quote from Ibnu-l-khattíb, whose works[7] abound with precious information respecting the establishment of that dynasty and the high deeds of its members, we will in future quote from him.

Account of Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar.

"Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Khamíss Ibn Nasr "Ibn Kays Al-khazrejí Al-ansárí was descended from Sa'd Ibn 'Obádah, the "companion of the Prophet. This Sa'd was the son of Suleymán, son of "Hárithah, son of Abí Khalífah, son of Tha'lebah, son of Taríf, son of Khazrej,

" son of Hárithah, son of Tha'lebah, [son of] Al-'ala, son of 'Omar, son of Ya'rob, " son of Yash'hob, or Yashjab, son of Kahttán, son of Hemisa', son of Yemen, son " of Bent, son of Isma'íl, son of Ibrahím. His *kunyá* was Abú 'Abdillah, and he was " also surnamed Ibnu-l-ahmar and *Al-ghálib-billah* (the conqueror by the grace " of God). Both historians and genealogists have all acknowledged the illustrious " origin of this family, which, as above stated, was descended in a direct line from " Sa'd Ibn 'Obádah, Lord of the tribe of Khazrej, and one of the companions of " our holy Prophet. Ar-rází, among others, in his genealogical treatise asserts " that two men of the posterity of that illustrious individual entered Andalus at " the time of the conquest; one settled at Tékerúna,[8] the other at a village close " to Saragossa, which, from the name of his tribe, was called Kariat Khazrej.

" Mohammed was born in 591 (A. D. 1195) at Arjúnah (Arjona), in the territory " of Cordova, where he inherited from his father extensive estates, which he " cultivated himself. I was told by the Kátib Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn " 'Abdillah Al-lúshí (from Loxa) Al-yahssobí,[9] whom I once met in Jaen, that " his grandfather had a mare of the best qualities, which he used to mount " whenever he had to repel an attack of the enemy, or to make an incursion " into his territory. In this manner the animal became known among the " Christians of the neighbouring districts for its excellent qualities and its aptitude " for border warfare, until the King of the Christians, happening to hear of it, " sent a message to Al-lúshí, requesting him to sell him the mare and fix his " own price. Al-lúshí, however, was so much attached to the animal that he " could not bear to part with her at any price, and he accordingly refused to " sell her to the king. They say that on the night of the day on which he " received the message from the infidel king, Al-lúshí dreamt a dream, and " heard a voice saying to him, ' Go to Arjona and take thy good mare with " thee; when there, thou shalt inquire for a man named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf, " and when thou hast found him, thou shalt sell thy mare to him, for he shall " certainly ride on it, and be the conqueror of Jaen and other towns, by which " conquests thy posterity shall be benefited.' Al-lúshí at first paid no attention " to this warning; but having heard the same voice a second, and even a third " time in his dreams, he at last began seriously to think about it. Having inquired " from a friend of his named Ibn Ya'ysh, who was well acquainted with the sur- " rounding country and its inhabitants, who the person could be who was described " to him in his dream, Ibn Ya'ysh told him that it could be no other than Ibnu-l- " ahmar. Al-lúshí, therefore, proceeded to Arjona and took up his abode in the " town. No sooner was his arrival made known, as well as the object of his " journey, than Ibnu-l-ahmar and some of his relatives went to Al-lúshí's lodgings

"and began to bargain for the mare; but the price which he asked was so "exorbitant that Ibnu-l-ahmar declared his inability to pay the sum demanded. "At last Ibnu-l-ahmar, having offered to pay a portion of the money down and "the rest by instalments, Al-lúshí accepted the offer, and Ibnu-l-ahmar took "the mare home. The bargain being concluded, Al-lúshí took Ibnu-l-ahmar "to the mosque of the castle, and there disclosed to him the dream which he "had dreamt. Ibnu-l-ahmar paid him the sum agreed between the two, and "Al-lúshí returned to Jaen.

His revolt at Arjona.

"Scarcely had a year elapsed after this occurrence, when Ibnu-l-ahmar assumed "the royal title at his native town, and soon after took possession of the wealthy "city of Jaen. Historians, however, are at variance as to the cause which impelled "him to do so, some saying that it was some injustice done him by one of the "governors of the district which prompted him to revolt.

"After Jaen, Ibnu-l-ahmar took Granada. He also made himself master of "Seville in the last days of Rabi' the first, of the very year in which he rose, "that is, in 629,[10] and remained in possession of that city for nearly thirty days. "He also took Cordova on the 11th day of Rejeb of the aforesaid year: both "those cities, however, returned to the possession of Ibn Húd.

His wars with Ibn Húd.

"Ibnu-l-ahmar was frequently at war with Al-mutawakkel [Ibn Húd], who, "as above stated (p. 336), was Sultán of Murcia, Almeria, and the greater part "of Eastern Andalus, and who at one time made himself master of almost the "whole country. He once defeated him most completely in the neighbourhood "of Seville, whither Ibn Húd had gone for the purpose of chastising the revolt "of Al-bájí. Having joined his forces to those of that rebel, Ibnu-l-ahmar "attacked the camp of his adversary and routed his army, obliging Ibn Húd "to embark for Murcia. This happened in 629. Five years after (A. H. 634), "Ibn Húd was again defeated with great loss by Ibnu-l-ahmar, in the district "of Elvira, near Granada.

"At the beginning of his reign, Ibnu-l-ahmar showed every attention and respect "towards the kings of the opposite coast [Western Africa], as well as towards "those of Eastern Africa, and he went so far as to have the *khotbah* said for the "latter in all the mosques of his dominions, hoping thereby to obtain their help "and assistance [against the Christians]. He also said the *khotbah* for the Sultán "of Baghdád, Al-mustanser Al-'abbásí; but in the end he would acknowledge "no sovereign but himself.

Takes possession of Granada.

"Ibnu-l-ahmar was at Jaen when the people of Granada proclaimed him at the "instigation of Ibn [Abí] Kháled, and he entered that city in the last days of Ra- "madhán of the year 635 (May, A. D. 1238). The historian Ibn 'Azzár[11] says that

" Ibnu-l-ahmar arrived at Granada in the evening, and encamped outside the walls. " The ensuing morning, at dawn of day, he entered the city, and rode to the castle " towards sunset. Abú Mohammed Al-bastí (from Baza), who saw Ibnu-l-ahmar " ride through the city, says that he was dressed in a tunic[12] of the stuff called " *milaf*, striped, the sleeves of which were open at the sides. Just as Ibnu-l-ahmar " arrived at the gate of the *kassábah*, the voice of the muezzin was heard in the " distance, calling the people to the prayer of the setting sun; upon which, without " going any further, Ibnu-l-ahmar went into the *mihráb* of the mosque, and recited " the first chapter of the Korán, and went into the castle of Bádís, preceded by men " bearing wax-tapers."

Ibnu-l-khattíb goes on to relate how Ibnu-l-ahmar assisted the Christian king (Ferdinand III. of Castile) in the reduction of Seville, Carmona, and other towns of Andalus, after which he continues,—

Attacks and defeats the Christians.

" In the year 643 a peace was concluded between Ibnu-l-ahmar and the King of " the Christians, and a treaty signed, one of the conditions of which was that Jaen " should be given up to the Christians. Some time before Ibnu-l-ahmar had " completely defeated the infidels near a castle called Bolullos,[13] at one day's march " from his capital. Ibnu-l-ahmar, however, repented of what he had done, and in " the year 662, after causing his son Mohammed to be sworn as his legitimate heir, " he summoned the [African] tribes to aid him in the holy war. Having made " every necessary preparation, he invaded the Christian territory."

As long as he lived, Ibnu-l-ahmar was on terms of amity and friendly correspondence with the rulers of Western Africa, the Bení Merín, who had built their empire on the ruins of that of the Almohades. One of the most powerful monarchs of that dynasty was Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk, who, having received an embassy from the people of Andalus, imploring his powerful assistance against the Christians, crossed over to that country and gained a most signal victory over the infidels, as we shall hereafter relate. Ya'kúb was succeeded by his son Yúsuf, to whose court Alfonso,[14] King of the Christians, came for the purpose of obtaining his aid to regain possession of his kingdom. After Yúsuf reigned Abú Thábit, and after the latter Abú Rabi' Suleymán, who was succeeded by Abú Sa'íd 'Inán; but as it is not our object in this place to write the history of that dynasty, we will resume the thread of our interrupted narrative.

Dies.

" Ibnu-l-ahmar died on the 15th of Jumáda II. of the year 671 (Sept. 10, A.D. 1272). " His death happened in this way. Having heard that some Christian chieftains " had with their united forces made a foray close to his capital, he sallied out to " meet them. As he was returning to his palace, he stumbled and fell down; he " was immediately put on a horse and conveyed to his palace, supported by one of

" his slaves, named Sábir, the elder. Shortly after, on Friday, the 29th of Jumáda " the second, after the prayer of *'asr* (before sunset), Ibnu-l-ahmar died, and was " immediately buried in the *makborah* (cemetery) of the old mosque, on the hill " of *Sibkah*.[15] He was born at Arjona in the year 591 (beginning Dec. 13, " A. D. 1194), known in Andalus as 'the year of Alarcos,' because the celebrated " battle of that name was fought in it. His proclamation took place on a Friday " of the year 626. He was the father of three sons; Mohammed, who succeeded " him in the empire, Farej, and Yúsuf, who died before him."

On the death of Ibnu-l-ahmar, his son Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah, succeeded him. He was then thirty-eight years old, having been born at Granada in the year 633. No sooner had he ascended his father's throne, than he began to give his most serious consideration to the enlargement of his dominions at the expense of the infidels. Ibnu Khaldún relates, that when Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar saw his death approach he sent for his son and gave him his last instructions, among which one was that in his wars with the Christians he was always to implore the assistance of the Bení Merín, who had inherited the empire of the Almohades in Western Africa. Accordingly, when in the year 672 (beginning July 17, A. D. 1273) Mohammed Al-fakíh[16] (or, the theologian, as the King of Granada is called by that historian,) heard that the Christians were about to carry the war into his dominions, he sent over an embassy to Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk, Sultán of Fez and Western Africa, soliciting his aid against the infidels; and that sovereign, having graciously acceded to his request, sent first his own son at the head of an army, and himself followed shortly after. Having taken Jezíratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras) from the hands of a rebel who had gained possession of it, he converted it into a receptacle for his warriors. Mohammed, moreover, gave up to the African sovereign Tarifa and the castles appertaining to it; and when every thing had been arranged, the two kings united, put to flight Don Nuño, the general of the Christians, dispersed his army, and routed every where the troops of the Castilian king, sending large bodies of cavalry to make predatory incursions into his dominions. At last, through fear of the Africans, Mohammed made his peace with the Christians, and Ya'kúb returned to Africa. In the course of time, however, the kings of Granada recovered Algesiras, Tarifa, Ronda, and all the fortresses which this Mohammed had given up to the Bení Merín. So far Ibnu Khaldún, whose narrative we have somewhat abridged.

Is succeeded by his son Mohammed II.

His campaigns against the Christians.

The victory above alluded to was gained by the united forces of Mohammed and Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf on the 15th day of Rabi' the first, of the year 674 (Sept. 8, A. D. 1275), Don-Núnoh (Nuño Gonzalez de Lara), the general of the Christians,

Death of Don Nuño de Lara.

and several of his best officers, remaining dead on the field. Shortly after, God was again pleased to send down victory to the Moslem banners, and to spread woe and confusion through the ranks of the infidels; for Sancho *Al-mitrán* (Archbishop of Toledo), having made an incursion into the Moslem territory, the troops of Granada overtook him near the town of Martosh (Martos), and completely defeated his army, he himself remaining among the dead.

The Infante Don Sancho is defeated and slain.

In the month of Moharram of the year 695 (Nov., A. D. 1295), shortly after the death of Sancho, son of Alfonso, the Castilians prepared to invade the territory of Granada; but Mohammed, having received intelligence of their movements, marched against them, and, having laid siege to Kijáttah (Quesada), reduced that important city, besides several small towns and fortresses which depended on it. Having left a sufficient garrison for the defence of the place, Mohammed returned to Granada. In the year 699 (beginning Sept. 27, A. D. 1299) he besieged the town of Al-kabdhák, and, after a few vigorous attacks, made himself master of it. The Christian garrison then took refuge in the *kassábah*, a place well known in the surrounding country for its strength; but the Moslems took it by storm shortly after the hour of noon, on Sunday, the 8th of Shawwál (June 27, A. D. 1300), and put the garrison to the sword. After repairing the fortifications, in which he himself worked, helping to dig the moat with his own hands, Mohammed converted the place into a *rábittah* or border fortress, and, leaving a body of chosen warriors to defend it, returned to his capital.

Taking of Quesada and Alcaudete.

After a prosperous reign of thirty years and one month, Mohammed died suddenly at Granada on Sunday, the 8th day of Sha'bán of the year 701 (April 9, A. D. 1302). There are not wanting historians who assert that he was poisoned by his son and successor. He was interred apart from his ancestors, to the east of the great mosque, in the gardens adjoining his palace. In aftertime his grandson Abú-l-walíd, and Abú-l-hejáj, son of the latter, were interred by his side. He had three sons; his successor, Abú 'Abdillah, Faraj, who died in the lifetime of his father, and Nasr, who succeeded Abú 'Abdillah on the throne.

Death of Mohammed.

Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah, succeeded. He was one of the greatest monarchs of the Nasserite dynasty. Having been educated under the eye of his father, and trained from early youth in the duties of government, he displayed immediately upon his accession that sagacity and tact by which the monarchs of his family, surrounded as they were by enemies, were particularly distinguished.

His son Mohammed III. succeeds him.

Soon after his accession to the throne he made an incursion into the enemy's territory. The result was the taking of the town of Al-mandhar,[17] which he entered by force of arms, and the captivity of all the garrison. Among the prisoners was the lady of the place, a woman of matchless beauty, the brightest gem among

the Christians. She was marched into the capital with the rest of the prisoners, splendidly mounted and attired, and shining with beauty. She became afterwards the wife of the Sultán of Western Africa.

In the year 703 (beginning Aug. 14, 1303), the Sultán being displeased with his relative the Reys Abú-l-hejáj Ibn Nasr, governor of Guadix, for some act of his administration there, removed him from his government. Abú-l-hejáj, who was then residing at court, began secretly to form a party in his favour both at the capital and at Guadix, which being reported to Mohammed, he caused him to be arrested and brought to his presence, when he was immediately executed. By his death civil war was prevented. In the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year [A. H. 703], after the death of his Wizír, Abú-s-sultán 'Azíz Ibn 'Ala Ibn 'Abdi-l-mun'am, of Denia, Mohammed named to that office one of his own secretaries, named Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-hakím, in whom he placed all his confidence. The Wizír, who was a shrewd and ambitious man, failed not to take advantage of his position, and to gain over the mind of his sovereign, whereby he effected his own ruin, as we shall presently relate.

In Shawwál of the year 705 (April or May, A. D. 1306) Mohammed took Ceuta from Abú Tálib 'Abdullah Ibnu-l-kásim, son of the Reys and Faquih, Imám and traditionist, 'Abu-l-'abbás Al-'izafí.[18] By this victory Mohammed became the master of immense wealth belonging to the merchants of that port, besides countless treasures amassed by that chieftain. The chief inhabitants of that place were also led prisoners to Granada, where, at the beginning of Moharram of the ensuing year (A. H. 706), they received orders to appear in the presence of the Sultán. Mohammed received them in state, surrounded by his ministers and his guards. Some of the prisoners, however, having recited verses in praise of him, his heart was touched, and he set them all at liberty, assigning to each of them a house to reside in and a suitable pension for his sustenance.

His brother Nasr revolts against him.

This excellent monarch could not escape the shafts of treason. A considerable party having been formed in his own capital in favour of his brother Nasr, he was compelled to abdicate on the day of *Al-fitr* of the year 708 (April, A. D. 1309). According to Ibnu-l-khattíb the event happened thus. "Early in the morning of "that day a party of the principal citizens went to the dwelling of his brother: "thence they repaired to the house of the Wizír Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-hakím, "who, however, received timely intelligence of their arrival and escaped. Thence, "after proclaiming, as they went along, the prince Abú-l-jiyúsh Nasr, they took the "direction of the royal palace, which they surrounded on all sides. In the mean "while the house of the Wizír Abú 'Abdillah[19] was attacked by the mob, and gutted "of all its valuable contents, besides the treasures which he had amassed in books,

"jewels, weapons, &c., which God alone could estimate. Towards the end of "the day, a party of the revolted went up to the Sultán, and, having removed "him from his palace to another house, compelled him to abdicate in favour "of his brother. Mohammed consented, witnesses were called in, and a deed "prepared which he signed. After this he retired to a pleasure-house outside "the capital, called the palace of Seyd, whence, after a short stay, he proceeded "to Almuñecar."

Compels him to abdicate.

No sooner was Nasr raised to the throne than he had to defend his dominions against enemies at home and abroad. The first act of his administration was to appoint to the charge of Wizír, 'Attík Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-múl, and after him, Mohammed Ibn 'Ala Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Al-háj,[20] by whose intrigues he was afterwards deprived of his throne.

Ferdinand of Castile takes Gibraltar.

In the year 709 (beginning June 10, A. D. 1309), the King of Castile, Herando (Fernando IV.), laid siege to Algesiras. He remained before that city from the 21st day of Safar till the end of Sha'bán, when, despairing of reducing the place, he raised the siege, though not without making himself master of Gibraltar. In the mean while, the Lord of Barcelona, another Christian king, arrived before Almeria in the first days of Rabi' the first, of the aforesaid year (August, A. D. 1309). He laid siege to the city, which he closely invested, after completely defeating an army sent for its relief. In this manner he remained encamped before the city, daily pressing the siege more and more, until, towards the end of Sha'bán, God Almighty was pleased to permit that the infidel should retire from before its walls.

The Aragonese besiege Almeria.

Revolt of Abú Sa'íd and his son Abú-l-walíd.

Scarcely was Nasr delivered from his enemies, the Christians, when all his attention was engrossed by the revolt of one of his relatives, named Abú Sa'íd Faraj, who was governor of Malaga and its district, as well as of Ceuta, which, as above related, the dethroned Sultán took in 705. Abú Sa'íd was the son of Isma'íl, the brother of Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar, the founder of the Nasserite dynasty. Having repaired to Granada for the purpose of tendering the oath of allegiance to Nasr, he was there persuaded by some of the chiefs and high functionaries at court to rise against the usurper. Accordingly, on his return to Malaga, Abú Sa'íd raised the standard of revolt, and caused his own son Abú-l-walíd Isma'íl to be proclaimed. This happened on the 17th day of Ramadhán of the year 709 (Feb. 18, A. D. 1310). Some months after, Abú-l-walíd marched to Antikeyrah (Antequera), of which he made himself master: the city of Almeria also submitted to him; not so Belesh (Velez), the inhabitants of which shut their gates and refused to admit him into their town; but Abú-l-walíd, having sent for some besieging engines, destroyed part of their walls and forced them to surrender.

Towards the end of Jumáda the second, of the year 710 (Nov. A. D. 1310), Nasr was suddenly struck by a fit of apoplexy: so severe was the attack that the physicians thought he was dead. No sooner was the news spread through Granada, than the partisans of the dethroned monarch hastened to Almuñecar, and besought him to assert his right to the throne. He, accordingly, set out for that city, borne in a litter, and entered Granada in the beginning of Rejeb of the same year (Nov. A. D. 1310). What was his astonishment, and that of his friends, to hear on their arrival that Nasr had recovered from his illness! By his brother's order, Mohammed was removed from the house where he alighted to the palace of his eldest brother Faraj, and in the first days of Shawwál of the same year (Feb. A. D. 1311) it was rumoured that he was dead. There are not wanting those who assert that he was privately put to death, and that his body was thrown into a fish-pond in the garden of the palace. He was buried in the cemetery of As-sabíkah,[21] by the side of his grandfather Al-ghálib-billah. He was born at Granada on Wednesday, the 3rd of Sha'bán, 655 (Aug. 16, A. D. 1257). He died on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwál, A. H. 713 (Jan. 26, A. D. 1314).

Whilst these events were happening, the rebel Abú Sa'íd and his son Abú-l-walíd were strengthening themselves in their position, and collecting forces with which to march against Granada. At length, on the 1st day of Moharram of the year 712 (May 8, A. D. 1312), Abú-lwalíd, having put himself at the head of his troops, advanced against Granada and encamped at a hamlet called Karyatu-l-'otashá,[22] at a short distance from that capital. Nasr went out to meet him, and on the 13th of the same month (May 18, A. D. 1312) a battle was fought, in which the former was defeated. Whilst fleeing the field of battle, Nasr was thrown off his horse into a pond for the use of cattle; he was, however, extricated with great difficulty by his own men, and reached Granada in safety. Abú-l-walíd returned triumphant to Malaga, where, soon after, in the month of Rabi' the first, he received from Nasr propositions of peace, which he accepted. Things were in this state when, in the month of Ramadhán of the year 713 (Dec. 27, A. D. 1213), a revolution broke out at Granada. The inhabitants of that city, being displeased with the administration of Nasr's Wizír, Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-háj, surrounded the palace of that Sultán, and vociferously demanded that the person of the obnoxious functionary should be given up to them. A sally made by the Sultán's guard soon dispersed the mob, and the chiefs of the insurrection fled for refuge to Malaga, where they persuaded Abú-l-walíd to assume the supreme command and march against the usurper. Abú-l-walíd did as they advised him, and, having marched to Lúshah (Loxa), reduced that city in Shawwál, 713 (January, A. D. 1314). From Loxa Abú-l-walíd returned to Malaga to provide himself with fresh stores, and

The latter defeats Nasr.

to guard against the inclemency of the weather, it being then winter time. He then marched to Arshidúnah (Archidona), where he was met by the Sultán's army, under the command of 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn 'Othmán. A battle ensued in which victory was long uncertain: at last the troops of Granada gave way and fled in the utmost confusion, being pursued by the victors to the very gates of the capital. The inhabitants of the Albayzin, one of the suburbs of Granada, having opened the gate of Elvira to Abú-l-walíd, he penetrated into the city, and, having surprised the old *kassábah*, made himself master of it, and took up his abode in the house which had once belonged to Ibnu-l-múl, the Wizír. Nasr fled to the Al-hamrá (Alhambra) with his women and treasures; but shortly after he was compelled to surrender and submit to the same conditions which he had imposed upon his brother Mohammed. He left Granada on the 21st of Shawwál, 713 (Feb. 8, A. D. 1314), and retired to Guadix.

Forces him to abdicate.

The reign of Abú-l-walíd Isma'íl Ibn Faraj was one of the most prosperous that the Moslems of Granada ever had. It is true that in the year 716 (beginning March 25, A. D. 1316) his army was defeated by the Castilians, who reduced Matamenos, Hisn-Bejíj (Bexixar), Hisn-Tishkar (Tiscar), and Thoghúr Rútt (the fortified lines of Rute); but three years after, in 719, the Moslems took ample revenge for those losses, and destroyed an army commanded by one of their princes, who himself perished in the action.

Battle of Elvira.

In the year 719 (Feb. 20, A. D. 1319), the Christian kings collected their forces against Granada, and the tyrant Don Betroh [23] [Pedro, Infante of Castile,] appeared before that city with innumerable forces, bringing with him no less than twenty-five Christian princes. The cause of the war was as follows: the Sultán Abú-l-walíd Isma'íl having repaired to the frontiers [of his kingdom] for the purpose of providing for their defence, and passing in review the troops stationed there, the Christians resolved upon attacking Algesiras. On the other hand, Abú-l-walíd having heard of their intentions, made every preparation to repel the invasion, collected troops, fitted out a fleet, and put his kingdom in a state of defence. The Christians, seeing the Moslems prepared to receive them, assembled at Toledo, and came to the determination of wresting the whole country from the hands of the Moslems.

To that end they made every warlike preparation, and collected immense stores, as well as war engines and besieging machines, which came to them by water from distant parts, and, when every thing was ready, they marched to Granada. Some writers add that the king, Don Betroh, repaired to Toledo, where he had a conference with the head of the church,[24] whom the Christians call *Bábá* (Pope); that he worshipped him, went on his knees before him, and communicated to

him his design of conquering whatever provinces still remained in the hands of the Moslems; that the *Bábá*, in short, strengthened him in his purpose. The Moslems of Granada and other cities had no sooner heard of the immense preparations made by the Christians than they began to tremble with fear, and decided upon imploring the help of Abú Sa'íd Al-meríní, Sultán of Fez. They accordingly sent an embassy to that sovereign, but it produced no effect, and the Moslems had no other resource left than to put their trust in God (may his name be exalted!). However, soon after the Franks arrived in sight of Granada, with forces so numerous that the earth was literally covered with them; but the victorious God, he who knows no partner in his victories, decreed that the Christian multitude should be routed, and their king, Don Pedro, slain, with all his suite. The affair happened thus: the Sultán Abú-l-walíd sent forward [against the Christians] the Sheykhu-l-ghozát[25] Abú Sa'íd 'Othmán Ibn Abí-l-'ala Al-meríní, with a chosen division of the bravest and best trained troops. Abú Sa'íd left Granada on Thursday, the 20th of Rabi' the first (May 12, A. D. 1319). On Saturday evening a body of Christian cavalry came suddenly down upon some villages, upon which Abú Sa'íd sent against them a body of mounted archers, who surrounded them and cut them off from the main body of their army. Some of them fled towards the camp of their king, and the Moslems pursued them all night till the morning of the next day, slaying all those who fell into their hands, so that but few escaped alive. This was the first victory. On Sunday, the Sheikh Abú Sa'íd marched to meet the enemy with five thousand Moslem warriors, all men of tried courage and experience. The Christians, seeing them in such small number, wondered how a handful of men dared attack so considerable an army as theirs was; yet the Moslems made so desperate an attack that the Christians gave way immediately, and began to fly in every direction; the Moslems pursuing them sword in hand for three days, and dealing death among them. Death of Don Pedro.
They say that the number of infidels slain on this occasion amounted to upwards of fifty thousand, besides as many more who perished in the river, owing to their not being well acquainted with the fords. As to those who died in the mountains and ravines of that district, their number was beyond computation. The whole of the twenty-five princes who had accompanied Don Pedro, as well as himself, fell in the action.[26] The battle over, the people of Granada went out to collect the spoils of the enemy and to bring back the prisoners. The spoils were immense, consisting of forty-three hundred weight of gold, and one hundred and forty hundred weight of silver, besides weapons, armour, horses, &c. The number of prisoners amounted to seven thousand,—it is so stated in a letter which a citizen of Granada

wrote to a friend of his in Egypt,—and the spoil found on the field was so great that, for six months after the battle, prisoners, horses, and property belonging to the Christians, were sold in the markets of Granada. The news, moreover, of this splendid victory was sent to the most remote parts [inhabited by Moslems]. Among the prisoners were the wife and children of the king, and although she offered for her ransom the city of Tarifa and the fortress of Jebalu-l-fatah (Gibraltar) and eighteen more castles of that district, the Moslems would not accept of it, and she remained in captivity. As to the Christian king, Don Pedro, he was slain during the action, and his skin, being stripped from his body, was stuffed with cotton, and suspended over the gate of Granada, where it remained for years. A very extraordinary circumstance connected with this battle is that only thirteen horsemen, others say ten, were slain on the side of the Moslems, whose whole force consisted only of fifteen hundred horse and four thousand foot, or even less; whereas the loss of the Christians, who were as numerous as the sands of the desert, was truly enormous. Ibnu-l-khattíb places this memorable battle on the 6th of Jumáda the first, 719 (June 26, A. D. 1319).[27] He says that the body of Don Pedro was put in a wooden coffin and suspended from the walls close to the gate of Ya'kúb, to the left-hand side as one comes down from the Alhambra.

Taking of Christian fortresses.

After this defeat the Christians sued for peace, which was granted to them; but at the expiration of the truce, Isma'íl took the field in person and besieged the fortress of Ashkar, close to Baeza. As its defences were strong and the walls very thick, he attacked it with his largest engines loaded with naphtha, by means of which he threw into the place large iron balls.[28] One of these fell on the top of one of the towers and destroyed it completely, upon which the garrison were so terrified that they surrendered to him on the 24th of Rejeb, 724 (July 17, A. D. 1324).

On the 10th of Rejeb, 725 (June 22, A. D. 1325), Isma'íl marched to Martosh (Martos), which he invested and took after a short siege. Shortly after his return from that expedition Isma'íl was assassinated by a cousin of his named Mohammed, who was the son of Isma'íl, better known by the surname of *Sáhibu-l-jezírah* (the governor of Algesiras). Mohammed had been present at the siege of Martos: having whilst there been guilty of some misdemeanour, he was summoned before his sovereign, who, in the presence of the assembled courtiers, reproved him for his conduct and spoke very severely to him. Mohammed resented the insult, and swore to revenge it. On his return to Granada he watched his opportunity, and, with the aid of his relatives and servants, attacked and murdered Isma'íl as he was going from his palace to a *mejless* or temporary throne which had been

Assassination of Isma'íl.

erected for the purpose of his administering justice to his subjects. This happened on Tuesday, the 27th of Rejeb, 725, three days after his return from Martos (July 18, A. D. 1325). Isma'íl left four sons: Mohammed, who succeeded him on the throne; Faraj, who died a prisoner in the citadel of Almeria in 751; Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf, who was also Sultán; and, lastly, Isma'íl.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of Mohammed IV.—Gibraltar recovered from the Christians—Its fortifications repaired by Abú-l-hasan—The Africans put to death the King of Granada—His brother Yúsuf succeeds him—Battle of Tarifa—Assassination of Yúsuf—Accession of Mohammed V.—His half-brother Isma'íl revolts against him—Mohammed takes refuge in Guadix—Crosses over to Africa—Ibnu-l-khattíb's account of these transactions—Isma'íl is dethroned and put to death—Is succeeded by Mohammed VI.—Assassination of the latter by Pedro, King of Castile—Mohammed V. recovers his kingdom—Lamentable fate of his Wizír, Ibnu-l-khattíb.

Accession of Mohammed IV.

ISMA'ÍL was succeeded by his son Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah, who was born on the eighth day of Moharram, 715, (April 14, A. D. 1315). Soon after his accession he marched in person against the Christians, and took from them the city of Kabrah (Cabra). He also besieged Kasharah (Casares?), and would have taken it, had not the Castilians thrown succours into the place.

Gibraltar recovered from the Christians.

In the days of this Sultán the fortress of *Jebal-Tárik* (the mountain of Tárik), or, as it is otherwise called, *Jebal-Al-fath* (mountain of the entrance or victory), was wrested from the Christians, after having been in their possession upwards of twenty years.

We have stated elsewhere (p. 345) that, owing to the intimate alliance existing between the Kings of Granada and the Sultáns of the race of 'Abdu-l-hakk or Bení Merín, as well as to the frequent expeditions which the latter sent to Andalus for the purpose of assisting their Moslem brethren in their contest against the infidels, Gibraltar, Algesiras, Tarifa, and other ports of that coast, had been intrusted to their keeping by one of the Sultáns of Granada. In the year 708, however, the Castilians, profiting by the absence of a portion of the African garrison, which had been summoned to Africa, invested Gibraltar and made themselves masters of it without much difficulty. When the news of this disaster reached Africa, Abú-l-hasan ['Alí Ibn 'Othmán] Al-meríní, Sultán of Fez, who knew the importance

of that fortress, and had spent his treasures in repairing and increasing the fortifications, resolved upon wresting the valuable prize from the enemy. Accordingly, taking with him one of his sons,[1] Abú-l-hasan sailed thither with his fleet, and, being soon after his landing joined by the troops of Granada under the command of Mohammed himself, he closely invested the place, and made himself master of it.

Its fortifications repaired by Abú-l-hasan.

No sooner had Abú-l-hasan reduced Gibraltar under his sway than he began to give his attention to repairing its buildings and increasing its fortifications, spending immense sums of money in building houses and magazines, as well as a *jámi'* or principal mosque, and erecting new walls, towers, and even a citadel.[2] Before, however, these improvements were fully completed, the Christians invested Gibraltar by sea and land; but their attempt was frustrated by the gallant defence of the Moslems, commanded by the King of Granada, and they were compelled to raise the siege. After this the Sultán Abú-l-hasan again applied himself further to strengthen Gibraltar, by causing a thick wall to be built at the foot of the rock, surrounding it on all sides, as the halo surrounds the crescent moon; so that the enemy could discover no prospect of success in attacking it, nor did there appear any way through which he could force an entrance. In the course of time, however, Algesiras became the prey of the infidels in consequence of the defeat which Abú-l-hasan, together with Ibnu-l-ahmar [Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf], suffered at Tarifa; and Gibraltar was afterwards taken from the Bení Merín by Mohammed, surnamed Al-ghani-billah, Sultán of Granada, to whom Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb was Wizír.

The Africans put to death the King of Granada.

But to return. Soon after the Christians had raised the siege of Gibraltar, the Sultán Mohammed was assassinated by some African officers to whom he had rendered himself obnoxious. As he was one day about to embark [for his dominions] he was assailed by a party of horsemen who lay concealed behind a projecting rock, and put to death. His mangled body, stripped of every thing, remained exposed on the ground, but was afterwards carried to Malaga and interred in the public cemetery close to the Mun'yat or country villa of Seyd.[3]

His brother Yúsuf succeeds him.

On the same day on which Mohammed was assassinated, that is to say, on Wednesday, the 13th of Dhí-l-hajjah, 733 (Aug. 24, A. D. 1333), his brother Yúsuf, who was then at Wáda Sefáyin (the river of the ships),[4] close to Algesiras, was proclaimed [by the army]: he was then nearly sixteen years old. It was he who, in Shawwál, 749 (January, A. D. 1349), appointed Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb to the office of Wizír. During his reign the Africans under Abú-l-hasan were defeated near Tarifa with awful loss. An African historian expresses himself thus in relation to that deplorable event.

Battle of Tarifa.

"Having crossed the Strait for the laudable purpose of waging war against the "infidels and helping the Moslems of Granada in their desperate struggle with "the Christian power, as had once been the custom of his noble ancestors, as "well as of almost all the sovereigns of the different dynasties that ruled over "Western Africa, Abú-l-hasan landed on the coast of Andalus with an army "amounting to upwards of sixty thousand men, and was immediately joined by "the forces of Granada, under the command of Abú-l-hejáj. Alas! God Almighty, "whose decrees are infallibly executed upon his creatures, had decided in his "infinite wisdom that this proud armament should be dispersed like the dust "before the wind, and that Abú-l-hasan himself should return to his dominions "vanquished and fugitive,—that the sharp-edged swords of the infidels should shine "over his head and those of his men. We will not inquire how it happened; "but the fact is, that thousands of Moslems won that day the crown of martyrdom; "that the ranks of doctors and theologians were frightfully thinned, the law of the "sword being executed on their throats: the Sultán's own son, and all his harem, "fell into the hands of the victorious enemy; his treasures became the prey of "the idolaters, who from that day thought of nothing short of subjecting the rest "of Andalus to their abominable rule. Among the illustrious Moslems who "perished on that occasion was 'Abdullah As-salmání, the father of the Wizír "Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb. He was an able physician and an eminent scholar. "The battle of Tarifa[5] was fought on Monday, the 7th of Jumáda the first, of "the year 741 (Oct. 29, A. D. 1340)."

Yúsuf Abú-l-hejáj was one of the most enlightened sovereigns of the Nasserite dynasty. In his days justice was administered with an even hand, literature and science flourished, and public order prevailed. Unluckily for the Moslems of Andalus, his reign was not of long duration; for, in the year 755 (beginning Jan. 25, A. D. 1354), he was assassinated by a madman whilst performing his devotions in the mosque of his palace. The event is thus described in a letter which the Wizír Ibnu-l-khattíb addressed, in the name of his brother and successor, Mohammed, to Abú 'Inán [Fáris], Sultán of Western Africa.

Assassination of Yúsuf.

"As Abú-l-hejáj was performing the last prostration of his prayer, a madman "rushed upon him and wounded him with a *khanjar* or yataghán. The assassin "was immediately secured. The Sultán, who had been mortally wounded, made "some signs, as if he wished to speak; but, after uttering a few unintelligible "words, he was carried senseless to his palace, where he died shortly after his "arrival. The assassin, in the mean time, was given up to the infuriated mob, "who murdered him and burned his body. Abú-l-hejáj was interred on the "evening of Sunday within the Alhambra, in the cemetery reserved for the princes

" of the royal family. He left three sons: Mohammed, who succeeded him; " Isma'íl, and Kays."

Accession of Mohammed V

Mohammed, surnamed *Al-ghani-billah* (he who is contented with God), succeeded. Some time after his accession he dispatched to Fez his Wizír, Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, with instructions to implore the aid of Abú 'Inán [Fáris], son of Abú-l-hasan, against the common foe. Upon being introduced to the Sultán's presence, and before he had delivered the message of which he was the bearer, Ibnu-l-khattíb uttered extempore some verses which called forth the admiration of all those present, and were so much approved of by the Sultán, that before listening to what Ibnu-l-khattíb had to say, he told him, 'By Allah! I do not know what the object of thy visit is, but whatever it may be, I from this moment grant thy request;' and so he did, for, after loading him with presents of all kinds, he promised to send troops to the assistance of his master, and dismissed him highly pleased and satisfied with the result of his mission. This circumstance elicited from the celebrated Kádí Abú-l-kásim Ash-sheríf, who formed also part of the embassy, the very just remark, that there never was an ambassador who obtained the object of his mission before he had made it known, save Ibnu-l-khattíb.

His half-brother Isma'íl revolts against him.

" Mohammed had reigned scarcely five years," says the historian Ibnu Khaldún, " when a half-brother of his, named Isma'íl, assisted by another of his relatives, of the " name of Abú Sa'íd, revolted in Granada; and, taking advantage of the absence " of the Sultán, who was then residing at a country place out of the Alhambra, " scaled at night the walls of that fortress, and made himself master of it, after " putting to death Redwán, the Wizír of Mohammed. This took place on the " 27th day of Ramadhán, 760 (Aug. 23, A. D. 1359), and, on the following day, " Isma'íl Abú-l-walíd was proclaimed by the troops and the citizens.

Mohammed takes refuge in Guadix.

" In the mean time the dethroned Sultán, having found means to escape from " his pursuers, repaired to Guadix, where he established his authority. When " the news of this revolution and the murder of Redwán reached Fez, the " Sultán, Abú Sálim, was highly displeased, for he was the friend both of " Mohammed and his minister. He sent immediately [to Andalus] a theologian " of his court, named Abú-l-kásim Ibn Sheríf,[6] with instructions to invite the " deposed Sultán to his court. On his arrival [at Granada], Abú-l-kásim nego-" tiated with the great officers of the state and the ministers of the usurper, " that Mohammed should be allowed to leave Guadix and proceed to Africa " unmolested, and that all those individuals who had been arrested and imprisoned " for their fidelity to the deposed Sultán should be set at liberty. In their number " was the Kátib Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-khattíb, who, owing to his intimacy with

"the Hájib Redwán, and his well-known attachment to the dethroned Sultán, had "been confined to prison. Another writer says that Ibnu-l-khattíb owed his "liberation to Ibn Marzúk,[7] the Wizír of Abú Sálim, who was an old friend of "his ever since his stay at Granada; for he had no sooner heard of his friend's "imprisonment than he prevailed upon his master the Sultán, whose confidence "he enjoyed, to send an embassy to Andalus, &c. However this may be, Ibnu-l-"khattíb was released and allowed to proceed to Guadix in company with Abú-l-"kásim, the African ambassador. On his arrival there, Ibnu-l-khattíb found his "master preparing to cross over to Africa. Mohammed took his departure at "the end of Dhí-l-ka'dah, and he accompanied him and arrived in this country "at the end of 760 (Nov. A. D. 1359). On the news of Mohammed's approach, "Abú Sálim went out in state to receive him, and he was soon after admitted "into a hall of the royal palace crowded with courtiers, theologians, poets, and "doctors. It was on this occasion that his Wizír, Ibnu-l-khattíb, uttered ex-"tempore that celebrated ode of his, rhyming in *ra*, the argument of which was "to implore his aid in favour of his master, and to ask him to restore him to "the possession of his throne.

Crosses over to Africa.

'O Vicar of God! May the Almighty increase thy power as the full moon 'shines through the shadows of night.

'May the hands of his omnipotence avert from thee that [evil] against 'which mortals have no power.'"[8]

Ibnu Khaldún, from whom the above details are borrowed,[9] says, "Such was "the effect produced upon the audience by Ibnu-l-khattíb's verses that they were "unable to suppress their tears. When the interview was over, Mohammed "retired to the palace which had been prepared for him, the apartments of which "he found strewed with the finest carpets, and the stables well provided with "generous steeds, with their trappings and saddles ornamented with gold. Hand-"some robes of the most costly stuffs were sent in, as well as slave girls for him "and those of his suite; in short, nothing was wanting to make their residence "at court agreeable. Mohammed, moreover, was treated with every distinction, "and, whether he rode or walked out of his palace, the same honours were paid "to him as to the Sultán, only that Mohammed would never assume the titles "of royalty, out of respect for his host. Mohammed and his suite stayed at "Fez until the year 763, when they all returned to Andalus, and that Sultán "regained possession of his throne."

So far Ibnu Khaldún, whose narrative differs in some material points from that of Ibnu-l-khattíb, since he places the revolution of Granada and the murder of Redwán on the 27th of Ramadhán, and the latter writer, who is no doubt right,

says that it happened on the 28th. The date of Mohammed's departure from Guadix is also differently given. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his *Lamahatu-l-bedriyyah*, says "that it took place the day after the festival of the victims (the 11th of Dhí-l-"hajjah);" Ibnu Khaldún says, in Dhí-l-ka'dah; but perhaps this was an error of the scribe, who, instead of Dhí-l-hajjah, wrote Dhí-l-ka'dah. But as we are enabled to furnish the lovers of information with Ibnu-l-khattíb's own account of these transactions, we will transcribe it here, in order that they may compare the narratives of both historians.

Ibnu-l-khattíb's account of these transactions.

Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his historical work entitled *Al-lamahatu-l-bedriyyah fí táríkh daulati-n-nasriyyah* (the shining rays of the full moon: on the history of the Nasserite dynasty), says, "The Sultán Abú 'Abdillah had upon his "accession to the throne confined his half-brother Isma'íl to one of his father's "palaces, near the river Dároh (Darro), which he provided with every thing required "for that prince's comfort, allowing him besides a considerable pension upon his "treasury. He had also sent thither Fátimah, the prince's mother, and all her sons. "It appears, however, that on hearing of Yúsuf's death, the mother of Isma'íl was "enabled, through the treasures which the deceased had left in her apartments, "to create a party against his son Mohammed. Fátimah had a daughter whom "Abú-l-hejáj had married to his nephew the Reys Abú 'Abdillah, son of the Reys "Abú-l-walíd, son of the Reys Abú 'Abdillah (he who was once proclaimed king at "Andarax),[10] son of the Reys Abú Sa'íd, the father of their race, and the stock "from which the other branches of the family were descended. This daughter "Fátimah gained over to her interests, and she persuaded her husband to enter into "the plot. The Reys Abú 'Abdillah, having therefore succeeded in attaching to his "party all the discontented, sallied forth one night with about one hundred armed "men, and directed his course towards a certain quarter of the Alhambra. Here, "however, he found himself suddenly stopped by walls of considerable height, "which he had not the means of scaling; but ladders were procured, and the "conspirators ascended to the ramparts. Having put to death a sentry who "came in their way, in order to secure his silence, they rushed sword in hand "within the precincts of the castle, uttering seditious cries, and murdering all "those whom they happened to meet. This took place a little before daybreak "on the 28th of Ramadhán of the year 760 (Aug. 24, A. D. 1359). The con-"spirators first attacked the residence of the Hájib Redwán,[11] and breaking open "the doors, rushed into his harem and murdered him amongst his children and "wives; after which they fell to plundering the contents of his house. In the "mean time another division of the conspirators, with the Reys at their head, "hastened to Isma'íl's place of confinement, and having liberated him, made

"him mount a horse which they had brought for the purpose, and took him "triumphantly through the city, beating drums, and proclaiming him as their "Sultán.

"At the time these events were taking place, the Sultán Mohammed was absent "from the Alhambra, having gone, together with a son of his, to reside at a "delightful country seat close to Granada, called *Jennatu-l-'arif* (the garden of "the inspector),[12] a spot well known for the luxuriance of its trees, which never "admit the rays of the sun, as well as for the healthiness of the air, which is "continually refreshed by running streams of limpid water. This garden was "only separated from the royal residence by a high and strong wall, defended "by a deep moat. In this place the Sultán was suddenly awakened by the clatter "of arms, the cries of the assailants, and the beating of drums in the distance. "Not knowing what caused the tumult, Mohammed went out in the direction "of the Alhambra; but finding that the conspirators occupied all the avenues, "he retraced his steps, and God was pleased to provide for his salvation; for, "having mounted a fleet steed which was always kept saddled and prepared for "him, he galloped off to Guadix, where he arrived safely the same morning, and "presented himself to the governor of the castle, who was very far from suspecting "what had happened to him. Mohammed was soon after visited by the chief "inhabitants of the place, who all swore to protect him, so that he not only "reigned undisturbed over Guadix and its immediate neighbourhood, but soon "saw himself at the head of numerous followers, who hastened to him from all "parts.

"Meanwhile his brother, the usurper, dispatched an embassy to the King of "Castile, offering to renew the treaty of peace then existing between the two "countries. Pedro—for such was the name of the Christian king at the time—"happening then to be at war with the people of Barcelona, readily assented to "the proposition. Isma'íl, however, did not long enjoy the power which he had "usurped. Scarcely were six months elapsed since his proclamation, when the "same man who had contributed to his accession precipitated him from his throne. "Abú 'Abdillah revolted against him, besieged him in the Alhambra, took him "prisoner, and put him to death, together with his brother Kays, on the 4th "of Sha'bán, 761 (June 20, A. D. 1360). Isma'íl was born on Monday, the 28th "of Rabi' the first, of 740 (Oct. 3, A. D. 1339); he was surnamed Abú-l-walíd.

Isma'íl is dethroned and put to death.

Is succeeded by Mohammed VI.

"Abú 'Abdillah [Mohammed VI.[13]] was immediately proclaimed, and reigned "for about two years, at the expiration of which, seeing himself pressed on one "side by the rightful sovereign, who burned to revenge the outrage done to him, "and to recover the throne of his ancestors, and on the other side by Pedro, King

"of Castile, he came to the strange resolution of throwing himself on the mercy "of the latter and repairing to his court. He might just as well have thrown "himself into the mouth of a hungry tiger thirsting for blood; for no sooner "had the infidel dog cast his eye over the countless treasures which Mohammed "and the chiefs who composed his suite brought with them, than he conceived "the wicked design of murdering them and appropriating their riches; and on "the 2nd day of Rejeb, 763 (April 27, A. D. 1362), he was assassinated, with all "his followers, at a place called Tablada, close to Seville.

Assassination of the latter by Pedro, King of Castile.

"But to return to the dethroned Sultán: the people of Guadix persevered firmly "in their allegiance to him, protected his person, and swore to devote their lives "and property to his defence. Things continued thus until the day of the "festival of the victims, [10th Dhí-l-hajjah] of the year 760 (A. D. Nov. 2, 1359), "when an ambassador of the Sultán of Western Africa came to Guadix to say "that if Mohammed would repair to his court and fix his residence in Fez, he "would be treated as a friend and ally. Soon after his dethronement, Mohammed "had sent an embassy to the king of the Christians, imploring his help against "the usurper. Pedro received his ambassadors well, but dismissed them with "only vague promises of help. Seeing, therefore, that his request was not com- "plied with, Mohammed resolved upon accepting the Sultán's offer, and he "accordingly set off on his journey on the day after that festival [11th of Dhí-l- "hajjah], followed by a numerous retinue of the inhabitants of Guadix, some on "horseback and others on foot. Mohammed arrived at Marbella,[14] on the coast, "whence he crossed over to Africa. He made his public entrance into Fez "on the 6th day of Moharram of 761 (Nov. 27, A. D. 1359), after experiencing "on his way thither the greatest marks of distinction and hospitality. On his "approach the Sultán rode out to meet him, and having embraced him with the "greatest cordiality, conducted him to his capital, where he allotted him a fine "palace for his residence, and a considerable pension for his daily expenses.

"At last, on the morning of Saturday, the 27th of the month of Shawwál of the "year 762 (Aug. 29, A. D. 1361), after a stay of upwards of twenty-one months, "Mohammed returned to Andalus. During his absence in Africa, the King of "Castile had often sought his alliance, and made the result of his operations "depend upon the Sultán's arrival. Soon after his arrival [at Guadix], the Sultán "caused a *kubbah* or pavilion to be erected close to the garden of Al-mussárah, "in order to review his followers. When the people had assembled round "him, and he had ordered the banner to be unfurled, he put on the regal dress "which had been presented to him by the Sultán of Western Africa, and, in "the midst of popular acclamations, and the beating of drums and playing of

"instruments, his horse being led by the bridle, he proceeded to manifest his "intention of marching against the enemy. His authority was so much increased "by this public manifestation of his sentiments, that his party was soon strengthened "by all those who had been formerly obliged to quit the country, and who now "flocked under his standard; and Mohammed had thus an opportunity of judging "how much he was beloved by the generality of his subjects, from the alacrity "with which they hastened to place themselves under his obedience, and the "joyful voices with which they proclaimed his name. Indeed, God Almighty was "pleased to receive our good master under the shade of his mercy, and to incline "in his favour the hearts of his subjects, by persuading them that he was injured "and ill-treated by the usurper. Mohammed, therefore, was defended by the "brave, and his cause speedily embraced by the righteous and the honest. He "is now residing in Ronda, where he has established his rule and reigns un-"disturbed, as well as over the neighbouring districts. The charge of Wizír to "this Sultán is now filled by the Sheikh and Káyid Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf "Ibn Komáshah Al-hosrí, and that of Kátib or secretary by the Faquih Abú "'Abdillah Ibn Zomrad."

The above is borrowed from the *Lamahatu-l-bedriyyah fi táríkh daulati-n-nasriyyah*, so often quoted in the course of our narrative. The reader, however, must know that after the death of the usurper, Abú 'Abdillah, who, as before related, was assassinated by the tyrant Don Pedro, Mohammed returned to Granada and recovered his lost kingdom. We find that he made his triumphant entry into his capital on Saturday, the 20th of Jumáda the second, 763 (April 6, A. D. 1362).

Mohammed V. recovers his kingdom.

We have already stated that after a short stay in Africa, Mohammed returned to Andalus, and regained possession of his father's dominions in 763. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb this happened thus: "On the first breaking out of the rebellion "by which Mohammed was deprived of his throne, 'Othmán Ibn Yahya Ibn "'Omar, *Sheikhu-l-ghozát*, or commander of the African volunteers, fearing the "vengeance of the usurper Isma'íl, deserted over to the Castilians in company "with his father. Shortly after, Yahya crossed over to Africa, but 'Othmán "remained in Andalus, supporting with all his might the cause of the deposed "Sultán. Perceiving, however, that the Castilian king was unwilling to grant "the promised assistance, and that he could not otherwise serve his master's "cause, 'Othmán wrote to 'Omar Ibn 'Abdillah, at that time Wizír of Abú Sálim, "asking to be put in possession of one of the fortresses still held in Andalus "by the Bení Merín, that he might thence wage war against the usurper. It "happened that the above Wizír was a great friend of mine, as there had existed "between us an intimacy of very long standing, and my master having con-

" sulted with me about 'Othmán's proposition, I approved of it, and went imme-
" diately to the dwelling of the Wizír 'Omar, who, at my request, issued orders
" that the castle of Ronda should be given up to the friends of the deposed Sultán,
" which was done, 'Othmán taking immediate possession of it in his name. Shortly
" after, Mohammed sailed for Andalus; and his presence having infused new vigour
" into the souls of his partisans, the whole of the *Gharbia* or western districts
" submitted to him: he then took Malaga, and marched to Granada, which sur-
" rendered to him without opposition, and he thus saw himself again in possession
" of his father's dominions."

Ibnu-l-khattíb had remained behind in Africa for the purpose of escorting the wives and sons of Mohammed, whom that Sultán left behind on his departure for Andalus. Immediately after his return [to Granada], he was restored to the post of Wizír, which he occupied before, and to the unlimited confidence of his sovereign, especially after the disgrace of 'Othmán, who was exiled to Africa in Ramadhán of the year 764 (June or July, A. D. 1363); but, alas! envy, against whose poisonous shafts no mortal stands secure, chose him for the butt of her malignity, and he fell a victim to the most atrocious calumny, and the most perfidious and treacherous slander, as we will hereafter relate.

Lamentable fate of his Wizír, Ibnu-l-khattíb.

It would appear that the great favour which Ibnu-l-khattíb enjoyed with his sovereign—who showed such regard and affection for him that he would consult him on the most trifling business, and admit him and his sons to his private parties—displeased some envious and ill-intentioned people about the court, who from that moment began to indispose the mind of the Sultán towards him by calumnies and false reports. Ibnu-l-khattíb, however, having received timely intelligence of their wicked plans, sought to avert the intended blow by embracing the party, and serving the cause, of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Abú-l-hasan, Sultán of Western Africa, against his cousin 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Yaghalús, son of the Sultán Abú 'Alí, son of the Sultán Abú Sa'íd, son of the Sultán Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk, who was a competitor for the empire. After many events and wars, which it would take us too long to relate, 'Abdu-r-rahmán had been obliged to cross over to Andalus, together with his Wizír Mes'úd Ibn Másái, and to take refuge in Granada, where they were kindly received by the Sultán in 767. Shortly after, 'Alí, son of Bedru-d-dín, who occupied the post of *Sheikhu-l-ghozát*, or general of the African volunteers in Granada, died, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán was appointed to the vacant office. This show of favour towards the exiled prince displeased 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who had no sooner solidly established his power by the death of the Wizír 'Omar Ibn 'Abdillah, whom he caused to be executed, than he dispatched an embassy to the Sultán of Granada, to complain bitterly of his having given

shelter to his enemy, whom he knew to be in correspondence with the discontented in Africa, and to ask him to deliver this enemy into his hands. On the receipt of this message Mohammed was greatly perplexed, and having consulted with Ibnu-l-khattíb, the latter advised him to seize the persons of Ibn Abí Yaghalús and his Wizír Mes'úd, and thereby free himself from all responsibility, on condition, however, that 'Abdu-l-'azíz should restore them to all the honours and dignities of which they were in possession before their revolt. Mohammed followed the advice of his Wizír, and an agreement was accordingly entered into between that sovereign on one side, and the ambassador of the Sultán 'Abdu-l-'azíz, named Abú Yahya Ibn Abí Medín, on the other, purporting that both 'Abdu-r-rahmán and his Wizír Ibn Másái should be arrested, which was done. Shortly after this, Ibnu-l-khattíb, having received intelligence that his enemies were again at work, and had strongly prejudiced the mind of his sovereign against him, fled from Granada. He no doubt imagined that the Sultán would in the end listen to their calumnies, and that as they were his sworn enemies, he had no chance of escape from them. However this may be, having asked his master's leave to visit the frontiers, he hastened thither, accompanied by a handful of horsemen, taking with him his eldest son 'Alí, who was a favourite of Mohammed. Having arrived at Jebalu-l-fatah (Gibraltar), he embarked on board a vessel which 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who was in the secret, held in readiness for him, and sailed for Ceuta, where he arrived after a few hours' passage, and was received by 'Abdu-l-'azíz with every mark of attention and respect.

In 774, 'Abdu-l-'azíz died, and was succeeded by As-sa'íd Ibn Abí Fáris, then an infant; upon which the Bení Merín, leaving Telemsán, returned to Western Africa. Ibnu-l-khattíb went thither also in the suite of the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází, who was then at the head of affairs, and settled at Fez, where he bought houses and lands, and passed his time in building and planting, intending to fix his residence in that city. Abú Bekr, moreover, confirmed Ibnu-l-khattíb in all the honours and prerogatives which he had enjoyed under the Sultán 'Abdu-l-'azíz. In the mean time, Mohammed of Granada, having discovered the flight of his Wizír, was exceedingly angry with him, and even swore to put him to death if ever he should fall into his hands. Ibnu Khaldún says, that during his residence at Telemsán, Ibnu-l-khattíb had instigated the Sultán 'Abdu-l-'azíz to take possession of Andalus, and that he had described to him the facility of the enterprise; and it is even added that 'Abdu-l-'azíz went from Telemsán to Western Africa for the express purpose of making preparations for the expedition. When Ibnu-l-ahmar (Mohammed) received intelligence of his plans, he sent him an embassy with a splendid present, consisting of different objects of Andalusian manufacture,

besides fine horses, swift mules, handsome Christian slaves, and so forth, asking that his Wizír Ibnu-l-khattíb should be given up to him. 'Abdu-l-'azíz, however, refused to grant his request, and Ibnu-l-khattíb remained at his court, enjoying all his favour and confidence. On the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, Ibnu-l-ahmar (Mohammed) renewed his solicitations with the Wizír Abú Bekr; but he was again refused, and his ambassador even dismissed from court. Enraged at the insult, Ibnu-l-ahmar released 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Alí Yaghalús from his captivity, and having provided him with a fleet, sent him over to Africa. He himself left Granada, at the head of considerable forces, and laid siege to Gibraltar. Hearing of his movements, Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází sent to Ceuta a cousin of his named Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, to defend that place against any attempt of Ibnu-l-ahmar, whilst he himself marched to encounter 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who had been proclaimed by the inhabitants of Battúyyah. After besieging him some time in that town, Abú Bekr raised the siege and retired to Tezzá, and thence to Fez; upon which his enemy advanced upon the former city and made himself master of it. Whilst the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází was deliberating as to what steps he should take, news came to him how his cousin, Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, had proclaimed at Ceuta Ahmed Ibn Abí Sálim, better known by his surname of *Dhú-l-daulateyn* (he of the two reigns), because he was twice Sultán, this being the first time. The reasons which prompted that governor to take such a step are said to have been as follow. During the siege of Gibraltar, which Mohammed reduced almost to the last extremity, a correspondence was established between that Sultán and Ibn 'Othmán, in which the latter failed not to complain most bitterly of the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází, and to declare that he was prompted to make war by no other reason than the uncourteous manner in which his just request had been denied. The two parties soon came to an understanding; it being agreed between them that Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán should immediately proclaim at Ceuta one of the sons of the Sultán Abú Sálim, who were in custody at Tangiers, by which means the Moslems would have a grown-up prince for their ruler instead of a mere child, as As-sa'íd Ibn Abí Fáris was at the time; and the choice of Ibnu-l-ahmar fell on Ahmed Ibn Abí Sálim, whom he saved, as it were, from certain death. Ibnu-l-ahmar, moreover, entered into a compact with Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, the conditions of which were,—first, that the fortress of Gibraltar should be given up to him; that all the princes of the Bení Merín should be sent over to him, that they might be under his custody and keeping; and, lastly, that the person of Ibnu-l-khattíb should be delivered into his hands. Mohammed having accepted the above conditions, rode from Ceuta to Tangiers, and having released Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed [Ibn Abí Sálim] from his place of confinement, took the oath of

allegiance to him, and induced the inhabitants to do the same, their example being soon after followed by the inhabitants of Ceuta and Gibraltar; upon which Ibnu-l-ahmar raised the siege of that fortress and went away. Shortly after, Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán sent orders, in his master's name, to the governor of Gibraltar, to surrender the place to Ibnu-l-ahmar; upon which that Sultán hastened thither from Malaga, and as the inhabitants were desirous to return under his rule, he took possession of that important fortress, the last which the Bení Merín ever possessed in Andalus. Ibnu-l-ahmar then sent a splendid present to Abú-l-'abbás, and at the same time sent him a body of troops, and a considerable sum of money, to help him in his enterprise. After many events and wars, which we pass over at present,—as it is our intention to relate them at full length in another part of this work,—Abú-l-'abbás defeated his adversary, and at the beginning of 776 (June, A. D. 1374), took possession of Fez, into which he made his triumphant entry, accompanied by his Wizír Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán, and Suleymán Ibn Dáwúd, the chief of the Bení 'Askar.

We have already stated that an agreement had been entered into between Abú-l-'abbás and the Sultán Ibnu-l-ahmar [Mohammed V.], at the time the former was proclaimed at Tangiers, that as soon as he gained possession of the throne he would seize on Ibnu-l-khattíb and deliver him up to him. Accordingly, when the Sultán Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed, after defeating the troops commanded by Abú Bekr Ibn Ghází in the outskirts of Fez, invested that capital, Ibnu-l-khattíb, fearing for his life, fled with him to new Fez. A few days after, Suleymán Ibn Dáwúd put the Sultán in mind of his promise, and Ibnu-l-khattíb was accordingly arrested and confined to a dungeon, and messengers were dispatched to apprise Ibnu-l-ahmar of his capture. This Suleymán was the sworn enemy of Ibnu-l-khattíb, owing to the following reason. During his residence in Africa, Mohammed had promised him that if ever he was restored to his kingdom, he would appoint him to the office of *Sheikhu-l-ghozát*, or general of the African volunteers. Accordingly, no sooner had Mohammed reconquered his kingdom, than Suleymán crossed over from Africa, sent by the Wizír 'Omar Ibn 'Abdillah, asking for the fulfilment of his promise; but this was opposed by Ibnu-l-khattíb on the plea that the office could not be filled except by princes of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-hakk, and his application was accordingly refused. Suleymán, therefore, had to return to Africa disappointed, and swearing revenge against Ibnu-l-khattíb. Subsequently to this, Suleymán returned to Andalus to take the command of Gibraltar, the government of which had been given to him, when an official correspondence was necessarily kept up between the two, in which they not unfrequently disclosed the hatred and animosity which they entertained for each other. However, when the news

of Ibnu-l-khattíb's capture reached Granada, Ibnu-l-ahmar sent for Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Zomrok,[15] who had succeeded Ibnu-l-khattíb in the office of Kátib and Wizír, and sent him to Africa with instructions. Abú 'Abdillah having presented his credentials to the Sultán Abú-l-'abbás, Ibnu-l-khattíb was sent for and made to appear before a privy council, presided over by that Sultán in person. He was then charged with certain expressions contained in letters written to his friends, in which he had cast ridicule over Abú-l-'abbás, and when the witnesses had been examined he was conducted back to prison. The judges were then consulted whether he deserved death or not. A theologian of Fez undertook the defence of Ibnu-l-khattíb, upon which Suleymán, fearing lest his innocence should be proved, and he should lose the pleasure of anticipated vengeance, secretly instigated some of his own servants to put that illustrious individual to death. The assassins did as they were ordered; they went to Ibnu-l-khattíb's prison at night, accompanied by a dwarf, who had come in the suite of the Granadian ambassador, and strangled him. On the ensuing day his body was taken to the cemetery close to Bábu-l-mahrúk, and there buried. Thus perished the phœnix of the age, the prince of the poets and historians of his time, and the model of Wizírs.

During our stay in Fez we visited several times the spot where that eminent man lies buried, which, as above stated, is close to the gate formerly called *Bábu-sh-shar'iah* (the gate of the law), and now *Bábu-l-mahrúk* (the gate of the burnt man). The earth over his tomb has not been removed, and remains in the same state as it was then. It is true that in order to reach it, it is now necessary to descend considerably. It is commonly believed at Fez that the body of Ibnu-l-khattíb was exhumed by his enemies and burnt on the very night of its interment, owing to which the gate was called *Bábu-l-mahrúk.* But that is not the case; for it is a well-known fact that the gate in question received its name during the reign of a Sultán of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen, owing to a rebel who rose in arms against that dynasty having been made prisoner and burned close to it, which event took place long before the birth of Ibnu-l-khattíb, and even that of his father 'Abdullah. The last time we visited the tomb of that extraordinary man our sorrow was so great and our feelings were so excited, that we were well-nigh overcome by our grief; even now the memory of his virtues and endearing qualities, which has been carefully preserved in our family by the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Al-makkarí At-telemsání, who was one of his tutors,[16] brings tears to our eyes, and makes us detest his vile detractors. God's will must be done. There is no God but him!

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Yúsuf II.—Fatal predictions—Reign of Abú-l-hasan—His brother Az-zaghal proclaimed at Malaga—Troubles in Castile—Rival factions in Granada—Discontent of the people—The Christians take Alhama—The Moslems try to retake it—Fail in the attempt—Siege of Loxa by the Castilians—The Granadians attack and defeat them—Revolution at Granada—The Castilians are defeated near Malaga—Abú 'Abdillah usurps the throne—Is defeated and taken prisoner by the Castilians—His uncle Az-zaghal succeeds him—Conquests of the Christians—Policy of Ferdinand—He besieges and takes Loxa—Abú 'Abdillah is proclaimed in the Albayzin—Revolution at Granada—Taking of Velez-Malaga—Malaga besieged and taken—Siege and taking of Baza—Surrender of Almeria—The Sultán Az-zaghal makes his submission—Abú 'Abdillah summoned to surrender his capital—Makes preparations to defend himself—War between Abú 'Abdillah and Az-zaghal—Abú 'Abdillah reduces some fortresses—Az-zaghal crosses over to Africa—Granada besieged—Surrenders to the Castilians—Terms of the capitulation—The King of Castile makes his entrance into the Alhambra—Ultimate fate of Abú 'Abdillah—The capitulations are violated—The Moslems compelled to embrace the Christian religion—Their revolt in the Alpuxarras—Their feigned conversion—Their ultimate expulsion.

Accession of Yúsuf II.

After the death of Mohammed, which happened in the year 793, his son Yúsuf II. succeeded, in whose days the Moslems of Granada received many a severe blow from their Christian neighbours. Yúsuf was succeeded by his son[1] [Mohammed VI.], under whose rule the Mohammedan empire still went on decaying, until it became an easy prey to the infidels who surrounded it on every side, like a pack of hungry wolves, God Almighty permitting that the sins of preceding generations should be visited upon the wretched inhabitants of Granada. If we are to believe the historians of that city, numerous were the warnings which the Moslems of Granada received of the approaching chastisement of Heaven, and the ruin of their empire was more than once announced. We recollect having read once, in the handwriting of the learned Háfedh, Kátib, and historian, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-l-haddád Al-wádi-ashí (from Guadix), who resided at Telemsán, the following anecdote, which we here transcribe, vouching for its veracity. "I was told by "the Faquih Sídí Hasan, son of the Káyid and general, the honourable Sídí "Ibráhím Al-'arráf, that he was present at the taking down of the talisman known "as the weather-cock,[2] which once stood on the top of the old *kassábah* at Granada, "and was removed on account of the improvements and repairs about to be made "in that building. I saw it with my own eyes; it was of a heptagonal shape, and "had the following inscription in verse:

Fatal predictions.

'The palace at fair Granada presents to the eye of the observer a talisman 'turning round with the succession of time.

'The horseman on its weather-cock, although a solid body, turns with every 'wind.

'This, to the wise man, reveals many a mystery.

'Indeed, after subsisting a short time, a calamity will come which shall ruin 'both the palace and its owner.'[3]

Reign of Abú-l-hasan.

"When it came to the reign of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'd[4] An-naserí Al-ghálebí "Al-ahmarí, one of the Sultáns of that family, public opinion declared against "him, especially when a brother of his, named Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn "Sa'd, better known by the surname of *Az-zaghal*,[5] received the oath of allegiance "and was proclaimed at Malaga, with the assistance of some Christian captains "whom he had taken to that city in his company. Mohammed remained at "Malaga some time; after which he went to join his brother, and made his peace "with him, the captains and chiefs, who had contributed to his elevation, remain-"ing in that city without a leader.[6] Things went on in this way until after some "time the people of Malaga rose in arms and proclaimed also Abú-l-hasan, whereby "the civil war was concluded, and that Sultán [Abú-l-hasan] became the supreme "master of all the Mohammedan dominions in Andalus.

His brother Az-zaghal proclaimed at Malaga.

"No sooner did Abú-l-hasan see himself firmly seated on the throne than he "made war against the idolaters, and took from them several castles and strong "places; the lightnings [of victory] shone in his favour and against the infidel "enemy; they feared him, sought his friendship, and sued for peace. The armies "of Abú-l-hasan having greatly increased in number, he decided to review "them. To this effect he caused his architects to erect him a platform out of the "Al-hamrá, or castle of Granada. The review began on a Tuesday, the 19th of "the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 882 (March 24, A. D. 1478), and the troops "ceased not passing daily before him till the 22nd of Moharram of the following "year of 883 (April 24, A. D. 1478), when the review was completed. On this "occasion the soldiers were clad in suits of polished steel armour, dressed in "gorgeous silken robes, mounted on fleet steeds, and having their swords, spears, "and shields richly embossed with gold and silver. One day when the Sultán was "as usual seated under the pavilion and the troops were passing before him, the "summit and the sides of the neighbouring hill of As-sabíkah being crowded with "spectators who had left their dwellings for the purpose of witnessing the pageant, "God permitted that all of a sudden the rain should fall down in torrents, and "that the river Hadároh (Darro) should overflow its banks. Such was the fury of "the devastating element, which came pouring down from the neighbouring

"mountains, carrying along large stones and whole trees, that it destroyed every "thing on its way, and that houses, shops, mills,[7] inns, markets, bridges, and "garden-walls were the prey of the devastating flood. The water reached as far as "the square where the great mosque stands. So frightful an inundation had never "before been experienced in the country, and the people naturally looked upon "it as the harbinger of the dreadful calamities which awaited the Moslems in just "chastisement for their perversity and their sins.

"About this time the Castilian nobles were divided among themselves; one "taking possession of the kingdom of Cordova, another of that of Seville, and a "third of Xerez.[8] Instead, however, of profiting by their dissensions, Abú-l-hasan "gave himself more than ever to pleasure, and, trusting the government into the "hands of his Wizírs, entirely neglected the affairs of the state, and allowed his "army to be corrupted and to lose its discipline and courage. He also concealed "himself from the sight of his subjects, and gave up all idea of military enterprise "or attention to the affairs of the administration; all which was undoubtedly "the work of God, that his supreme will might be accomplished. At the same "time new taxes were imposed and all manner of oppressions and injustices "practised upon his subjects, who began openly to condemn his administration "and to execrate his rule. This was not all; fancying that the Christians would "not attack him, on account of the civil wars in which they were then engaged, "Abú-l-hasan caused several of his best generals to be executed.[9] It happened, "however, that the King of Castile took possession of the kingdom[10] after a long "and bloody civil war; and having compelled the rebellious nobles, who had "opposed his authority, to submission, was now enabled to turn his arms against "the Moslems.

Troubles in Castile.

"The Castilians soon found the means of mischief, as well as an opportunity of "taking possession of the Moslem dominions under the following distressing cir-"cumstances. Abú-l-hasan had by his wife, a daughter of his uncle the Sultán Abú "'Abdillah *Al-aysar* (the left-handed), two male children, Mohammed and Yúsuf; "but he had another wife, on whom he doted, and by whom he had likewise issue. "She was a Christian lady, and, as the monarch had always evinced the greatest "predilection for her, fears were entertained lest he should neglect the sons he had "by his noble cousin for those of the Christian captive. This naturally gave rise to "dissensions and quarrels among the officers of the state and the servants of the "palace, and two factions were formed, some inclining to the sons of his wife "and some to the sons of the Christian captive.

Rival factions in Granada.

"About this time, too, and when the Moslems of Granada were most disturbed by "their private feuds and the cause above alluded to, the truce which the Christians

"had concluded during their internal divisions expired. The people of Granada, "moreover, complained to the Sultán of his Wizír and civil officers, who, they said, "oppressed them and treated them with unwonted tyranny and injustice. This "increased the discontent still more, and things went so far that the inhabitants "of Granada loudly demanded the removal of the obnoxious Wizír and the other "public functionaries; and as their petitions were disregarded by Abú-l-hasan, new "scenes of trouble and confusion ensued. The disaffection of the inhabitants and "the weakness of the government soon became known to the Christians, who, at "the expiration of the truce, marched against Al-hammah (Alhama) and took it by "surprise. This event happened in 887 (Feb. A. D. 1482); the Castilians being com- "manded on the occasion by the Lord of Cadiz.[11] The assailants took the castle "and fortified themselves in it. They thence attacked the town, the streets of "which they filled with infantry and cavalry, slaying all the Moslems they met, "and taking the women captives; for they surprised the inhabitants in the middle "of their sleep, as if they were so many drunken men, and, therefore, unable to "offer resistance. Those whose fate it was to die were killed by the Christians: "some, however, contrived to escape, leaving their wives and children behind "them, and the Christians in entire possession of the town and what it contained.

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"No sooner did the news of this disaster reach Granada than both the high and "the low hastened out to the relief of Alhama. The Christians were ten thousand "in number between horse and foot; they were preparing to depart with their "plunder and return to their country, when, having discovered the van-guard of "the Moslem army, they retraced their steps, and shut themselves up in the citadel. "They were soon besieged by the people of Granada, who proceeded forthwith "to invest the town. After this, the army of the Moslems being considerably "re-inforced by fresh bodies of cavalry and infantry which kept arriving from "Granada and other cities of the Moslem dominions, the siege was carried on with "increased vigour, and the greatest efforts were made to deprive the besieged of "water, by destroying the subterranean pipes which supplied the garrison. It soon "became evident, however, that Alhama could not be taken by force, upon which "the soldiers gave license to their tongues, and began to pour abuse and ridicule "upon their own officers and upon the Wizír who went in command of the army.

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"Things were in this state when scouts came to the camp to announce the "arrival of the Christians in great force to the relief of Alhama; upon which the "Moslems raised their camp, and went forward to encounter the enemy. No "sooner, however, did the Christians, who were commanded on this occasion by the "Lord of Cordova, hear of the approach of the Moslems, than they turned back "and fled before our victorious army, alleging the inferiority of their numbers.

Fail in th attempt.

" In the mean while the Lord of Seville,[12] having collected a large army, con-" sisting of cavalry and infantry, hastened to the relief of the besieged in Alhama. " The news of his arrival having reached our camp, the soldiers grouped together, " and began to declare that they were unable to carry on the siege for want " of provisions and the requisite engines and stores, having left Granada in haste, " and without time to make the necessary preparations. Owing to the above " reason it was deemed expedient to return to Granada, in order to be there " supplied with every thing requisite for the undertaking. The order for departure " was accordingly given, and the Christian re-inforcements entered Alhama whilst " the Moslems were departing from before its walls.

" Immediately after the Christians had entered Alhama, their officers held a " council of war, in which it was discussed whether they should abandon the place " or keep possession of it: having decided for the latter course, they repaired and " increased the fortifications, and furnished the place with all kinds of military stores " and provisions, so as to render it capable of sustaining a long siege, after which the " Lord of Seville returned to his own states, having previously distributed among " the soldiers the spoil made in the city, and leaving part of his forces to re-inforce " the garrison.

" Some time after this the Moslems returned again to the siege of Alhama, " which they pressed with greater vigour than ever. Having one day attacked " a part of the wall which was not well guarded, and finding little resistance, the " Moslems made a lodgment within the walls, pursuing sword in hand the enemy, " who fled before them. They had penetrated far into the place, when, alas! a large " body of troops came to the assistance of the fugitives, and the few Moslems who " had gained an entrance into the town were either put to the sword or dashed down " the precipitous sides of the mountain on which the town is situated, few of them " escaping with their lives. Most of the warriors who fell on this occasion were " people from Bástah (Baza) and from Guadix. The Moslems were disheartened " by the reverse, and they lost all hope of ever taking Alhama by force of arms.

Siege of Loxa by the Castilians.

" In the month of Jumáda the first, of the same year, information was received at " Granada that the King of Castile was marching to the Moslem dominions at the " head of an innumerable army; people then met together, and began to ask each " other about the probable destination of the expedition. This, however, was soon " ascertained; the Christians having shortly after laid siege to the city of Loxa, " which they sought to reduce, and to add it to Alhama and the other conquests.

" An army of Moslems then sallied out from Granada, well provided with " stores and provisions of every kind, and, having attacked the Christians, who " were besieging the city, they defeated them with great slaughter, and took part of

" their heavy artillery.[13] Still the Christians persevered in the siege of Loxa; but " the Moslems having received new re-inforcements from Granada, again offered the " Christians battle, challenged them to come out of their tents, defeated them with " great loss, and took and plundered their camp, which they had abandoned, leaving " behind them all their provisions and heavy baggage. This victory happened on " the 27th of Jumáda the first, of the same year[14] (July, A. D. 1482).

The Granadians attack and defeat them.

" On the very same day in which this signal victory was gained, Abú 'Abdillah " Mohammed, and Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf, sons of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, fearing " lest their father, influenced by his Christian concubine, should deprive them of " their inheritance, and prefer his other sons to them, made their escape from " Granada, and took refuge in Guadix, which place submitted to them, as well " as Baza, Almeria, and even Granada in course of time, their father being obliged " to withdraw to Malaga, which continued faithful to him.

Revolution at Granada.

" In the month of Safar of the year 888 (March, A. D. 1483), all the Christian " chiefs [on the frontiers] collected their forces, and marched together towards " Malaga and Velez. They were about eight thousand men, commanded by the " Lords of Seville, Xerez, Ezija, Antequera, and other cities; notwithstanding " which they were unable to reduce one single fortress. Having, moreover, " dispersed in the passes and ravines of the mountains, they were attacked by " the people of Malaga and Velez, who went on pursuing and killing them wherever " they fled, until they arrived near Malaga, when some escaped, but the greater " part were killed or made prisoners. It is asserted that upwards of three thousand " Christian knights were killed in this memorable rout, and that the prisoners, " in whose number were an uncle of the Castilian king,[15] the governors of Seville, " Xerez, Antequera, and thirty more of their principal noblemen, amounted to " two thousand. The spoils gained by the Moslems in gold, silver, jewels, horses, " and arms, were great and valuable. At the time of the attack of Malaga by " the Christians, the Sultán Abú-l-hasan was absent from his capital,[16] having " gone to Almuñecar; he had, however, left his brother Abú 'Abdillah with a " portion of his army to defend the city.

The Castilians defeated near Malaga.

" About the end of the same month (April, A. D. 1483), the people of Malaga " invaded the Christian territory; but they suffered a complete defeat, in which " most of the chiefs of Western Andalus[17] were slain.

" When the Sultán Abú 'Abdillah, son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, who, as " above related, had taken possession of Granada, saw his authority firmly es- " tablished there, as well as at Almeria, and almost every other large city, with " the exception of Malaga and the *Al-gharbia* (western district), which remained " faithful to his father, he determined upon becoming, if possible, master of all

Abú 'Abdillah usurps the throne.

"the Mohammedan dominions. Accordingly, when he heard that his father had "gone to Almuñecar, he left Granada, at the head of the troops of that city, and "other forces collected from the eastern parts of his dominions, and invaded the "territory of Malaga; but having encountered his father's army at a place called "Ad-dab, a battle ensued in which Abú 'Abdillah was defeated, and obliged to "return to his capital. Some time after this, Abú 'Abdillah, the Sultán of Granada, "hearing of the advantages which his father and uncle in Malaga had gained over "the Christians, and the rich spoils they had collected on the occasion, pre-"pared also for an expedition against the infidels. Having, accordingly, collected "the forces he had at hand, and those of the eastern districts, he started on the "first day of Rabi' the first, of the same year (April, A. D. 1483), and arrived "soon afterwards in the territory of Lucena, slaying and making captives, plunder-"ing and wasting the country. But the Christians of the neighbouring districts, "having assembled under the Lord of Cabra, guarded all the mountain passes "in the rear of the Moslems, and cut them off from their country. In this situa-"tion the Moslems were completely defeated, and almost the whole of the army "were either made prisoners or slain. Among the former was the Sultán himself, "who, at first, was not recognised; but the Lord of Lucena, who knew him, "coming up, claimed him as his prisoner, and seeing that the Lord of Cabra "wished to snatch his prize from him, departed that very night with his prisoner "to the court of the King of Castile, who, in acknowledgment of his signal service, "raised him to the highest rank among his captains, and ever after intrusted to "him every important enterprise.

Is defeated and taken prisoner by the Castilians.

"When the news of this disaster reached Granada, the chief inhabitants of that "capital met together to deliberate, and came to the resolution of sending a "deputation to Malaga to offer the throne to Abú-l-hasan, which they did, the "deputies presenting him with the allegiance of their countrymen. Abú-l-hasan, "however, having some time previous lost his sight from a paralytic affection, "and being, moreover, old and infirm, excused himself from resuming the govern-"ment, and having renounced in favour of his brother Abú 'Abdillah, retired to "Almuñecar, where he remained till he died. Abú-l-hasan, therefore, was suc-"ceeded by his brother Abú 'Abdillah, better known by the surname of *Az-zaghal*. "During this time Abú 'Abdillah, the son of Abú-l-hasan, continued in captivity.

His uncle Az-zaghal succeeds him.

Conquests of the Christians.

"In the month of Rabi' the second, of the year 890 (April or May, A. D. 1485), "the Christians invaded the territory of Malaga with considerable forces, and "reduced some castles and fortresses, as they had already done in the preceding "year. Having laid siege to a fortified town called Dhekwán, they battered "its walls until they made a breach through which one thousand men at arms

" penetrated into the place. There happened, however, to be within the fortress at " the time a considerable body of Moslems from the western districts and from " Ronda, who, falling suddenly upon the enemy, slew every one of those who had " entered the town. Notwithstanding their discomfiture, the Christians persevered, " until at last the garrison was obliged to capitulate and go out, surrendering the " place to the enemy.

" In Jumáda the first, of the same year (May or June, A. D. 1485), the Christians " besieged Ronda, which they knew to be ill defended, as the greater part of the " garrison had gone to the assistance of their brethren of Dhekwán and other " fortresses besieged by the enemy. After battering the walls with their heavy " artillery, the Christians made a large breach, and the garrison was obliged to " capitulate. After the surrender of Ronda, the whole of the neighbouring districts " of which that city was the capital submitted to the Christians, so that no place " remained to the west of Malaga which did not acknowledge the rule of the " infidel king; who, after distributing his army among the fortresses recently " conquered, in order that he might afterwards more effectually besiege Malaga, " returned to his dominions.

" On the 19th of Shábán of the same year (Aug. 31, A. D. 1485) Az-zaghal left " Granada for the purpose of inspecting his dominions, and providing for the " fortification of a certain castle on his frontier. As he was residing in the latter " place, news reached him that the enemy was in sight. Indeed, on the morning of " the 22nd of Sha'bán (Sept. 3, A. D. 1485), the Christians were to be seen " encamped before the castle,[18] whither they stole secretly during the night. " However, when the enemy at daybreak saw our troops encamped near the " castle, they formed their squadrons and attacked their van-guard with great fury. " The first onset was unfavourable to the true believers, who, fighting in disorder, " were easily broken, the Christians penetrating even to the tent of the Sultán; " but, recovering soon afterwards, the battle became general; and God Almighty " being pleased on this occasion to endow the faithful with fresh vigour and " courage, the Christians were ultimately defeated with great slaughter. The " Moslems, however, were prevented from following up their success by the fear " of the main body of the Christian army, commanded by the King of Castile in " person, which was advancing towards that part of the country; for it was evident " that as soon as the fugitives should meet with the advancing troops they would " retrace their steps. The Moslems collected on this occasion considerable spoil, " and took a number of guns,[19] which they placed in the neighbouring forts. After " this, nothing occurred till the month of Ramadhán (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 1485), " when the Christians laid siege to Cambil, battered its walls, and, when the breach

"had been made practicable, took the place by storm. When the Moslems who "were in the castle saw the Christians in possession of the town, they surrendered "by capitulation, and left the place, with their property and children, to retire to "other countries inhabited by the Moslems. Through the reduction of Cambil, in "the Alpuxarras, many of the neighbouring villages remaining unprotected, the "inhabitants fled for refuge to other quarters, and many towns and forts fell into "the hands of the enemy,—such as Mushákar (Muxacar), Illora, and others; for "the Christian king so pressed the territory of the Moslems on all sides, that he "attacked no fortress which he did not take, and invaded no district which did not "immediately surrender to his arms.

Policy of Ferdinand.

"Not satisfied with his rapid success in the way of arms, the Castilian monarch "employed artifice and deceit to weaken and subdue what remained of the Moslem "dominions. He first granted liberty to his prisoner, the Sultán Abú 'Abdillah, "and having furnished him with men, money, and other requisites, and given him "a *khila'h* or dress of honour, sent him on towards the districts to the east of Baza, "with the promise of helping him to the re-conquest of all his father's dominions. "He also pledged his royal word that whoever among the Moslems would acknow-"ledge the authority of his ally, Abú 'Abdillah, and swear allegiance to him, should "be included in the treaty of peace existing between the two sovereigns, and enjoy "all the security and advantages insured by the same. Abú 'Abdillah accordingly "set off for Velez-Malaga, the inhabitants of which city submitted to him; after "which he caused the treaty of peace concluded with the Christian king to be "read to the inhabitants in the market-place. This circumstance was soon made "public, and being spread over the country by the demons of mischief, the Báyisin "(people of Baeza), who inhabited a separate suburb of Granada [the Albayzin], "people at all times notorious for their proneness to rebellion, their infidelity, and "their attachment to the Christians, began to plan a revolt in his favour. Being "joined in the attempt by some wicked and ill-disposed people, who were anxious "to sow division amongst the Moslems, as well as by many honest citizens, who, per-"ceiving the weakness of the state, were anxious to see peace once more established, "they raised the standard of revolt; and, urged on as they were by the demons of "discord and civil war and their wicked agents to infamous acts and contemptible "deeds, they proclaimed Abú 'Abdillah, the captive and friend of the infidels, for "their Sultán. The consequences of this measure were that discord and civil war "broke out in Granada, no doubt by the will of the Almighty, who had decreed "that this doomed country should fall a prey to the enemy. The inhabitants "of the Albayzin persisting in their revolt, they were assailed with stones and "other missiles thrown from the towers and walls of the neighbouring castle, and

"the fire of civil war raged more fiercely than ever. This rebellion broke out "on the 3rd of Rabi' the first, of the year 891 (March 9, A. D. 1486), and lasted "till the middle of Jumáda the first following (June, A. D. 1486).

He besieges and takes Loxa.

"Whilst the two parties were thus contending, the intelligence was received at "Granada that Abú 'Abdillah had taken possession of the city of Loxa, and that "he showed a disposition to settle his differences with his uncle Al-zaghal, who still "held the castle of Granada, and to make peace with him. Abú 'Abdillah offered "to leave his uncle the undisturbed possession of Granada and the rest of his "dominions, on condition that he would give him, as a fief to be held of his crown, "Loxa or any other city, which it should please him to grant him, and that both "sovereigns should in future act in concert against the enemies of their faith. "While these negotiations were on foot, the King of Castile invested Loxa with a "numerous army, well provided with all the necessaries for a siege. The Sultán "Abú 'Abdillah occupied it with a body of troops raised among the inhabitants "of the Albayzin, who, on hearing of his entrance into Loxa, had repaired thither "to the assistance of their chief, and in order to fulfil the duties of the *jihád*. The "people of Granada, however, and those of other places, fearing lest the siege "of Loxa should only be a stratagem of the enemy, never went to the relief of that "city. The Christians in the mean time pressed the siege with increased vigour, "until alarming rumours began to circulate among the besieged, purporting that "the attack had been preconcerted between the Castilian and Abú 'Abdillah during "the captivity of the latter. This and the taking of one of the suburbs induced "the inhabitants of Loxa to surrender their city on the 26th day of Jumáda "the first, of the year 891 (May 23, A. D. 1486).

"After the taking of Loxa, most of the inhabitants took refuge in Granada; Abú "'Abdillah only remained behind, which circumstance convinced the Granadians "that his entrance into Loxa had been for the mere purpose of putting the "Christians in possession of that city, in pursuance of a plan preconcerted between "him and the King of Castile, and no doubt as the price of his ransom. To this "it must be added, that the Sultán's son, who had been retained as a hostage by the "Castilians, was now liberated, and that several messages and negotiations passed "between him and his partisans of the Albayzin, so that no doubt remained as to "the truth of their suspicions. After the reduction of Loxa, the King of Castile "returned to his own states, again taking with him the captive Sultán. About "the middle of the ensuing month of Jumáda the second (June, A. D. 1486), he "attacked Al-birah;[20] and after he had demolished part of the walls with his "artillery, the inhabitants capitulated and removed to Granada. He next besieged

"the fortress of Moclin,[21] the inhabitants of which defended themselves with great "courage; but perceiving that they were surrounded on every side, that pro- "visions were getting scarce, and that they had no hope whatever of relief, they "also capitulated and retired to Granada. As to the people of Columbera, they "surrendered without making any resistance, and, like the people of the other "towns and castles, betook themselves to Granada.

"After these conquests the enemy besieged the fortress Mont-ferid,[22] into which "they threw combustible matter and other projectiles. Having in this manner set "fire to a magazine where the provisions and military stores of the garrison were "kept, the place capitulated, and the inhabitants removed also to Granada. The "Christian king next attacked Sakhrah,[23] which he reduced in like manner, and "having taken several more of the neighbouring fortresses, he filled them with "men and stores, in readiness for the intended siege of Granada.

"The Castilian then returned to his dominions, taking his prisoner with him. "Before his departure, however, he entered into an agreement with Abú 'Ab- "dillah, that whoever voluntarily submitted to his rule should enjoy peace and "security. The rumour of this treaty soon circulated about the country, as also "that this concession was owing to a war which had just broken out between the "Castilian and the King of France. In pursuance of this plan, the captive Sultán "presented himself at Velez-Malaga, where he was well received by the inha- "bitants. From thence he sent to all the neighbouring towns, describing himself "as the bearer of peace and security, and promising that whoever submitted to "his authority should have nothing to fear in future from the hostilities of the "Christians, such being the condition of a treaty which he said he had in his "possession, signed by the King of Castile, and to the observance of which that "sovereign had pledged his word. Very few people, however, placed any reliance "in these promises, if we except the inhabitants of the Albayzin, who rose imme- "diately in favour of Abú 'Abdillah, and accepted the peace which he offered, "making themselves the advocates of his truth and sincerity, and even using "reproachful and insulting language towards the inhabitants of Granada, who "adhered to the party of his rival; whereby discord and confusion reached the "extreme. Not contented with this open manifestation of their sentiments, the "people of the Albayzin wrote to inform Abú 'Abdillah that were he to repair "among them, with such proofs and documents as he said he was the bearer of, "they would undoubtedly rise in his favour and acknowledge him for their "sovereign. Accordingly Abú 'Abdillah entered the Albayzin secretly, and when "he was least expected; and, having made himself known to the inhabitants of that

Abú 'Abdillah is proclaimed in the Albayzin.

" suburb, caused a proclamation by the Christian king to be read in the markets " and at other public places, promising security and protection to all those who " would acknowledge his rule.

" The people of Granada, however, having called to mind his treacherous con- " duct at Loxa, placed no reliance on his words, and would not accept the peace " which he offered to them. The entrance of Abú 'Abdillah into the Albayzin " is said to have taken place on the 16th of the month of Shawwál of the year 891 " (Oct. 17, A. D. 1486). His uncle, who was then in the Alhambra, retired to the " fortress, and civil war commenced; the King of Castile assisting his ally with " men, arms, money, wheat, gunpowder, and other articles; so that the power of " the rebel increased, war raged more fiercely than ever, and men became accustomed " to massacre and plunder. This state of things lasted until the 27th of Moharram " of the year 892 (Jan. 24, A. D. 1487), when the people of Granada, with the Sultán " at their head, attempted to storm the Albayzin, the doctors of the law having " previously declared that whoever formed alliance with the Christians, or tried to " subdue the country through their assistance, as also all those who abetted Abú " 'Abdillah in his plans, were guilty of rebellion against God and his Messenger. " Their attack, however, being feebly conducted, did not succeed.

" After this the Sultán of Granada sent for the military chiefs and governors " of all the principal cities and districts in his dominions, such as Baza, Guadix, " Almeria, Almuñecar, Velez, Malaga, and others; and, being all assembled in the " capital, they bound themselves by a most solemn oath to act unanimously " against the enemies of their religion, and to hasten to each other's assistance " in case of attack from the Christian. The news of this compact having reached " the Albayzin, the Sultán [Abú 'Abdillah], who reigned there, was so terrified " that he sent immediately to apprise his ally, the King of Castile, of the deter- " mination taken by the Moslems; he himself shortly after quitted the Albayzin, " and repaired to the neighbourhood of Velez with all his forces. From thence " Abú 'Abdillah dispatched his Wizír to Malaga and to Hisn-Al-munshát,[24] to " induce the inhabitants of those two places to submit to him, by showing them " a copy of the treaty which he had concluded with the King of Castile, and " alarming them with the prospect of danger from the Christians. This so far " succeeded that the inhabitants of Malaga and Hisn-Al-munshát submitted to " him, chiefly through fear of the Castilian king, and of his vengeance, and urged " on by their ardent wish for peace. It was not so with Velez; for when the chief " men of Malaga met the inhabitants and explained their motives for acknowledging " the authority of Abú 'Abdillah, the latter refused to depart from what they had " promised to the Granadians and to the other Moslems of Andalusia.

"The King of Castile then advanced towards Velez-Malaga, and laid siege to it "in the month of Rabi' the second, of the year 892 (April, A. D. 1487). When the "news of this expedition reached Granada, the Sultán assembled his council, and, "having consulted them as to what was to be done, it was unanimously decided to "march to the assistance of the besieged, according to the agreement entered into "with them. The Sultán therefore left Granada on the 24th of Rabi' the second "(April 23, A. D. 1487), at the head of the forces of Guadix, and various detach- "ments from the Alpuxarras.

Revolution at Granada.

"When the Moslems came in sight of Velez-Malaga they found the Christians "besieging that city by sea and land. Having encamped on a hill in the neigh- "bourhood, they soon after attacked the Christians with great vigour, and uttering "their war-cries, but in very little order. Whilst the Moslems were advancing "to the charge, news came to the Sultán Az-zaghal that the Lord of the Albayzin "had been proclaimed in Granada. The Moslems therefore engaged the Christians "irresolutely, and the consequence was that before the action became general, "they fled in great disorder, although their opponents gave evident signs of terror "at their approach. There is no power or strength but in God!

"The revolt at Granada having become known amongst the people, the army "retired to Guadix, and the Christians, who had raised the siege of Velez in order "to encounter the Granadians, recommenced their operations against that place; "and, having carried the suburb by storm, pressed closely on the besieged.

Taking of Velez-Malaga.

"The revolt in Granada took place on the 5th of Jumáda the first. When "the people of Velez saw the determination of the enemy to take possession of "the city, and that no hope of succour was left them after the retreat of the "Moslem army, they offered to capitulate, and the terms being agreed upon, they "marched out of the city on Friday, the 10th of Jumáda the first, of the same "year.

"After the taking of Velez, all the towns east of Malaga, including the fortress "of Komáresh (Comares), surrendered to the Christians, who, elated with success, "proceeded to the siege of that capital. The inhabitants of that city, as before "related, deemed themselves included in the peace subsisting between the King of "the Christians and the Sultán of the Albayzin, to whom they had submitted; but, "regardless of the treaty, the Christian king encamped before Malaga, amply pro- "vided with ammunition and every kind of military stores. Some time previous, "and whilst he was besieging Velez, the people of Malaga had sent the Christian "king a present by their governor, who was a Wizír of the Sultán of the Albayzin; "and in order the more to propitiate the Christian monarch they sent along with "the present the Christian governor of Xeres, who had been a prisoner in their hands

" ever since the defeat of the Christians near that city; but the King of Castile, " unmoved by these marks of allegiance, persisted in his determination, giving out " as an excuse that the fortress of Jebal-fároh (Gibralfaro) still obeyed the Sultán of " Guadix.

" The King of Castile invested the city by sea and land; the inhabitants made a " most desperate defence by discharges of their artillery from the ramparts of the " city, as well as by frequent sallies of cavalry and infantry. The siege was prose- " cuted with increased vigour, and maintained with equal constancy, until the " blockade, being more effectually established by means of ditches and outposts " on the land side, and of additional vessels by sea, all assistance from without " was intercepted. However, a chosen body of Morábits having succeeded in " escaping the vigilance of the Christians, made their entrance into the city, and, " with their assistance, new sallies were made against the enemy and severe battles " were fought. But the enemy, having succeeded in bringing their artillery to bear " against the walls, got possession of one of the suburbs, from whence they so " annoyed the inhabitants, and guarded so effectually the avenues of the city, " that the scarcity of provisions began to be severely felt, and after some days " the people were obliged to feed on the flesh of their camels, horses, and asses. " In this extremity the Moslems implored the help of their countrymen at home " and of the Africans on the opposite shore; but all in vain,—no one stirred " in their defence. Famine soon spread its ravages in the city, whose bravest " defenders daily fell victims to its fury. Yet with all this the ardour of the " inhabitants was unimpaired, and the same obstinate resistance was offered to " the attacks of the Christians as before. At last, weakened by their losses, and " despairing of receiving any assistance, either by land or sea, the inhabitants of " Baza began to negotiate with the Christians, and to ask for such terms as had " been granted to other places taken by them. They were told, that if they would " only surrender the castle and the fort, the king could not fail to treat them well. " This, however, was a mere deception on the part of the Christians, for, once " in possession of the city, they made all the inhabitants captives. The taking " of Malaga, which was followed by the surrender of every town or village in its " immediate neighbourhood, happened about the end of Sha'bán of the year 892 " (August, A. D. 1487).

Malaga besieged and taken.

" In the year 893 (A. D. 1488), the enemy marched to the districts of Ash-sharkiyah " (Axarquia) and of Velez, notwithstanding their being both comprised in the treaty. " In vain did the inhabitants sue for peace; their prayers were completely disre- " garded; and although, as above related, the whole of that district was comprised in " the capitulations granted to the Sultán of the Albayzin, the Christians, regardless

" of their promise, treated the inhabitants as enemies, and subjected the country to " their rule.

" After this the King of Castile returned to his dominions; but in Rejeb of the " following year (June or July, A. D. 1489), he again returned to the district of Baza, " and having reduced all the fortresses and castles in the neighbourhood of that " city, laid siege to the capital itself. Baza happened to be well garrisoned and " provided for a long siege; for, when the Lord of Guadix[25] heard of the intentions " of the enemy, he hastily collected the troops of Almeria, Almuñecar, and the " mountainous districts of the Albusharát (Alpuxarras), and threw himself into that " city shortly before the arrival of the Christians before its walls. A series of " bloody battles was fought between the assailants and the besieged, in which the " Moslems had generally the advantage, upon which the Christians, despairing " of taking the city by assault, removed their camp to some distance from the " walls, and the inhabitants could go in and out of the town without being " molested. Things remained in this state during the months of Rejeb, Sha'bán, " and Ramadhán, the Moslems remaining all the time encamped outside the walls " and ready to repel the attacks of the enemy. After this the Christians began " to press the siege with greater vigour; and having brought their heavy artillery " and battering engines nearer to the walls, they made repeated assaults, and " possessed themselves of some of the avenues leading to the city, so as to render it " very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to leave or enter the town. In Dhí-l-" ka'dah and Dhí-l-hajjah things grew still worse, and provisions of all kinds " became exceedingly scarce. About the end of the latter month the Moslems, " having examined the extent of their stores, found that they had but very few " in their magazines; but they still persevered in their resistance, in the hope that " the Christians would raise the siege at the approach of winter. But, alas! what " was their astonishment when, instead of returning to their country, they saw them " actually building houses and huts, no doubt with the intention of passing the " winter before their city! At sight of these preparations the inhabitants of Baza " were seized with terror and despair, and they accordingly began to negotiate a " capitulation on the same terms as had been granted to the surrounding places. The " Christian king, however, thinking that the besieged had no provisions left, and " that their only object was to obtain favourable conditions, sent officers into the " city to examine and report to him the state of the garrison; but the Moslems, " guessing what his intentions were, put together all the provisions they had in the " city, and displayed them in the markets and other public places on the passage " of the Christian officers, so that they might be deceived, and think that " the garrison could hold out much longer; whereas they were all reduced to the

Siege and taking of Baza.

" last extremity. War, indeed, is nothing more than fallacy and deceit. The plan " was executed as it was conceived; one of the Spanish grandees entered the city " on the excuse of settling the terms of the capitulation, but in reality to look " about and to ascertain the true state of the garrison, their means of defence, the " provisions which they had in store, &c., and to gain thereby a knowledge to guide " the Christians in the negotiation. Being deceived by appearances, the Christian " proposed to grant the people their lives and property, with liberty to remove " wherever they chose. These terms, however, were made to extend only to the " citizens of Baza, and on no account to the troops who had come to their as- " sistance from Guadix, Almeria, and Almuñecar, who, by an article of the treaty, " were to be expelled from Baza by the inhabitants themselves before the capitula- " tion was signed. However, the people of Baza not choosing to subscribe to these " terms, the negotiations were interrupted for some time, until at length the " Moslems, fearing lest their miserable condition, which they had so well managed " to conceal from the enemy, should become manifest, gave their full assent to " the proposed terms; namely, that the capitulation should not include the people " of Guadix, Almeria, Almuñecar, and the Alpuxarras. The whole of those ex- " tensive districts then entered under the dominion of the Christians by means of " stipulations mutually agreed on between both nations, and with circumstances " some of which became public whilst others remained always a secret. Some of " the great people received money, and had other advantages and preferments.

" On Friday, the 10th of Moharram of the year 895 (Dec. 4, A.D. 1489), the " Christians entered the castle of Baza and took possession of it, without the people " of the town knowing on what terms it had been surrendered. They were told " that such of the Moslems as chose to remain in the town should enjoy peace " and security, while those who preferred settling elsewhere would be allowed " to quit it with their arms and property. After this the Christians expelled the " Moslems from the city, and forced them to reside in the suburbs through fear of " their revolting.

Surrender of Almeria.

" From Baza the King of Castile advanced towards the district of Almeria, the " whole of which submitted to him. Some time previous the Sultán of Guadix " had gone to Almeria for the purpose of meeting the Castilian king and putting " the Christians in possession of all his towns, castles, and fortresses; and having " done so, the infidel king gave him the investiture of all those dominions on " condition that he would do him homage for them. This done, both sovereigns " went together to Guadix, where Az-zaghal put the King of Castile in possession " of the citadel about the beginning of Safar of the same year (December 24, " A.D. 1489).

The Sultán Az-zaghal makes his submission.

" All the dominions under the Sultán of Guadix having thus passed in the " twinkling of an eye from the hands of the Moslems into those of the Christians, " nothing was left to the former except Granada and its immediate dependencies; " the King of Castile, therefore, having placed garrisons in the fortresses lately " reduced, followed up his plans of conquest as steadily as ever. By his orders " the governors of castles and towns adjacent to the Moslem territory began to " court the friendship of our governors, by giving them money and presents in " the name of their master, who, they said, was impressed with their fidelity and " good qualities; but, in reality, his object was only to increase his prepara- " tions of men and stores, and to provide such things as were requisite for his " military projects.

" He then took Borju-l-maléhah and other castles, and having repaired their " fortifications, and garrisoned them with troops, he converted them into so many " outposts from which to besiege the capital. Meanwhile the King of Castile " showed the greatest friendship for the Sultán of Guadix, and remained faithful " to the treaty concluded with him; but at the same time he circulated false " reports respecting the Sultán of Granada, and endeavoured to surround him " with his artifices and wily stratagems. He accordingly dispatched that same year " a messenger to Granada, who, in an interview with the Sultán, proposed to him " the surrender of the castle of the Alhambra, in the same manner and on the " same terms that his uncle had surrendered Almeria, Guadix, and other fortresses " and towns; in return for which the Christian king his master offered to give " him great riches, and the sovereignty of any city he should choose in Andalusia. " Now, some people pretend that the Sultán of Granada, dazzled by these inviting " offers, feigned to accept the tendered proposition, and that the Christian king " immediately marched his army to take possession of the Alhambra and of the " city of Granada, agreeably to the secret contract entered into by the two " sovereigns. At this crisis the Sultán of Granada assembled the officers of state " and military commanders, the divines, the nobles and plebeians, and informed " them of what the Christian king required, and how his uncle, by becoming " the subject of the Christians, had been the cause of the breach of the contract " formerly agreed to between him and the King of Castile. 'We have only to " choose,' said the Sultán to them, 'between submitting to him or fighting for " our independence.' It was unanimously agreed to adhere strictly to the con- " ditions of the treaty; but, if necessary, to have recourse to arms and defend " the country to the last. Accordingly, the Sultán went out of Granada at the " head of his army.

Abú 'Abdillah summoned to surrender his capital.

" Some time after this, the King of Castile encamped with his host in the

" meadow of Granada, and began to summon the inhabitants to surrender to him, " threatening, in case of refusal, to destroy their crops. An answer in the negative " being returned to him, he put his threat into execution, and burned and destroyed " fields and plantations. This happened in the month of Rejeb of the year 895. " After several skirmishes between the Moslems and the Christians, the latter " became convinced that nothing of any importance could then be undertaken " against Granada; and after demolishing some forts, and repairing the fortifications " of others, for example, Borju-l-maléhah and Hamadán, which they garrisoned and " provided with every necessary, they returned to their territory. During the " enemy's absence the Sultán of Granada attacked one of the castles held by " the Christians, and, having taken it by storm, put the garrison to the sword; " after which, leaving a sufficient force in it, he returned victorious to Granada.

Makes preparations of defence.

" In the same month of Rejeb, Abú 'Abdillah made an incursion into the " Alpuxarras, and entered some villages, the population of which, composed of " Christians and treacherous Moslems, their friends, took to flight at his approach: " proceeding from thence to Andarax, he made himself master of that fortress. " This success was speedily followed by the entire submission of the districts of " the Alpuxarras, which, being recalled to Islám, again acknowledged the authority " of Abú 'Abdillah, and shook off the Christian yoke.

" A war now ensued between Abú 'Abdillah, the Sultán of Granada, and his " uncle Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Az-zaghal, who marched to the " Alpuxarras at the head of considerable forces. In Sha'bán, A. H. 895 (Aug. A. D. " 1490), Abú 'Abdillah sallied forth against him, but as his uncle retreated to " Almeria, and shut himself up in the castle, the whole of the Alpuxarras, as far " as Berja, fell into the hands of the Moslems. However, in the ensuing month " of Ramadhán, Abú 'Abdillah, assisted by the Christians, besieged and retook " the fort of Andarax. On the other hand, the Sultán of Granada laid siege to " Hamadán, a large town, defended by a castle of great strength, filled with men, " stores, and ammunition. After battering its walls with their artillery, and making " various assaults, in which many a brave soldier fell, the Moslems demolished " three towers, one after the other. The besieged then betook themselves to a " fourth, which was the principal one; but this last having also been demolished by " the artillery of the Moslems, the whole of the garrison, amounting to one " hundred and eighty men, were made prisoners, and the conquerors found the " town filled with stores, guns, and ammunition, which they took. Towards " the end of Ramadhán, the Sultán of Granada marched against Almuñecar; on " his way to that city he laid siege to the town of Salobreña, which he took by " storm. The castle, however, offered some resistance, especially as the garrison

War between Abú 'Abdillah and Az-zaghal.

Abú 'Abdillah reduces some fortresses.

"was re-inforced by troops which came by sea from Malaga. As the place was "exceedingly strong, the besieged were enabled to repel the attacks of the Moslems, "who were pressing the siege. Whilst things were in this state, intelligence "reached the camp of the Moslems that the King of Castile was again advancing "towards the meadow of Granada; and accordingly, on the third of Shawwál, the "Sultán raised the siege and retired to his capital, where he had no sooner arrived "than he heard of the appearance of the enemy in the Vega, accompanied by "such among the traitor Moslems as had forsaken their religion, or become the "subjects of the Christians.

"After staying eight days in the Vega, the King of the Christians returned "to his states, having previously dismantled and caused to be evacuated the "fortress of Borju-l-maléhah and another castle. On his way back to his dominions "the infidel passed through the city of Guadix, from which he expelled all the "Moslems, so that no true believer remained either in the city or in its suburbs. "After this he demolished the castle of Andarax, fearing, no doubt, that the sur-"rounding country would revolt against his authority.

Az-zaghal crosses over to Africa.

"When the Sultán Az-zaghal, viz., Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd, the "uncle of the Sultán of Granada, saw this, he hastened to cross over to the "opposite shore of Africa, and arrived at Oran, and from thence at Telemsán, "where he settled, and where his descendants are residing to this day, being well "known there under the appellation of *Bena-s-sultáni-l-andalus* (the sons of the "Sultán of Andalus).

"After this the King of Castile repaired to the extreme frontiers of his kingdom, "a war having broken out between him and the Franks. In the mean while, the "Sultán of Granada marched against Burshénah (Purchena), which he besieged and "took, making the garrison prisoners of war. About the same time the inhabitants "of Finiana made an attempt to shake off the Christian yoke; but the Christian "governor of Guadix having marched against them, the undertaking failed and the "Moslems were defeated.

"In the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year, the Sultán of Granada with-"drew the forces which he had in the Send, and the inhabitants of that district, "[seeing that they had no defence against the enemy], deserted their homes.

Granada besieged.

"On the 12th of Jumáda the second, of the year 896 (March 22, A. D. 1491), the "King of Castile marched his army into the plain of Granada, and began destroying "the crops, demolishing the towns and villages, and subduing the whole country. "He also laid the foundations of a town with walls and a ditch, the building "of which he superintended in person. It had been reported at Granada that "the Christians intended to raise the siege of that capital and return to their

"country; but if they had any such intention they changed their determination, "for, instead of raising their tents, they remained encamped in the city which "they had built, and pressed the siege with greater vigour than ever. The contest "lasted for seven consecutive months, and the Moslems were reduced to great "extremities; but still, as the Christians were encamped at some distance from "Granada, and the communication between that city and the Alpuxarras was not "yet intercepted, the inhabitants received abundant supplies from the district of "Jebal-Sholayr (Sierra Nevada). But when the winter came on, and frost and snow "covered the ground, the produce of the earth grew less, its conveyance to Granada "became more difficult, and provisions became gradually so scarce, that famine "began to be felt in that capital. The enemy, too, had purposely taken possession "of almost every patch of ground out of the city, so that it became impossible to "gather any crops from the surrounding fields, and the condition of the besieged "became every day more distressing and hopeless. This was about the beginning "of the year 897 (Nov. A. D. 1491). It was evident that the enemy's design "was to reduce the city by famine, and not by force of arms. Things being "brought to this plight, great numbers of the inhabitants quitted Granada and "fled to the Alpuxarras. Provisions grew every day more scarce, and in the month "of Safar of the same year (Dec. A. D. 1491) the privations of the people became "almost intolerable. The inhabitants then began to deliberate among themselves "as to the expediency of surrendering to the enemy. They therefore sought the "advice of their Ulemas and other learned men, who recommended them to look "to their own safety, and consult over the matter with the Sultán.

Surrenders to the Castilians.

"Agreeably to this opinion, the Sultán convened his officers of state and coun- "cillors, when this important affair was discussed in his presence. The people "then said, 'The Christians are daily receiving re-inforcements, while we have "none to expect; we all thought and expected that, at the approach of winter, "the Christians would have raised the siege and retired to their country, whereas "our hopes have completely failed; they have built a town in front of our city, "and pressed the siege closer than ever. We ought, therefore, to provide for "our safety and that of our children.' It was then unanimously agreed to adopt "this last determination, and it soon became public that the officers of the army, "fearing for their lives and those of the inhabitants, had for some time been "treating with the Christians about the surrender of the city. Negotiations then "commenced, and a capitulation was drawn up on the same terms as that of "Guadix, although with some additional articles; as, for instance, that the Pope "should be a guarantee for the faithful execution of the treaty, and the strict "observance of every one of the articles therein contained, before the Christians

" should be put in possession of the Alhambra and the other forts; and that " the king should bind himself by oath, after the Christian fashion, to observe " the treaty. The deputies sent by the people of Granada insisted upon the " insertion of this clause; but it was reported that when they came to discuss " the article together, the Christians bribed the Moslem envoys, and gave them " considerable sums of money, to have it omitted in the capitulation. The treaty " was then read over to the inhabitants, who approved of it and gave it their " sanction, some of the principal citizens signing it with their own hands, and " pledging their allegiance to the Castilian king, who accepted it. This done, " the Sultán of Granada left the Alhambra on the second day of Rabi' the " first, of the year 897 (Jan. 3, A. D. 1492), and the Christian sovereign immediately " took possession of it, as well as of the other fortresses in Granada, not without " having first received five hundred of the principal inhabitants of Granada as " hostages, to guard against any treachery on the part of the inhabitants.

Terms of the capitulation.

" The capitulation contained sixty-seven articles, among which were the fol- " lowing, viz.: 'That both great and small should be perfectly secure in their " persons, families, and properties. That they should be allowed to continue in " their dwellings and residences, whether in the city, the suburbs, or any other " part of the country. That their laws should be preserved as they were before, and " that no one should judge them except by those same laws. That their mosques, " and the religious endowments appertaining to them, should remain as they were " in the times of Islám. That no Christian should enter the house of a Moslem, " or insult him in any way. That no Christian or Jew holding public offices by " the appointment of the late Sultán should be allowed to exercise his functions " or rule over them. That all [Moslem] captives made during the siege of Granada, " from whatever part of the country they might have come, but especially the " nobles and chiefs mentioned in the agreement, should be liberated. That such " Moslem captives as might have escaped from their Christian masters, and taken " refuge in Granada, should not be surrendered; but that the Sultán should be " bound to pay the price of such captives to their owners. That all those who " might choose to cross over to Africa should be allowed to take their departure " within a certain time, and be conveyed thither in the king's ships, and without " any pecuniary tax being imposed upon them, beyond the mere charge for passage; " and that after the expiration of that time no Moslem should be hindered from " departing, provided he paid, in addition to the price of his passage, the tithe " of whatever property he might carry along with him. That no one should be " prosecuted and punished for the crime of another man. That the Christians who " had embraced the Mohammedan religion should not be compelled to relinquish

"it, and adopt their former creed. That any Moslem wishing to become Christian "should be allowed some days to consider the step he is about to take; after "which he is to be questioned both by a Mohammedan and a Christian judge "concerning his intended change, and if, after this examination, he still refuse "to return to Islám, he should be permitted to follow his own inclination. That "no Moslem should be prosecuted for the death of a Christian slain during the "siege; and that no restitution of property taken during the war should be "enforced. That no Moslem should be subject to have Christian soldiers billeted "upon him, or be transported to provinces of this kingdom against his will. That "no increase should be made to the usual imposts, but that, on the contrary, "all the oppressive taxes lately imposed should be immediately suppressed. That "no Christian should be allowed to peep over the wall, or into the house of a "Moslem, or enter a mosque. That any Moslem choosing to travel or reside "among the Christians should be perfectly secure in his person and property. "That no badge or distinctive mark be put on them, as was done with the Jews "and Mudejares. That no *muezzin* should be interrupted in the act of calling "the people to prayer, and no Moslem molested either in the performance of his "daily devotions or in the observance of his fast, or in any other religious "ceremony; but that if a Christian should be found laughing at them he should "be punished for it. That the Moslems should be exempted from all taxation for "a certain number of years. That the Lord of Rome (Pope) should be requested "to give his assent to the above conditions, and sign the treaty himself.' These, "and many others that we omit, were the articles of the treaty.

"This matter being settled, and the Christians having taken possession of the "Alhambra, and of the city, the king appointed a governor to that fortress, and "civil officers and magistrates to govern the inhabitants. On learning the conditions "granted to the people of Granada, the inhabitants of the Alpuxarras agreed to the "treaty, and made their submission upon the same terms. The King of Castile "then ordered the necessary repairs to be made in the Alhambra, as well as in the "other fortresses and towers, and applied himself to strengthen its fortifications. "Whilst these works were going on, he came daily to the Alhambra, but returned "every night to his camp, fearing, no doubt, some treachery on the part of the "inhabitants, and he continued to do so until his fears were entirely dissipated. "He also entered the city and visited its different quarters, so as to gain exact "information of the feeling of the inhabitants towards him, and learn other par- "ticulars which he wished to ascertain.

The King of Castile makes his entrance into the Alhambra.

"After this the infidel king ordered the Sultán of the Moslems to repair to the "Alpuxarras, which he said should be his, and to fix his residence at Andarax.

" In compliance with this order, the [deposed] Sultán repaired to that town, and " the Christian troops which occupied the Alpuxarras were immediately withdrawn. " However, some time after, the king made use of the following stratagem to " induce the Sultán to leave Andalus and cross over to Africa; he pretended " that the latter had expressed to him the wish of leaving the country, and wrote " to the governor of Almeria in the following terms: 'On the receipt of this " our letter, let no one hinder Muley Abú 'Abdillah from going to whichever " port of Africa he likes best. Let all those who read the present letter facilitate " every thing for his passage, and observe towards him the conditions stipulated " in the treaty.' Agreeably to the intimation contained in this letter, Abú 'Abdillah " set forth immediately for Almeria, and having embarked at that port, he sailed " for the coast of Africa and landed at Melilla. From thence he went to Fez, " where he settled. His first intention, however, had been to fix his residence " at Morocco, but hearing, on his landing, that the provinces of that empire were " sadly afflicted by famine, pestilence, and other calamities, he desisted from his " project.

Ultimate fate of Abú 'Abdillah.

" The Sultán Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, under whose reign the Mohammedan " empire in Andalus was overthrown, was the son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, son of " the Sultán Sa'd, son of the Amír 'Alí, son of the Sultán Yúsuf, son of the Sultán " Al-ghani-billah [Mohammed V.], he who was the central pearl in the necklace " [of the Nasserite dynasty], the founder of an empire resting upon the most solid " foundations, the true Sultán of that illustrious race, he who lost his throne and " took refuge in the dominions of the Bení Merín of Fez, and was restored by " them to his kingdom, after his pious and generous acts had reached to the " highest pitch, and spread the sweetest odour; in short, the Sultán who had for " Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, son of the Sultán Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf, son of " the Sultán Isma'íl,—who defeated and killed the Christian king Don Pedro in the " plain of Granada,—son of Faraj, son of Isma'íl, son of Yúsuf, son of Nasr, son of " Kays Al-ansárí Al-khazrejí. The mercy of God be upon them all! After his " landing at Melilla, the Sultán directed his course towards the city of Fez, where, " complaining of his unlucky fate, and regretting the kingdom he had lost, he " settled with his family and his adherents, and built some palaces in imitation " of those of Granada, which we ourselves saw and visited during our residence " in that city. He died in Fez in the year 940 (A. D. 1538), (may God forgive " him!) and was buried in front of the chapel outside of *Bábu-sh-sharí'at* (the gate " of the law). He left two male children, one named Yúsuf and the other Ahmed, " whose posterity may still be traced in Fez; for in our time, when we visited " that city in 1037, we were acquainted with some of his posterity, who were

" reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon the charitable allowances made to the " faquirs and poor people out of the funds of the mosques, and who in fact were " nothing more than mere beggars.

" Not many years elapsed before the Christians violated the treaty entered into " with the Moslems, and began to infringe one by one the settled stipulations. " Things even went so far that in the year 904 (beginning Aug. 18, A. D. 1498), " they set about forcing the Moslems to embrace the Christian religion under " various pretences, the most specious of which was that their priests had written " [books] on the conveniency of compelling such Christians as had become " Moslems to embrace their former religion. Notwithstanding the clamour excited " among the Moslem community by so revolting an injustice, the people being " helpless, the measure was carried into execution. Not satisfied with this breach " of the treaty, the Christian tyrants went still farther; they said to a Moslem, " 'Thy ancestor was a Christian, although he made himself a Moslem; thou must " also become a Christian.'

The capitulations are violated.

" When these proceedings became public, the people of the Albayzin rose up in " arms and slew their magistrates; but this was also made an excuse for more " rigorous measures, for, soon after, the poor Moslems were told, 'the king has " promulgated a law by which any one who revolts against his magistrates is " condemned to death, unless he immediately becomes a Christian; so you must " either die or be converted to Christianity.'

" In short, every Moslem, whether residing in Granada or in the neighbourhood, " was enjoined to embrace the religion of the idolaters within a certain time. A " few, however, refused to comply with this order, but it was of no avail to them; " seeing which, they had recourse to arms, and rose in several towns and villages, " such as Belefique, Andarax, and others. Thither the enemy marched his forces, " attacking and pursuing the inhabitants, until they almost exterminated them, " killing a great number, and making the rest captives, except such as fortified " themselves in Jebal-Balanca, and to whom God Almighty was pleased to grant " victory over their enemies; for in a battle which took place there they killed " a great number of the Christians, and amongst them the Lord of Cordova. After " this the Moslems obtained terms of capitulation, and were allowed to cross over " to Fez with their families and moveable property, although they were not per- " mitted to take with them more money than that required for their journey.

The Moslems compelled to embrace the Christian religion.

Their revolt in the Alpuxarras.

" Such of the Moslems as still remained in Andalus, although Christians in " appearance, were not so in their hearts; for they worshipped Allah in secret, " and performed their prayers and ablutions at the proper hours. The Christians " watched over them with the greatest vigilance, and many were discovered and

Their feigned conversion.

" burnt. In the mean time they were forbidden the use of arms, and even small " knives, or any other sharp instrument made of iron. At last, these and other " cruelties having driven the Moslems to despair, they again rose in arms in the " mountainous districts, and on different occasions. But the Almighty not being " pleased to grant victory to their cause, they were every where overpowered and " slain, until they were ultimately expelled from the territory of Andalus,—an " event which took place in our times, in the year 1017 of the Hijra (A. D. 1610). " Many thousands of the unfortunate emigrants went to Fez, thousands to Telem- " sán (Tremecen) from Wahrán (Oran); the greater part took the road to Túnis. " Few, however, reached the place of their destination; for they were assailed " on the road by the Arabs and such as fear not God, and they were plundered " and ill-treated, especially on the road to Fez and Telemsán. Those who directed " their course to Túnis were more fortunate; they, for the most part, reached that " place in safety, and peopled the desert towns and districts of the country, as also " Tetwán, Salé, and the plain of Metidja, near Algiers. Some entered the service " of the Sultán of Maghrebu-l-akssá, who formed them into a body, and allotted " them for a residence the port of Salé, where they have since made themselves " famous by their maritime expeditions against the enemy of God; they have also " fortified the castle, and built themselves houses, palaces, and baths, and still " continue to reside in that place. A few went to Constantinople, to Egypt, " Syria, and to other countries where Islám is predominant, and settled there, " inhabiting now, as we have been told, the same places at which they first fixed " their residence. God, indeed, is the master of all lands and dominions, and gives " them to whomsoever he pleases."

Their ultimate expulsion.

TO THE READER.

SINCE the publication of the first volume of this translation I have had access to new sources of information, which, as they will be frequently cited in the following Notes, I think it necessary to point out. During a late residence in Oxford I made copious extracts from a volume (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxxvii.) containing the history of 'Abdullah, seventh Sultán of Cordova of the dynasty of Umeyyah, by the celebrated Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalaf Ibn Huseyn Al-umawí, better known by the surname of Ibnu Hayyán, of whom I gave a short notice in the Notes to the first volume, p. 310, *note* 3. The volume, which appears to have been the third in the original set, forms part of the history of Mohammedan Spain, entitled *Al-muktabis fí táríkh rejáli-l-andalus* (the imparter of information: on the history of eminent Andalusians), and it contains the history of Spain from the death of Al-mundhir, in A. H. 275 (A. D. 889), to the accession of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., in A. H. 299 (A. D. 912), a period of about twenty-four years. By means of extracts from this precious volume I have been enabled to supply the deficiency to be observed in Al-makkarí, whose account of the reign of 'Abdullah is contained in a few lines. It is a volume in quarto, containing fifty-eight folios, and written in the African character upon coarse brown paper, probably about the middle of the fifteenth century.

I have also used a volume of the Historical Cyclopædia, entitled *Al-'ikd* (the necklaces), by Abú 'Amru Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, a writer of the tenth century, which, among other learned treatises upon the history of the Arabs both in the East and West, contains a valuable history of Mohammedan Spain, from the establishment of the race of Umeyyah till the year 322 (A. D. 934); besides a poem of some length upon the yearly campaigns of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., the Sultán of that dynasty under whose reign and at whose court the author lived. It is a large volume in folio, written in the Eastern hand, in A. H. 1100 (A. D. 1689-90), and forms part of the rich collection of oriental MSS. in the possession of Nathaniel Bland, Esq., to whom I am indebted for the loan of it. I am also indebted to my esteemed friend Dr. R. Dozy, of Leyden, for an accurate transcript of that

portion of An-nuwayrí's work which treats of the Beni Umeyyah of Spain, as well as of that chapter of Ibnu Khaldún's history of Africa which gives the chronology of the Amírs or governors of Mohammedan Spain under the Khalifs.

The works of Ibn Habíb, Ibn Bessám, and Mohammed Al-khoshaní,—all in the Bodleian,—I have likewise used to supply such portions of Al-makkarí's narrative as were either obscure or defective; and I have also given occasional extracts from the volume of Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, upon the conquests and settlements of the Almohades in Spain.

DECEMBER, 1842.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

[1] Mohammedan writers generally give the appellation of *as'háb, i. e.* 'friends or companions,' to all those Arabs who were personally acquainted with their Prophet, or who saw him during their lifetime, and handed down to tradition any of his sayings. The name of *tábi'* (follower) is given to those Arabs who did not see the Prophet, having been born after his death, but who had an opportunity of conversing with the *as'háb* and preserving traditions delivered by them, whether respecting the sayings and doings of Mohammed, or the dogmas of the religion preached by him. Both the *as'háb* and the *tábi's* are divided into *tabakát* (orders or classes), according to the age in which they lived.

It is evident, however, that none of the first class, and very few, if any, of the second, could have entered Spain; since the death of the Prophet happened in A. H. 8 (A. D. 629), and Músa, in whose suite most of them are said to have come, did not land in Spain till A. H. 93 (A. D. 712), an interval of eighty-five lunar or Mohammedan years; but the historians of Spain were not behind those of other Mohammedan countries in extolling the advantages of their native soil. Abú-l-fedá, *De Vita et Rebus Gestis Mahometis*, p. 156.

[2] This author is the 'Abdu-l-malek or 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb so often mentioned in the course of this translation (vol. i. pp. 37, 40, 113, *et passim*). The work here cited is in the Bodleian Library, together with other short treatises of the same sort, and an account of the invasion and conquest of Spain, to which I shall occasionally refer in these Notes. See Nicoll's Cat., No. 127.

[3] Probably the individual mentioned in vol. i. p. 283 of this translation, although his patronymic differs essentially; he being there called البجلي *Al-bajelí*, and here الجيلي *Al-jiyalí*, or الحُبلي *Al-hoblí*, as in the abridgment. However, as both Ibn Habíb (*loco laudato*, fo. 143) and Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 35) write and point the word thus, الجُبَلي *Al-jobelí*, (perhaps because he was born at a place called Jobeyl,) I have followed their reading.

[4] The same individual mentioned in vol. i. pp. 283, 536, and App. p. xlix. I find his name written Ibn Abí Joblah or Jabalah in one of the copies.

[5] Instead of Bení 'Abdi-d-dár, one copy reads Bení 'Abdi-l-kádir. I have already alluded (vol. i. p. 519) to the various meanings of the word *mauli*, which in its primitive sense implies 'one who clings to another for protection,' 'an adherent.' Slaves liberated by their masters became generally *maulis*. The old Spanish word "paniaguado" (one who partakes of the bread and water of another man) would seem the most appropriate translation for it; and it is not unlikely that the word *maula*, meaning in that language 'a shrewd man,' 'one who lives by his wits,' may be derived from it.

[6] B. reads Thábit instead of Thákib. The *Tekmílah* (complement) is an historical work by the celebrated Ibnu-l-abbár (Abú Bekr Al-kodha'í).

[7] Al-muneydhir, whom Conde (vol. i. p. 35) calls 'Almonacir,' is the diminutive of Al-mundhir, and means 'the little counsellor.'

[8] That is, Yúsuf Ibn 'Omar, &c., (see vol. i. pp. 37, 182,) whose *Isti'áb fí ma'refati-l-as'háb*, or 'comprehensive history of the companions,' is mentioned by Hájí Khalfah (Fluegel's transl. vol. i. p. 276).

[9] Elsewhere written Al-wádheh and Al-wadháh; the meaning, however, is the same. His entire name was Mohammed Ibn Wadhdháh Ibn Yazigh يزيغ Abú 'Abdillah. Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 40, *verso*) says that he was a *mauli* of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., and that he made a journey to the East in search of learning. He died at Cordova in A. H. 286.

[10] Hájí Khalfah (vol. ii. p. 148) mentions this author among the historians of Egypt. His entire name was 'Alí Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Ahmed Ibn Yúnas Al-munajjem, or the astronomer. He died in A. H. 399 (A. D. 1008-9.)

[11] فج الميدة 'the pass of the table,' or 'the pass of Almeyda;' but whether so called from the shape of the mountain, or from the table of Suleymán, is not stated. This pass is the defile leading from the mountains in the vicinity of Cordova to the plain wherein that city stands. Ibnu Hayyán (*Al-muktabis*, fo. 70), treating of an incursion made by the rebel Ibn Hafssún within sight of Cordova, during the reign of 'Abdullah, says, ان اسري من مدينة استجة عمله ليلا حتي وقف بفج الميدة المطل علي باب قرطبة 'he stole out of Ezija, where he had his quarters, at night, and marched until he stood on the mountain-pass of Almeyda, which commands the gate of Cordova.'

[12] During the first years after the death of Mohammed, whenever a mosque was to be erected, the laying of the foundations تسيس was intrusted to one of his companions.

[13] All the copies I have consulted read distinctly و قبره فيها معروف عند باب اليهود بغرب المدينة—but Conde, (vol. i. p. 64,) on what authority it is not stated, says that he was buried near the southern gate of Saragossa. His death is said to have happened A. H. 98, after he had held for some years the government of Saragossa. The word حنش which I have read 'Hansh,' may also be pronounced 'Hanash.'

14 The year of Yarmúk, or the 13th year of the Hijra, in which the Arabs, under Abú 'Obeydah Ibnu-l-jerráh, defeated the generals of Heraclius. In like manner the Arabs of Spain called the 479th year of the Hijra *'A'mu-l-zalákah* (the year of Zalaca), and the 591st *'A'mu-l-alarkosh* (the year of Alarcos), in commemoration of the two victories gained at those places over the Christians. But there must be some mistake here; for how could 'Alí Ibn Rabáh be present at a battle fought in A. H. 13, and be still living in Spain in A. H. 98? In vol. i. p. 536 of this translation, I have called this *tábi'* 'Alí Ibn Rabi', by mistake.

15 ذات السواري is the name of a station on the northern coast of Africa, between Tripoli and Alexandria. This battle is said to have been fought in A. H. 31, and the Moslem fleet to have been commanded, not by 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'd or Sa'íd, but by 'Abdullah Ibn Rabi'ah. See Price, *Chron. Retrosp. of Moham. Hist.* vol. i. p. 164.

16 The same has been said of Músa Ibn Nosseyr elsewhere. See vol. i. p. 298.

17 Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, frequently quotes this historian, whom he makes a native of Cairwán.

18 B. says "at five-and-twenty days' march," which is, no doubt, a mistake of the copyist. The distance, however, is considerably greater than twenty-five miles.

19 The abridgment reads "in his *lesser* work." Al-bokhárí (Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl) made three editions of his history of the Mohammedan traditionists; the "greater," the "middling," and the "lesser." The first he is reported to have written at Medína on the tomb of the Prophet. See Hájí Khalfah, *Lex. Bibl. Ency.* sub voc. *Tárikh.*

20 تنبيه و التعيين لمن دخل الاندلس من التابعين is the title of this work, which was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

21 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah Al-fehrí (see App. vol. i. p. lxii.) He was the son of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', the African conqueror.

22 Called elsewhere Al-leyth Ibn Sa'd. He must have been present at the taking of Toledo and other large cities in Spain; for Ibn Habíb and other ancient historians frequently cite him, as well as his brother Yahya Ibn Sa'd, as their authority for the principal events of the conquest. See App. vol. i. p. lxxiv.

23 The word translated by 'measures' is اكيال *akyál*, the plural of كيل *kíl*, which means 'a measure for grain.' From *kíl* comes *makílah*, *i. e.* the toll [in grain] which a miller receives for his grist, and hence the Spanish words 'maquíla' (the toll), and 'maquilero' (the man appointed to receive it).

24 This officer is called Zayde Ben Kesadi el Sekseki by Conde (vol. i. p. 36), who attributes to him the taking of Granada. See also vol. i. p. 529, *note* 77, of this translation.

25 Elsewhere called Mansúr Ibn Abí Khozaymah.

26 *Yaumu-l-jemal* (the day of the camel), or the day of the celebrated battle fought in A. H. 36 (A. D. 656) between 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib and the partisans of 'Ayeshah, the widow of the Prophet, who appeared borne in a litter placed upon the back of a camel.

CHAPTER II.

1 For an account of this work, see vol. i. p. 318, *note* 28.

2 ركبنا سفينا للمجاز مقيرا ∴ عسي ان يكون الله منا قد اشتري
نفوسًا و اموالاً و اهلا بجنّة ∴ اذا ما اشتهينا الشي فيها تيسرا
و لسنا بنالي كيف سالت نفوسنا ∴ اذا نحن ادركنا الذي كان اجدرا

3 Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah says that the eldest was named اَلْمند Almond or Elmond, (Olmundo?); the second رُملة Romulo, and the third ارطباس Artebás or Ardebasto.

4 The word *Thagher* may mean here either the province of Toledo or that of Aragon; it is, however, impossible to determine which of the two is intended, for want of an adjective. If *al-adaní* (nearest), it would be Toledo; if *al-'alí* (upper), Aragon.

5 The name of this general may be written, either مُغَيْث 'Mugheyth,' as I have it, or مُغِيث 'Mughíth,' which would seem to be more correct. I have, however, chosen the former reading, because Rodericus Toletanus, who was well versed in the language of the Arabs, calls him *Mogeit*.

6 It would appear that Rodericus Toletanus had consulted the author whose narrative is here introduced by Al-makkarí. See *Rerum in Hisp. Gest. Chron.* lib. III. cap. xxiii. In the *Cron. Gen.* (edit. of Zamora, 1541, fo. cciv.) we find, "e dizen que ninguno de los otros Señores de España fue preso "a vida salvo este solo, ca los otros defendieronse ellos por sí o se pleytearon."

7 و قد اعدت له خرقة مسمومة لتمسح بها ذكره عند وقاعها

8 See vol. i. pp. 292-4. The Arabian writers keep silence as to Tárik's ultimate fate: I have, in vain, turned over many volumes in the hope of finding some further account of him; but, after his arrival at Damascus, no mention is made of the conqueror of Spain.

9 Ibnu Hayyán, Adh-dhobí, and other writers, allude frequently to a palace which preserved still, in the twelfth century, the name of its owner, Mugheyth, the conqueror of Cordova.

[10] The author of the *Kitábu-l-iktifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá* (see vol. i. App. D.) says positively that Mugheyth died at Cordova in the palace known by his name (Balátt Mugheyth), and that he left a son, named 'Abdu-l-wáhed. Adh-dhobí says that he was in Aragon in A. H. 96. See *Cartas para ilustrar la hist. de España*, p. lxxxv.

[11] اعنتكم و لكن لا وفيتم ∴ فسوف اعيث في غرب و شرق

[12] 'Ammár Ibn Yásir, one of the most favourite companions of the Prophet, who used to say of him that "truth and justice would ever be found on his side." He was one of the insurgents who revolted against the Khalif 'Othmán; and he followed the banners of 'Alí against 'Ayeshah and Mu'áwiyah, until he was slain at the battle of Sefayn, in A. H. 38.

[13] Instead of 'Ibn Abí 'Obeydah,' the abridgment reads 'Ibn 'Abdah.' See also vol. i. p. 283. The name of this officer, one of those who signed the treaty concluded with Theodomir the Goth, in A. H. 94, (see Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 106,) is differently written by the authors whom I have consulted. Some, like Ibnu Khaldún, write it 'Habíb Ibn *'Abdah;*' others, 'Habíb Ibn *'Obeydah;*' others, again, 'Habíb Ibn *Abí 'Obeydah* Ibn 'Okbah;' whilst there are not wanting writers, as Al-homaydí, who call him 'Habíb Ibn [Abí 'Obeydah] *'Okbah,*'—thus making him the son, instead of the grandson, of the celebrated conqueror of Mauritania. I have, however, followed the reading in A., which is also that given by An-nuwayrí in his history of Africa. See the translation of M. de Slane, in the Journal Asiatique, *ser.* III. tom. xi. p. 564.

[14] This statement is confirmed by Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 84, *verso*), who calls him *Ibn Mulámis*, instead of *Ibn Mulábis*.

[15] 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah is another of the chiefs who signed the treaty of Orihuela. عبدة 'Abdah is frequently written عبيدة 'Obeydah in copies of this work. If so, 'Othmán was the brother of Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah.

[16] Abú Zor'ah might also be pronounced Abú Zar'ah, and might be identified with the 'Abuzara' of Isidorus Pacensis, *Chron.* No. 34.

CHAPTER III.

[1] Ibn Ghálib (Abú Ghálib Temám) is the same author as is mentioned in vol. i. pp. 35, 77, and p. 332, *note* 23. The title of his work is sometimes written *Forhatu-l-anfus* instead of *Forjatu-l-anfus*; but the meaning is the same.

[2] Huseyn, the son of 'Alí, was put to death in A. H. 61, under the Khalifate of Yezíd Ibn Mu'áwiyah, the second Sultán of the race of Umeyyah.

[3] I find this word written زُهْرَة in every copy of Al-makkarí, except that belonging to the library of Gotha, which does not give the vowels. Jewharí writes it *Zahrah*, and says that Zahrah was the mother of Keláb, son of Morrah, &c.

[4] According to Al-kalkashandí (Brit. Mus., No. 7353, fo. 7, *verso*), the sons of 'Adí, son of Kossay, son of Keláb, together with other branches of the family of Koraysh, were called *Adh-dhawáhir* (the external), because they dwelt out of the precincts of the temple.

[5] By the Bení Al-kásim the author means the family of Abú 'Abdillah Kásim Ibn Kásim, Lord of Alpont or Alpuente, mentioned in vol. i. p. 171, and p. 449, *note* 11. The life of a poet, named Abú Mohammed Ibnu-l-kásim, who was, no doubt, descended from the same stock, is given in the *Mattmah* by Ibn Khákán (Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 124).

[6] No doubt the same author mentioned in vol. i. pp. 37, 171, and p. 334, *note* 31; since, according to Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 118), he wrote a work on the genealogy of the Arabian tribes which settled in Spain.

[7] Our author here transcribes the words of Ibn Ghálib, who, no doubt, introduced a notice of this traveller under the head of his native place. The clan or family here named the Bení Waksh or Wakash gave their name to a small town, still called Huecas, in the neighbourhood of Toledo.

Al-makkarí gives the life of Ibn Jobeyr in Part I. Book V., among those of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain to travel in the East. "Abú-l-huseyn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Jobeyr Al-kenání Al-andalusí Ash-shátibí Al-balensí, the author of the celebrated book of travels, was the descendant of Dhamrah Ibn Bekr Ibn 'Abdi-m-menát عبد المناة of the tribe of Kenánah. He was born at Valencia on the night of Saturday, the 10th of Rabi' the first, of 540 (Sept. A. D. 1145). Other dates, however, are assigned for his birth. He studied at Shátibah (Xatiba) under his father Ahmed, and under Abú 'Abdillah Al-assílí (from Arsila), and Abú-l-hasan Ibn Abí-l-'aysh; the latter being his instructor in the science of reading the Korán. Ibn Jobeyr started from Granada on Thursday, the 8th of Shawwál of 567 (A. D. 1172), and arrived in Alexandria on Saturday, the 29th of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year, after a passage of thirty days from Andalus. He also visited Mekka, Medína, and Al-kods (Jerusalem), Syria, 'Irák, Jezírah (Mesopotamia), and other countries. The cause of his leaving Andalus is thus related by Ibnu-r-rakík. Ibn Jobeyr was the secretary of Abú Sa'íd, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, governor of Granada. Having once been summoned to his presence to write a letter in his name, Ibn Jobeyr found Abú Sa'íd drinking wine, of which he presented him a cupful; but upon Ibn Jobeyr refusing to drink the liquor, on the plea that he had never tasted wine before, Abú Sa'íd said, "By God! thou shalt now drink seven bumpers instead of one;" upon which Ibn Jobeyr, seeing no way to avoid the will of the governor, drank the seven glasses of wine, one after the other, as commanded, after which the governor filled him the cup seven times with gold dinárs. Ibn Jobeyr then determined to spend the money he had received upon a pilgrimage to Mekka by way of atonement for his sin: he therefore told the governor that he had made a vow to make a pilgrimage that very year, and Abú Sa'íd granted him the permission he required. Ibn Jobeyr returned to Andalus in 581 (A. D. 1185); but, after spending some time in that country, he again sailed for the East, and died at Alexandria on Wednesday, the 27th of Sha'bán of the year 614 (A. D. 1217). Ibnu-r-rakík says that he died in the ensuing year (A. H. 615)."

The remainder of Ibn Jobeyr's biography, which occupies upwards of seventy pages in some of the copies, is filled with extracts from his travels relating to Damascus and other cities in the East. Almakkarí, too, takes the opportunity of introducing many long passages from a work of his own, entitled 'sweet odour of the flowers on the history of Damascus.' See the Account of the Author and his Writings, vol. i. p. xxxiii.

Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, gives also the life of Ibn Jobeyr, with much more detail. One of his ancestors ('Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Jobeyr) entered Spain in the suite of Balj the Syrian, in the month of Moharram, 123, and settled at Shidhúnah (Sidonia or Ciudeña). He made three journeys to the East: the 1st in 578 (beginning May 6, A. D. 1182), when he started from Granada on Thursday, the 8th of Shawwál, and returned to that city eight days before the end of Moharram, 581 (Aug. A. D. 1185). When he heard of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin, he determined upon journeying a second time to the East, and left Granada on Thursday, the ninth of Rabi' the first, 585 (April, A. D. 1189), returning on Thursday, the 13th of Sha'bán, 587 (Sept. A. D. 1191). He passed some time at Granada, then at Malaga, and, lastly, at Ceuta. On the death of his wife, the daughter of the Wizír Abú Ja'far Al-wakshí, Ibn Jobeyr, who was much attached to her, determined upon making a third pilgrimage. On his return from Mekka he settled at Alexandria, where he died. He left, besides his book of travels, a collection of his own poems, entitled نظام الجُمان في التشكي من اخوان الزمان and several others.

[8] Midrakah, from *daraka*, 'to overtake one in the race,' means a very swift runner. It was the surname of 'Amru Ibn Elyás, who, it is said, used, when young, to run faster than his father's camels.

[9] Abú-t-táhir is the appellative of Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf At-temímí Al-mázení, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-eshterkúní, who, according to Hájí Khalfah, and Casiri (vol. ii. pp. 73, 163), died in 538 (A. D. 1143), and wrote a book of Makámát (sittings) in imitation of those of Harírí, entitled *Makámátu-s-sarakostiyah* (the sittings of Saragossa). Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Makámát*) says that they were also known by the title of *Al-kortobiyah* (the sittings of Cordova), because they were written in that city after the author had perused the celebrated ones by Harírí. As to the title of *Al-lazúmiyyah*, it appears that they were so called owing to their being written in the kind of poetry called *luzúm*. Some of the Makámát of Abú-t-táhir were published at Amsterdam, with a Latin translation, by J. Asso del Rio, a Spaniard; "Bibliotheca Arabica Aragonensis," Amstelodami, 1782, 4to.

[10] Bení Júda or Júdí جُودي as written by Ibnu Hayyán. To this family belonged the celebrated Sa'íd Ibn Suleymán Ibn Júdí Ibn Asbatt, who, after the death of Sawwár Ibn Hamdún Al-kaysí, in A. H. 277, was elected chief of the Arabian tribes inhabiting Elvira and Granada, then at war with the Muwallads, or people of mixed blood. Having been confirmed in his office by 'Abdullah, the Sultán of Cordova, Sa'íd took the field against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún (chief of the party of the Muwallads), whom he defeated in several sanguinary encounters, until he himself fell a victim to treason, and was assassinated in A. H. 284 (A. D. 897). Ibnu Hayyán, from whom the above details are borrowed, says that Asbatt, the great-grandfather of Sa'íd, had been *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*, or captain of the guard of Al-hakem I. of Cordova, and that Sa'íd possessed the ten qualities which ought to grace a chief; namely, horsemanship, beauty, generosity, facility in writing verses, eloquence, strength, and dexterity in the handling of the spear and the sword, as well as in shooting arrows. Ibnu Hayyán, *Muktabis*, fo. 22.

[11] Called بغيضا Baghídhá by Ibn Koteybah.

[12] That is, the tribes which remained after the destruction of Thamúd, alluded to in the Korán. See chapter 27 of Sale's translation.

[13] I find this name written *Jozaymah* in every copy I have consulted; but there can be no doubt that Al-makkarí meant Khozaymah, the son of Midrakah. Jozaymah was likewise the name of a tribe forming part of that of Rabí'ah. See Ibn Koteybah, *apud* Eichhorn, Table viii.

[14] أبان—but I find it written إياد Iyád in As-sam'ání, Al-kalkashandí, and other genealogists.

[15] To this family belonged the three physicians known in the middle ages, and frequently confounded together under the generic name of Avenzoar or Abinzohar. See vol. i. App. A.

[16] This distinction between the Bení Modhar بني مضر or Arabs from Yemen, who were descended from the stock of 'Adnán, and the sons of Kahttán, or Beledí Arabs, as they are otherwise called, has been completely overlooked by Conde and most of the authors who have written after him. It is, however, of the greatest importance for the historical observer, as it furnishes him with a clue to those inveterate feuds, the source of so many civil wars which distracted the Mohammedan empire in Spain, and ultimately caused its ruin. Conde invariably read اقبال مصر (the tribes of Misr or Egypt), instead of اقبال مضر (the tribes issued from Modhar), which, I need not remark, has led his translators into a variety of mistakes. M. Romey, the author of an excellent history of Spain in French, now in course of publication, is, as far as I am aware, the only one who seems to have understood all the importance of this distinction. He was, however, mistaken in supposing that the 'Abdáris, or Arabs of the tribe of 'Abdu-d-dár, were descended from the stock of Kahttán, and were therefore comprised among the Arabs of Yemen. 'Abdu-d-dár was the son of Zeyd, son of Keláb, the descendant of Modhar, son of Nezar, son of Ma'd, son of 'Adnán. See Ibn Koteybah, *apud* Eichhorn, p. 63.

[17] Even if the subsequent pages did not afford abundant proofs that the conquerors of Spain lived in most instances in clans or tribes, the study of Spanish topography would convince us of the truth. The names of Alfaharin (Fehr), Beniaux (Aus), Beni Calaf (Khalaf), Jorairata (Horayrah), Julina (Khaulán), Mazan (Mázin), Zalamea (Salámah), and several more towns that I could point out, are all derived from the tribes or families which settled in them.

[18] Ibn Koteybah calls him Nábit. See Eichhorn, *Monum. Antiq. Hist. Arab.* p. 61.

[19] Probably the descendants of Muhlib Ibn Abí Sofrah, whose son Yezíd was the favourite of the Khalif Suleymán, and interceded with him in behalf of Músa. See vol. i. App. p. lxxxvi.

[20] The tribes of Aus and Khazrej, two brothers, who were the sons of Harithah Ibn Tha'lebah, &c. See Ibn Koteybah, *apud* Eichhorn, p. 146, and Table xiii. They obtained the surname of Ansár (helpers), because a few individuals of each tribe assisted the Prophet in his flight from Mekka to Medína. They were very numerous in Spain, especially about Saragossa, where they settled on their arrival.

21 I read plainly عك بن عدنان 'Akk the son of 'Adnán in all the copies; but it is evidently a mistake, since the author is now speaking of those tribes derived from Kahttán, and not of those descended from 'Adnán. Perhaps عدثان *'Adathán*, who was the son of Hazzán, son of Azd, is to be substituted.

22 Instead of *Aushalah*, mentioned as one of the ancestors of the Bení Hamdán, one of the copies reads *Ausalah*. There were in the territory of Granada several places named after this tribe, but the one here alluded to was in the Taa or district of Poqueyra. See Marmol, *Rebelion de los Moriscos*, fo. 64.

As to the Bení Dhaha ضحي which word Ibnu-l-khattíb writes أضحي Odh'ha, they were an influential family of Granada. That historian gives the life of one, who was preacher to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. of Cordova, and died in 316. Ibnu Hayyán (*Al-muktabis*, fo. 23) speaks also of a chief named Mohammed Ibn Odh'ha Ibn 'Abdi-l-lattíf Al-hamdání, who was the sworn enemy of Sa'íd Ibn Júda (see above, *note* 10, p. 401), against whom he made war at the head of his tribe.

23 From this family were descended the Abencerrages of Granada so celebrated in romance.

24 Instead of Morád, son of Málik, son of Odad, the abridgment reads Morád, son of Ghálib, &c., which is decidedly a mistake. See Ibn Koteybah, *loco laudato*, p. 141.

25 Concerning this castle, now in ruins, and which has long been supposed to have been inhabited by Count Julian, see my note, vol. i. p. 538.

26 All the copies but one read here المغافر Al-mugháfer, by the addition of one point; but I have had no hesitation in adopting the reading as in the text, especially as Al-kalkashandí (*loco laudato*, under the letter *mim*) says that Al-ma'áfer was a clan of the tribe of Hamdán المعافر هو حي من حمدان

27 I am unable to determine whether the author here called Al-házemí is the same Ibn Hazm, mentioned at p. 21, or not.

CHAPTER IV.

1 It is doubtful whether 'Abdu-l-'azíz in person made war on the Christians. He had concluded a peace with Theodomir, which he not only would not break himself, but prevented others from doing so, defending the Gothic prince even against the attacks of his own countrymen. (Borbon, *Cartas*, fo. lxxxiv.) In the north of Spain his arms were not inactive. Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah Al-fehrí, whom Músa had left in command of part of the forces, with instructions to prosecute the conquest, made an incursion into Galicia; whilst Ayúb Al-lakhmí and Mugheyth carried on the war against the people of Aragon and Navarre; but at none of these expeditions was 'Abdu-l-'azíz present.

[2] 'Abdu-l-'azíz was not put to death by the army, but by emissaries of Suleymán. (See App. A. at the end of this volume.) As to the causes which prompted that Khalif to order his execution, they have been variously stated; some saying that he made an alliance offensive and defensive with the fugitives of Galicia; others, that he embraced the Christian religion, and was meditating the massacre of the Moslems (Adh-dhobí, *apud* Borbon, *Cartas*, p. lxxxii. *et seq.*); but his having married Roderic's widow, his determination to keep the treaty made with Theodomir, the slight and irreverent manner in which he spoke of his sovereign, when he heard of his father's treatment, and last, not least, his wish, real or pretended, to shake off the yoke of the Khalif,—of which we find ample testimony in Isidorus, (*Chron.* No. 42,)—were sufficient motives to induce that revengeful monarch to order his death.

[3] ام عاصم 'Umm 'A'ssem' is a common name in the East, and does not mean 'she of the precious necklaces,' as asserted by Conde (vol. i. p. 58). Adh-dhobí and Ibn Habíb say that her Christian name was ايلة Eyilah. The Spanish chroniclers call her 'Egilona.'

[4] The text reads و سكن معها في كنيسة باشبيلية — the historical fragment published by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325) بكنيسة ربينة بقرية [بقربة] اشبيلية — which that author translates by *Templo Salvatoris*, but which means 'at the synagogue of the Jews.' Conde, who met with the same passage, mistook the words *Kenísah Rabbínah* (the synagogue of the Rabbís) for the name of the village whereat 'Abdu-l-'azíz was residing (vol. i. p. 62); but that a synagogue, and no other place, is here meant, is clearly proved by a passage from Adh-dhobí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. lxxxii.), wherein it is expressly stated that 'Abdu-l-'azíz took up his residence in a synagogue في كنيسة اليهود—At the time of the invasion of Spain by the Arabs, the Jews were no longer allowed to profess their religion in public; but the building wherein 'Abdu-l-'azíz dwelt might have been in former times a synagogue, or else have been converted into one; since the Jews of Spain are known to have been restored to all their rights and privileges by the conqueror, in reward for their services at the time of the invasion.

[5] With the single exception of the anonymous author of a fragment published by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325), all other writers whom I have consulted place the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz in the last days of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 97. The author of the *Ahádíthu-l-siyásat wa-l-imámat* (vol. i. App. E. p. xc.), says, it is true that 'Abdu-l-'azíz was put to death at the end of the year 99; but as the words سبع (seven) and تسع (nine) are easily mistaken, and my copy, moreover, is far from being correctly written, the statement cannot invalidate the testimony of so many other writers: Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 63; Borbon, *Cartas*, p. ci.; Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 324; Al-homaydí, fo. 5, &c. The duration of his government is likewise generally stated at two years; but if his father, Músa, left Spain in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 94, as asserted (vol. i. p. 292), the government of 'Abdu-l-'azíz must have lasted *three* years; and indeed we find it so stated in Isidorus Pacensis (*Chron.* No. 42). The difficulty can only be surmounted by supposing Músa to have departed from Spain in the year 95, instead of 94, as stated in vol. i. p. 292.

[6] لعنة الله عليه ان كان الذي قتله خيراً منه Conde (vol. i. p. 65) did not fully understand the meaning of these words. Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. v.

[7] Some writers do not include Ayúb in the number of the Spanish Amírs; no doubt because his appointment, having emanated from the army, was considered illegal. Others, like Al-hasan Al-laghúwí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. xcvii.), do include him; but they make him succeed Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah, the murderer of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. The author of the *Siyásat wa-l-imámat* (App. p. v.) says, that immediately after the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, the army chose 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán [*lege* 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah] Al-gháfekí to be his successor, and that Habíb and his accomplices repaired to Damascus. I shall often have to point out in the Notes to this chapter and the following, how far the historians, whose works are known to us, disagree respecting the chronology of the Spanish Amírs. Indeed, upon no period of Mohammedan history does there seem to hang so much obscurity as upon that anterior to the establishment of the race of Umeyyah in Spain. The Arabs were then far from having attained the historical acquirements by which they became afterwards so celebrated; and a few verbal traditions are the only records remaining of those early times. With a view, therefore, to illustrate this part of Al-makkarí's narrative, and to establish, if possible, in a more satisfactory manner the chronology of this period, I here subjoin a translation of two Arabic fragments, giving the series of the Spanish Amírs, and the length of their respective reigns; one by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxvii. fo. 143); the other from the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb*, a species of Arabic cyclopædia, of which I possess a copy.

Chronology of the Governors of Andalus according to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb.

We were told by 'Abdu-l-malek, who held it from Ibráhím Ibn Al-mundhir Al-hidhámí (Al-jodhámí?), who held it from Al-wákedí. He said: Tárik stayed in Andalus one year, counting from the day of his entrance until he quitted it. After him governed Músa Ibn Nosseyr two years and one month; then his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz two years; then Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí two years and eight months; then As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání two years and nine months; then 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí four years and five months; then Yahya Ibn Salámah [Salmah?] two years and six months; then Hodhayfah Ibnu-l-ahwass Al-'absí was governor one year; then 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-khath'amí five months; then Al-haytham Ibn 'Obeyd four months. After him governed 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Obeydillah two years and eight months; then 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehrí four years; then 'Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj As-selúlí five years and two months; then Balh (Balj) Ibn Beshr Al-kaysí eleven months; then governed after him, some say conjointly with him, Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-'ámelí five months; then came the rising of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb, of Umeyyah, and Kattan, and of Yúsuf, with their followers, who, having joined their forces, attacked Balh, defeated and wounded him; and he (Balh) died seven days after the battle. After this Abú-l-khattár governed two years; then [Abú] Thuábah Al-hidhámí [Al-jodhámí] governed one year; then Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán seven [or nine] years and nine months, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán landed and took the country from him.

The same, according to the Reyhánu-l-lebáb wa rey'ánu-sh-shebáb fí marátibi-l-adab, *by Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím.*

After the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-kaysí governed Andalus for two years and three months. After him As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání governed two years and nine months; then 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí governed four years and five months; then Yahya Ibn Moslemah مسلمة (*lege* Salmah) two years and six months; then Hodheyfah Ibnu-l-ahwas Al-kaysí one year; then 'Othmán Ibn Sa'd سعد (*lege* Nes'ah) Al-khath'amí five months; then Al-haytham Ibn

'Obeyd [Al-kelábí] five months; then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí Al-'akkí two years and eight months; then 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan four years; then 'Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj [As-selúlí] five years and two months; then Balj Ibn Beshr Al-kusheyrí ruled eleven months, and died in a battle against 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb [a chief], who had risen in arms against him; then Abú-l-khattár Husám Ibn Dhirár Al-kelbí two years; then Thuábah Al-jodhámí one year; then Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí nine years and nine months.

8 Kashtélah, or كشتلة Kashtellah, as written elsewhere. Castile (Castella) was at that time called 'Bardulia.'

9 If Al-horr arrived in Andalus at the end of 98, the government *ad interim* of Ayúb Ibn Habíb must have lasted one whole year, not six months, as here stated. An author cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. c.) says distinctly, that "Ayúb governed Spain from the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz in Dhí-l-hajjah of 97, to the same month of 98, when he himself was deposed by Al-horr; and that the appointment of Ayúb proceeded from the army, not from the Khalif." This explains why the anonymous writer translated by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325), and followed by Conde (vol. i. p. 64), says that Spain remained one year without a governor, which must be understood to mean without a governor appointed by the Khalif.

10 The account of Ibnu Hayyán is the most probable, as it agrees with the duration of Al-horr's administration. As-samh or As-samah is the Zama of Isidorus Pacensis, who, by some unaccountable mistake, makes two governors out of one. See also Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xi.), who fell into the same mistake, calling the first Zama and the second 'Azam[ah] ben Melich.'

11 See vol. i. p. 212, where the author attributes the erection of the bridge either to As-samh, in A. H. 101, or to his successor 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xi.) says that it was built by the former in A. H. 102; but in all probability it was begun under As-samh, and completed under 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Conde (vol. i. p. 75) attributes its erection, or rather its restoration, to 'Anbasah.

12 The text reads و امره ان يخمس من ارض اندلس ما كان عنوة—Ibnu Khaldún has only ان يخمس ارض الاندلس—Conde (vol. i. p. 75) translated *khamasa* by 'divided into five portions,' a signification of which that word may admit; but which, in this instance, cannot with propriety be given to it. The districts which still remained in the hands of the Christians were too inconsiderable to be divided into five portions, much less to be worthy of a description. What 'Omar wanted was a descriptive account of Spain, as well as the fifth of the spoil, or of the taxes levied on the Christian population, which belonged to him by right. See Isidorus Pacensis, *Chron.* No. 48.

13 Ibnu Hayyán wrote after the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, and when the conquests of Ferdinand III. of Castile and Ramiro I. of Aragon were daily narrowing the limits of the Mohammedan empire.

14 The word بلاط *balátt*, which seems a corruption of 'platea,' means here the Roman causeway, near Toulouse, in the vicinity of which the battle was fought. See Reinaud's *Invasion des Sarrasins en*

France, &c., p. 18, *et seq.*, where this and other events connected with the history of that country are treated with great erudition and skill.

15 *Yaumu-t-tarwiyah* or 'the day of the drinking,' so called because the pilgrims usually drink of the waters of the well Zemzem. It is the 8th day of Dhí-l-hajjah, not the 9th, as erroneously stated by Conde (vol. i. p. 72), and answers to May 10, A. D. 721, which date agrees well with the accounts of the Christian chroniclers, who place the battle of Toulouse in 721. Among the Arabs, however, there are many who postpone the battle till the ensuing year. Besides Conde (vol. i. p. 72) and Adh-dhobí, *apud* Casiri (vol. ii. p. 137), there is Al-azdí (Ahmed Ibn Ahmed), cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxxix.), who says positively that As-samh was killed on the 18th of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 103 (A. D. 722). That author adds that As-samh was slain in Asturias, not in France, fighting with Pelayo. Another writer (Mohammed Abú 'Abdillah Al-hijárí) corroborates that statement, and says that the death of As-samh took place in the neighbourhood of Leon, in an engagement with the Asturian prince—و قُتل السمح علي مقربة ليون في المعركة مع بلاي ∴ ∴

Don Faustino Borbon has devoted a whole letter (*Carta* XVI.) to prove that As-samh died in Spain in A. H. 103, in battle with Pelayo, not in France at the battle of Toulouse, as generally believed. It would, indeed, appear from the quotations which that author inserts in his work, that As-samh invaded France, took Narbonne, advanced as far as Toulouse, and fought the battle, which he lost, and in which he was wounded و ضُرب السمح لنفسه (another writer says و ربما قُتل السمح لانه جرح 'in which he was near being killed, for he was wounded'). As-samh then returned into Spain, and, hearing that Pelayo had besieged Leon, marched against him, and fought with him the battle in which he was slain. Be this as it may, if As-samh was appointed in Ramadhán, A. H. 100, and his death took place in Dhí-l-hajjah, 102, his administration could not have lasted more than two years and three months,—not eight months, as here stated.

16 Instead of 30, one of the copies reads 300. The rising of Pelayo, however, took place some years before, during the administration of Al-horr, in A. H. 99 (A. D. 717-8). That governor, being then occupied in a war with the Franks, sent one of his lieutenants, named علقمة 'Alkamah (the Alxaman of Rodericus), against the Asturian rebels; but the Moslems were defeated, and their general slain. "In the year 99, Al-horr," says Adh-dhobí (fo. 17), "having heard of the rising of the Christians [in "Asturias], sent against them his general, 'Alkamah, who was [defeated and] killed." و في سنة ٩٩ علم الحرّ بامر الروم و ارسل عليهم علقمة و قُتل علقمة—This date, moreover, agrees better with those given by the Christian chroniclers for the rising of Pelayo: "Antequam Dominus Pelagius regnaret, "Sarraceni regnarunt in Hispania annis quinque." See *Cronicon Complutense* necnon *Chronicon Conimbricense*, apud Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* vol. xxiii.; see also Borbon, *Cartas*, p. xiii. *et seq.*

17 Among the latter is Ibnu Khaldún (fol. 2, *verso*), who says positively that 'Anbasah استشهد 'died a martyr to the faith.' Adh-dhobí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxlvi.), employs the word مات 'he died,' which is generally used to designate natural death. According to Conde (vol. i. p. 78), 'Anbasah died of his wounds, some days after the battle. All, however, agree as to the year of his death (A. H. 107); and Al-azdí (Borbon, *Cartas*, ubi supra) adds that it took place on the 5th of Jumáda

the 1st (Sept. A. D. 725), which agrees better with the length assigned to his administration than the month of Sha'bán.

[18] عُذرة or عزرة Ozrah, as in the abridgment. Al-homaydí (fo. 87, *verso*) calls him عَذَرَة 'Adhrah; Conde, (vol. i. p. 78) Hodeira, which reading he, no doubt, took from Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 53). He governed the country until the appointment of Yahya, in Sha'bán, A. H. 107.

[19] See Conde (vol. i. p. 179), who calls him 'Ben Adra.' Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, treats of a family called the Beni 'Odhrah, who resided in that capital.

[20] Conde (vol. i. p. 78) says that the appointment of this governor took place in the beginning of 107, and his removal in 108! How to reconcile these dates with those given by Al-makkarí after Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, it is by no means easy to determine.

As to the difference in the duration of Yahya's rule, which some writers, as Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 2, *verso*) and Ibn Habíb (see *note* 7, p. 405), calculate at two years and a half; and others, like the anonymous historian translated by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326), at one and a half; it may easily be accounted for by the fact, that during Yahya's administration the Berbers, commanded by one 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah or Abí 'Obeydah, of whom mention will be made hereafter, took possession of Cordova, and deposed the governor. 'Othmán himself remained in power until Hodheyfah dispossessed him. Borbon, *Cartas*, p. cxlviii.

[21] The next governor was not 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah, as here stated. Al-makkarí was led into error by Ibnu Khaldún: there were two governors of Andalus of the same name; one, *'Othmán* Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-khath'amí, whom Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326) calls Al-johaní, *i. e.* of the tribe of Johaynah; and the other, *'Othmán* Ibn Abí 'Abdah or 'Obeydah Al-korashí, who signed the capitulation with Theodomir. Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 57) is very explicit: "Hic (Antuman) [sed lege Autuman] ab Africanis "partibus tacitus properat. Hic quinque mensibus Hispanias gubernavit: post quos vitam finivit, et "missus est alius Autuman nomine."

The period which elapsed between the nomination of Yahya, in Shawwál, A. H. 107, and the arrival of Al-haytham, in Moharram, A. H. 111, that is, three years and about three months, is designated by Al-azdí under the appellation of *Iyámu-l-fitnah* (the days of confusion or civil war). According to another historian, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cliii.), البرابر و القبايل قتلوا عليهم مثابرا ثبورا كثيرا 'the Berbers and the [Arabian tribes] slaughtered each other.' The Arabs themselves were divided, and the two hostile factions of the Yemenites and Modharites fought likewise for the supreme power. This explains why there should be so much discrepancy in the dates assigned for the administration of the four governors who ruled in the short space of three years. Supposing, however, that Yahya's administration lasted eighteen months, from Shawwál, 107, to Rabi' II. 108,—that 'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah usurped the power and ruled until the arrival of 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah, in Sha'bán, 109, not 110, as in the text, which would give him the five months' administration mentioned by Isidorus,—that his successor 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah ruled six months, till the arrival of Hodheyfah in Rabi' the 1st, A. H. 110, and that the administration of the latter lasted eleven months, until the arrival of Al-haytham in Moharram, A. H. 111,—the chronology of this very intricate period of Spanish history would be satisfactorily adjusted.

22 The name of this Amír may be pronounced either Hodheyfah, as in the text, or Hadhífah. In the copy of Ibnu Khaldún preserved in the library of Leyden (No. 1350, fo. 2, *verso*) it is written حديفة بن الاحوص Hadhífah Ibnu-l-ahwass; Ibn Habíb has خديفة Khadífah. Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 56) writes 'Oddifa.' Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xii.) 'Odoyfa.'

23 Conde (vol. i. p. 80) calls him Al-kenání; so does Al-azdí, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. clii.), and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 325). However, the copy of Ibnu Khaldún in the library of Leyden (fo. 2, *verso*) reads Al-kelábí, as here.

24 Ibnu Khaldún makes no such statement; at least, the copy in the library of Leyden (vol. iv. p. 2) has not the passage here alluded to. What is meant by ارض مقونشة Ardh Makunshah, which another copy writes مغونشة Maghunshah, and the Gotha MS. (fol. 48, *verso*) مقوشة Makushah, I have been unable to ascertain. Al-azdí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cli.), says that Al-haytham, whom he also calls Al-kenání, was a native of Mekka.

25 That is to say, till Jumáda the 1st, A. H. 113, when he was deposed from his command, or put to death, according to other authorities. See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. cliii.

26 Conde (vol. i. p. 80) says that this governor went to Spain by the order of the Khalif Hishám. Isidorus Pacensis, who calls him 'Mammet Alarcila' [Mohammed ben Abdilla?], represents him as being sent to Spain by the Viceroy of Africa to inquire into Al-haytham's administration; which is more probable. The text of Ibnu Bashkúwál, which Al-makkarí inserts here, reads و قدم بعده محمد بن عبد الله الاشجعي فولي شهرين قال ابن بشكوال قدمه الناس عليهم

27 'Abdu-r-rahmán was not slain, as stated here, in 115, much less in 116. The battle of Tours, or Poitiers, in which that chief fell, was fought, as Ibnu Khaldún afterwards says, in the month of Ramadhán, A. H. 114, which agrees well with the date fixed by the Christian chroniclers, October, A. D. 732. See Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarras.* p. 45, *et seq.*

As to the duration of his rule, it is evident that those authors who state it at two years and a half count the time of his government from the death of As-samh to the arrival of 'Anbasah, and, perhaps, also the short time of his rule after the assassination of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. v. Placing the death of Al-haytham in Jumáda the 1st, A. H. 113, the government of 'Abdu-r-rahmán on this occasion would have lasted sixteen months, or else fourteen, if we count the two months that the provisional administration of Mohammed is said to have lasted.

'Abdu-r-rahmán is occasionally called Al-'akkí, because he belonged to the tribe of 'Akk, son of 'Adnán; see p. 26.

28 Conde (vol. i. p. 89) writes the name of this governor 'Kotan,' but in none of the copies which I have consulted is the word pointed so as to authorize that reading.

29 حتي بلغ سكني المسلمين اربونة و صار رباطهم علي نهر ردونه [رودنه]—The wars of 'Okbah with the French are not well specified. Al-azdí, however, mentions two expeditions across the Pyrenees;

one undertaken in the year 120 to chastise the Franks for some incursion made into the Spanish territory, and another in 121, in which 'Okbah was at first successful; but upon the arrival of Charles Martel ارطليوس the Moslems were defeated with considerable loss, and obliged to shut themselves up in Barcelona. See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. clxxii.; Isidorus Pacensis, *Cron.* No. 61; Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarrasins, &c.*, p. 56.

[30] 'Okbah, called Aucupa by Isidorus, landed in Spain at the end of 116. He was sent by the Viceroy of Africa, 'Obeydullah Ibn Al-hajáb (not Al-hejáj, as Conde, vol. i. p. 90, calls him), to supersede 'Abdu-l-malek, of whose tyranny and excesses he had received formal complaints. 'Abdu-l-malek was absent from Cordova, making war on the Franks, when 'Okbah, accompanied by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb, landed in Spain, and seized on the capital (Borbon, p. clxix.). On his return to Cordova, 'Abdu-l-malek was imprisoned and deprived of his command. He contrived, however, to escape and take refuge in Barcelona, where it appears that he had numerous partisans. 'Okbah marched against him; but having received intelligence, whilst at Saragossa, of the revolt of the Berbers in Africa, he crossed over to that country and relinquished his enterprise. We are not told whom 'Okbah left to command in Spain during his absence, at what time he departed for Africa, and when he returned; but 'Abdu-l-malek again got possession of the government; and in the year 121, according to Ibnu Khaldún, or in the beginning of 123, according to Ar-rází, he either exiled or put to death his antagonist.

[31] Adh-dhobí, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. clxxi.), agrees with Ar-rází in placing the death of 'Okbah in 123; but he makes him die at Cordova, not at Carcasonne, and adds that he was poisoned by 'Abdu-l-malek و قتل [عبدالملك] عقبة بالسم بمدينة قرطبة — Conde (vol. i. p. 96) says that he died in 124; but little or no reliance can be placed on the statements of a writer who never gives his authority, and whose translations are not always faithful. According to his account, 'Okbah landed in Spain in 118, left it for Africa in 120, and returned in 124. Not a word is said of the revolt of 'Abdu-l-malek, who is represented as being upon the best terms with 'Okbah.

CHAPTER V.

[1] Soon after the conquest of Spain, the Berbers who served under the banners of the Arabs, and most of whom, though nominally converted to Islám, still professed the Jewish religion or adhered to the rites of paganism, made several attempts to shake off the yoke of the Arabs. In A. H. 99, under the administration of Al-horr, a Berber, named Khaulán Al-yahúdí (the Jew), rose in arms against the Arabs, and maintained himself in Aragon and Catalonia until he was defeated and put to death in A. H. 100 (Borbon, *Carta* XIV. *et seq.*). Again, A. H. 107, during the administration of Yahya Ibn Salmah, the Berbers of Spain rose against their masters, and aimed at their total expulsion from that country, saying, "We conquered Andalus, took its cities, and subdued its provinces; we fought against the Rúm and "against the Frank; ours therefore is the country, and ours the spoil, not yours;" (Borbon, *loco laudato*, p. cxlix.). It was only through the union of the two hostile factions, the Modharites and the Yemenites, that Yahya was at last enabled to put down the rebellion.

[2] Conde (vol. i. p. 97) says that Kolthúm died in the action; so does Isidorus Pacensis (*Cronic.*

No. 64), as well as An-nuwayrí (*Journal Asiatique*, tom. xi. p. 446). The last-named writer calls the chief of the Berber insurrection Meysar Al-matgharí.

The name of Kolthúm's successor, Hondhalah, may also be written 'Handhalah.' Ibn Habíb (*loco laudato*, fo. 9, *verso*) writes it حَنْطَلة Hantalah.

³ According to Conde, who makes no mention of the siege of Ceuta by the Berbers, Balj with other Syrians crossed over to Andalus immediately after their defeat. The whole, however, is explained by Isidorus Pacensis, whose chronicle abounds with interesting details on the history of this period. See *Cronic.* No. 64, *et seq.*

⁴ This is no doubt the Zat (Zeyyád) Sarracenus of Isidorus Pacensis, who attributes to 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah what is here recorded of 'Abdu-l-malek.

⁵ No details of this rebellion are to be found either in Conde or Borbon; but the author of the *Iktifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá* (Arab. MS. in my possession) says that the chief of the Berbers on this occasion was Ibn Yeferen Az-zenátí, who, having revolted a second time under the administration of Husám Ibn Dhirár Al-kelbí, was taken prisoner in a battle and conveyed to Cordova, where he was nailed to a stake صُلِب with a dog at his right hand, a swine at his left, a lizard in front, and an ape behind; all which animals are considered unclean by the Arabs.

⁶ From the arrival of 'Abdu-l-malek, in Ramadhán, A. H. 114, to his execution, in Dhí-l-ka'dah, 123, is an interval of nine years, which is the aggregate amount of the administrations of 'Okbah and 'Abdu-l-malek, namely, five years the former and four the latter. Ar-rází, it is true, says that 'Okbah ruled the country for six years and four months; but in so doing it is evident that he only counts 'Abdu-l-malek's second administration, from the death of his rival 'Okbah, in Safar, 123, to his execution in Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year.

⁷ One of the copies reads سبعين seventy, instead of تسعين ninety.

⁸ All the copies read here الحارّة *Al-hárrah* except the abridgment, which has الحَرّة *Al-harrah;* but I think that الحارة *Al-hárah*, which means 'the street,' is to be substituted. The battle was so called because it was fought at Medína, in the quarter of the city called *Al-hárah Bení Zohrah*, or 'the street of the Bení Zohrah,' between the Syrians, commanded by Moslem Ibn 'Okbah, and the inhabitants of that city, who had revolted against the Khalif Yezíd. See Price, *Chron. Retrosp. of Moham. Hist.* vol. i. p. 416.

⁹ The expression here used is الاقدميون *al-akdmiyún* (the first comers or settlers). Under this denomination all the Arabian tribes which went to Spain before Balj were comprised.

¹⁰ 'Abdu-r-rahmán entered Spain in the suite of Balj. He had been in that country before, during the administration of 'Okbah As-selúlí. (See above, *note* 30, p. 410.) His father, Habíb, was killed in Africa by the Berbers, in A. H. 123. See An-nuwayrí, *loco laudato*, p. 446.

[11] Beladiún (*i. e.* the people of cities) is the name which the Yemenites or Arabs of the stock of Kahttán gave to their rivals of the stock of 'Adnán; the Syrians who entered Spain with Balj being all Modharites, were descended from the stock of 'Adnán.

[12] 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the son of that 'Alkamah (Alxaman) who was killed in battle with Pelayo. He was governor of Narbonne, and commander of the forces on the French frontier.

[13] و كانوا [الشاميون] عسكرا منصورا مقتولا اميره — Conde misunderstood this passage; he makes Balj the vanquished, instead of the victor (vol. i. p. 104). Indeed, the whole of that chapter of his work which treats of the civil war between Balj and Ibn Kattan is a tissue of errors and contradictions. Of Umeyyah and Kattan, the two sons of the unfortunate 'Abdu-l-malek, he makes only one person, whom he calls *Omeya ben Cotan, el hijo de Abdelmelic;* he confounds 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb with 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Okbah; and, lastly, he attributes to the latter the exploit here recounted as achieved by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alkamah. Thus all those writers who have followed Conde in this part of his narrative, Romey not excepted (vol. iii. p. 129), have involuntarily been led into error.

[14] Ibn Habíb says 'seven days after.' Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 77, *verso*), about a month بشهر او نحوه — See also above, *note* 7, p. 405.

[15] From Dhí-l-ka'dah, 123, to Shawwál, 124, are the eleven months here recorded. With the sole exception of Casiri (vol. ii. p. 326), who gives Balj only six months' rule, all others agree in this statement.

[16] Isidorus Pacensis makes no mention of Tha'lebah among the governors of Spain.

[17] الي ان حضر عيد تشاغلوا فيه — The manner in which this is expressed makes me suppose that the word عيد is here intended for a pagan festivity, a thing not improbable, as most of the Berbers adhered still to their pagan rites. See on this subject the sensible observations of M. Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarras.* p. 28.

[18] For a long time after the conquest of Spain the Berbers continued to lead a nomadic life, shifting their quarters from one end of the peninsula to the other, and taking their wives and children with them even when engaged in military expeditions. Ibnu-l-abbár (Nat. Lib. Madrid, fo. 127) says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. of Cordova was the first who conquered their roving habits, made them build villages and towns, and subjected them to a more sedentary life.

[19] Evidently the same 'Othmán who had been governor of Spain on a former occasion, (see p. 36,) although Conde (vol. i. p. 84) and other writers after him identify him with the Munniz of Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 58), who was put to death by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí.

[20] If we adopt the date given by Ibnu Hayyán, Tha'lebah had governed the country for about ten months, counting from the death of Balj, in Shawwál, 124. Those who, like Ibnu Khaldún, give him a government of two years, count the time during which he seems to have governed conjointly with Balj.

See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. clxxxv.; Conde, vol. i. p. 103; Ibn Habíb, *loco laudato*, fo. 155. According to Adh-dhobí, cited by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxci.), Tha'lebah was transported to Africa by order of Abú-l-khattár.

[21] It was no doubt at the time of this partition that the small kingdom founded by Theodomir the Goth, and in which he had been succeeded by Athanagild, was taken away from the Christians; the lands in the territory of Murcia or Tudmír being allotted to the Arabs of Misr (Egypt).

[22] صاج [فتنة] العميا — 'The civil war of the blind men was kindled,' a proverbial expression to denote that a murderous war has begun between two tribes.

[23] The word translated by 'love of tribe' is عصبية — which Ibnu Khaldún uses frequently to express that tie or bond which keeps together the members of a family. It may also be found in Ibnu Hayyán and other Andalusian writers.

[24] As-samíl or As-somayl, for this name may be pronounced both ways, belonged to the tribe of Keláb, descended from 'Adnán, and was consequently a Modharite. Isidorus Pacensis (*Cron.* No. 68) calls him 'Zumahel;' Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xvii.), 'Zimaël.'

[25] The text reads فامر به فاقيم و دع قفاه — In the passage of Ibnu Khaldún, relating to this event, I read فاقيم من مجلسه و تقلع 'he was made to rise from his seat, and his turban was thrown on one side [in the struggle].' Al-makkarí introduces this passage in the second book of the first part, in nearly the same words, after Ibnu Khaldún.

[26] مورور *Múrúr* or *Morúr*, which in one of the copies is written thus, مورود *Maurúd;* probably the town of Moron, near Seville.

[27] Thuábah was the brother of Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-jodhámí, who held the government after Balj.

[28] وادي لكة *Wáda-leke*, not *Guadalete*, as this river is now called. See vol. i. p. 527, *note* 67.

[29] See Conde (vol. i. p. 118), who attributes the liberation of Husám to the son of 'Abdu-l-malek and to Ibn 'Okbah ['Abdu-r-rahmán Al-lakhmí].

[30] فتداعوا للرحيل ليلاً فما اصبحوا الا علي اميال — This alludes to a first battle lost by Abú-l-khattár, in which that governor fell into an ambush prepared by As-samíl. See Isidorus Pacensis, *Cronic.* No. 68.

[31] According to Adh-dhobí, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxcviii.), Thuábah governed Spain for one

year and some months. He died about the end of 128. Another writer (*ib.* p. ccii.) says that he was put to death or poisoned by Yúsuf و قتله يوسف و قيل توفي مسموماً — It is true that Ibnu-l-faradhí gives him a government of two years, but in so doing that historian does not mean that Thuábah governed two whole years, but that he was governor part of the year 127 and nearly the whole of 128. This manner of counting is unfortunately but too frequent among the Arabian historians.

32 All copies read here و خلع ابو الخطار بعد اربع سنين و تسعة اشهر و ذلك سنة ١٢٨ 'And Abú-l-khattár was deposed, after four years and nine months' [administration], in the year 128.' But this could not be, if his arrival in Cordova took place, as above stated, in Rejeb, A. H. 125. On the other hand, from the death of Balj in Shawwál, 124, to the appointment of Yúsuf in Rabi' the second, 129, there is only an interval of four years and three months; and yet Abú-l-khattár is said to have governed four years and nine months; Tha'lebah ten months (or, according to others, two years), and Thuábah one year (others say two). We have, besides, to make some allowance for a short interregnum, as well as for the whole year during which the Bení Modhar ruled the country after a previous agreement with the Yemenites. It is, therefore, quite clear that the administration of Abú-l-khattár could not have lasted above two years, and that the four years and nine months mentioned by Ibnu-l-faradhí must be understood *after his taking possession of the government of Eastern Africa*, of which country Abú-l-khattár seems to have been some time governor. (Borbon, *Cartas*, p. clxxxix.) This obstacle once removed, the duration of their respective governments may be thus adjusted: Tha'lebah ten months, from the death of Balj in Shawwál, 124, to the arrival in Cordova of Abú-l-khattár, in Rejeb, 125; Abú-l-khattár two years, till the rising of Thuábah, in Rejeb, 127; Thuábah sixteen months, till his death at the end of 128; and five months of civil war and anarchy, till the death of Abú-l-khattár and the election of Yúsuf, in Rabi' the second, 129.

33 Ibnu Khaldún is the only historian who mentions this fact. His words are: و نصبوا الاحكام خاصةً عبد الرحمن بن كثير — which would seem to imply that the government of Spain was carried on in the name of some Viceroy of Africa, called 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Kethír. By referring to An-nuwayrí, I find that the governor of Eastern Africa at the time was 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb (not Ibn Kethír), who, having left Spain for Túnis in Jumáda [the first ?], A. H. 127, obtained from the Khalif the government of that province, which fact is corroborated by Ibnu Bashkúwál. See above.

34 Shekundah, or Shakandah, became afterwards one of the suburbs of Cordova. See vol. i. p. 328.

35 اهل الصناعات من اسواق قرطبة — literally, 'the working men of the markets of Cordova.'

36 Here are no less than three different versions of the same event. According to one, the battle was contested with great fury; according to the other, the Yemenites, taken by surprise, made no resistance. One author makes Abú-l-khattár fall in the battle; the other says that he escaped, but was taken prisoner and put to death. Ibnu-l-faradhí says that Abú-l-khattár was deposed and slain by the Modharites in A. H. 128. Ibnu Khaldún places his death in 129, after a sort of truce concluded with the opposite faction. All these contradictions, however, are but a natural consequence of the system pursued by Al-makkarí.

A writer, quoted by Borbon (*Cartas*, p. cxcvii.), says that Abú-l-khattár was deposed in A. H. 128, and that he fled to Eastern Africa و اخرج الي افريقية هاربا

[37] The text reads في سرير رحي

[38] See p. 15. The whole of this account is borrowed from the work of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, with a few important omissions, which I will supply with the aid of a manuscript preserved in the Royal Library of Paris, a copy of which is now in my possession. Almond (Olmundo?) left besides two sons: one called المطو Almatto, who is said to have settled at Seville; the other, 'Obbás (Oppas), who died in Galicia المتوفي في جليقية—This latter is the Oppa Episcopus, who, according to the Christian writers, was slain, together with 'Alkamah, at the battle of Covadonga.

Artebash, or Ardebasto, left also several sons: one of his posterity was Abú Sa'íd Al-kúmis (Comes, or the Count). As to Romulo, he was the progenitor of Ja'far Ibn الفر Alfor or Alfaro, Kádí-l-'ajem or judge of the Christians, in Cordova.

" By her marriage with 'Isa Ibn Muzáhim بن مزاحم (not Ibráhím as in the text), Sárah Al-kúttiyyah " (the Goth) had two sons, Ibráhím and Is'hák. 'Isa having died in A. H. 138, the year in which " 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah entered Andalus, his widow Sárah had several pretenders to her hand, " among whom the most illustrious were, Hayyat Ibn Mulábis, or Mulámis [حيوة ابن ملامس *sic*] " Al-madh'hijí, and 'Omayr Ibn Sa'íd Al-lakhmí. The last named obtained his suit, through the " intercession of Tha'lebah Al-jodhámí, who was his friend, and applied to 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He had " a son named Jilbab جيلبب who became the progenitor of the Bení Seyd سيد of the Bení Hejáj, " of the Bení Moslemah, and others."

Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, from whom the above particulars are taken, was himself a descendant from the Gothic princess by her son Ibráhím. Hence the surname of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, by which he is generally known. He lived at Cordova, where he distinguished himself by his writings on various subjects, but chiefly on grammar and philology. He was the author of a treatise on the conjugation of verbs تصاريف الافعال of which his biographer Ibn Khallekán speaks very highly. He does not appear to have written any thing historical; but he, no doubt, communicated to his friends and disciples the traditions preserved in his family. The work attributed to him upon the conquest of Spain by the Arabs is undoubtedly the production of one of his disciples. Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah died at Cordova in Rejeb, A. H. 367 (A. D. 978). See vol. i. p. 460, *note* 96, of this translation.

[39] Instead of لبّانة *Ibn Lebbánah*, as it is written in all copies of this work, I am inclined to read لُبابَة *Lubábah;* for I find that such was the name of one of the masters of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who, according to Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 33), died in A. H. 314. See also vol. i. p. 467, *note* 155, of this translation.

[40] The same individual mentioned at p. 47. I am not sure, however, whether Abú 'Abdah is part of his name or not. His patronymic, Al-'abadí or Al-'abdí, which last is, I believe, the correct way of spelling it, would lead me to suppose that Abú 'Abdah was part of his name.

41 العابد Thus in A.—B. and the epitome read العايد—I have followed the former reading, as agreeing better with the profession and habits of Maymún, who is called lower down a faquir.

42 These words can only apply to Maymún; but the passage reads as follows: ما تسعة انا قدمنا الي هذا البلد غزاة نحسب ان مقامنا فيه لا يطول و لا نستعد للمقام و لا كثرنا من العدة ثم حدثت بعدنا علي موالينا في اجنادنا ما قد ايسنا معه الي رجوع الي اوطاننا—It is therefore evident that the answer of Artabásh was omitted by Al-makkarí whilst transcribing from his authority.

43 شوس This appears to have been the name of the *Xenil* on its passage through Ezija. One of the tributaries of the Guadalquivir is now called Guadajoz.

44 That is, counting from Rabi' the second, A. H. 129, when he was appointed by the Bení Modhar, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 138; when 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah defeated him, and gained possession of his capital, the city of Cordova. His confirmation by the Khalif was not obtained till A. H. 132. See Borbon, *Cartas*, p. cci.

45 Instead of 'A'mir, one of the copies has 'Amer or 'Omar. He was the son of 'Amru, and belonged to the tribe of 'Abdu-d-dár. Conde (vol. i. p. 140) attributes to him the taking of Saragossa, which is further down said to have been reduced by Al-habáb.

46 الازرق *Al-azrak* means 'a man who has blue eyes;' in Spanish, *zarcos*.

47 The name of this chieftain, whom Conde (vol. i. p. 139) makes the secretary of 'A'mir Ibn 'Amru, might be written equally well *Al-hebbáb* and *Al-hobáb* (the snake).

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

[1] This passage is to be found almost word for word in the history of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain by An-nuwayrí, who, no doubt, borrowed it from Ibnu Hayyán. The word, translated by 'forest,' is غيضة *ghaydah*, in Spanish *algayda*.

[2] This was Hafss Ibn Suleymán Al-hallál, surnamed Wazíru-dín Mohammed (the support of the religion of Mohammed), at that time a Wizír of the Bení 'Abbás. His *kunyá* was Abú Salmah, not Abú Moslemah, as here stated. See Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.* p. 94.

[3] 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb is the same chief who is so often mentioned in the course of the preceding Book, (pp. 18, 43, *et passim.*) He was appointed governor of Cairwán in A. H. 127. His father Habíb had been a *mauli* of the Bení Umeyyah. He was the father of Yúsuf Al-fehrí, the last governor of Spain.

[4] Immediately after there follows in the text one of these anecdotes, which I have not thought proper to translate.

[5] The text reads فوجدت الفتي الذي دعوتما اليه من قوم لو بال احدهم بهذه الجزيرة غرقنا نحن و انتم في بوله

[6] Yúsuf is frequently called 'a Sultán' by the historians of Mohammedan Spain, no doubt because he ruled independently, and did not acknowledge the authority of the Khalif.

[7] Instead of some dinárs, other accounts say five hundred. Among the Andalusians who went over to Africa, An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 437) gives the names of Wahb Ibnu-l-asfar and Shákir Ibn Abí-l-ashmatt, of whom mention is made hereafter.

[8] According to An-nuwayrí (fo. 438), Yúsuf was at Toledo when the news of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's disembarkation was brought to him.

[9] On the town of Modrúr or Morúr, see a preceding *note*, p. 413. An-nuwayrí's account (fo. 438)

differs a little from this: he calls the governor of Malaga Ibráhím Ibn Shajrah شجرة and the governor of Seville Abú Sáleh Yahya Ibn Yahya.

[10] This reads differently in all the manuscripts: A. عام خلق—B. عام الخلفا—My own copy, and that belonging to the Gotha Library, read عام الخلف—which reading I have adopted.

[11] مُصَارة—Thus in Ibn Habíb (*loco laudato*, fo. 156), and Al-homaydí (fo. 4), who describe it as a plain close to Cordova.

[12] Merj-Ráhitt is the name of a place in Syria, where the Khalif Merwán I., of the family of Umeyyah, defeated the followers of Zubeyr. See vol. i. App. p. lxxxix. of this translation. The author of a history of Spain under the Arabs, lately published in the French collection, entitled 'L'Art de vérifier les Dates,' has mistaken Merj-Ráhitt for the name of a place near Cordova, and describes this battle as having been fought there.

[13] Probably the same individual mentioned at pp. 47 and 71, and *note* 40, p. 415.

[14] Mohammed Al-khoshaní, in his history of the Kádís of Cordova (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxvii.), says that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán entered that capital, the wives and daughters of Yúsuf came up to him, and that one of them said احسن يا ابن عم فقد ملكت—"Be generous, O cousin! after thy victory;" upon which 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent for Yahya Ibn Yezíd At-tojibí, at that time Kádí of Cordova, and intrusted Yúsuf's family to his care.

According to An-nuwayrí, Yúsuf, after surprising Cordova and plundering the palace, retired into the Sierra de Elvira, where he was pursued by 'Abdu-r-rahmán until a peace was concluded between them.

Al-makkarí treats again of Yúsuf in the sixth Book, among the Arabs who settled in Spain. He says that on the day in which that governor resigned the command into the hands of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he repeated this verse of Harakah, the daughter of An-no'mán Ibn Al-mundhir:

فبينا نسوس الناس الامر امرنا ∴ اذا نحن فيهم سوقة نتنصف

"Whilst we directed the people the empire was ours; for we divided the market [between "the dealers].

CHAPTER II.

[1] Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. vii.

[2] An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 439) mentions, under the year 147, the departure for Syria of one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's agents, whose instructions were to conduct to Cordova the eldest son of that Sultán, named Suleymán, who had remained behind.

[3] Conde (vol. i. p. 170) says ten sons, or brothers; for it is not easy to determine which of the two he meant by "los diez hermanos Merwanes."

[4]
يا نخلة انت فريدة مثلي ∴ في الارض نايبة عن الاهل
تبكي و هل تبكي مُكمهَة ∴ عجمآء لم تجبل عَلي جبل
و لو انّها عقلت اذ البكت ∴ مآء الفراة و منبت النخل
لكنها حرمَت و اخرجني ∴ بغضي بني العباس عن اهلي

[5] Casiri (vol. ii. p. 32) gives a short notice of this Habíb, who held for some time the government of Toledo.

[6] According to An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 440), Yúsuf, after collecting his forces at Merida, marched on Cordova, but finding 'Abdu-r-rahmán prepared to meet him, he turned westwards, and proceeded against Seville, by whose governor, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, he was defeated. Conde's narrative is far from agreeing with the above, since among other things he tells us that Yúsuf was defeated by 'Abdu-l-malek near Lorca, in Murcia, and that he died in the action. See vol. i. p. 171, *et seq.*

[7] The word translated by 'cup' is قاس *kás*, whence the Spanish 'cazo' is derived. Conde relates differently the death of As-samíl, whom he represents as living at Siguenza (no doubt, Shekundah, near Cordova), when he was arrested, conveyed to Toledo, and there executed (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 178). A son of As-samíl, named Hudheyl or Hadhíl هذيل was afterwards executed for being implicated in the conspiracy of Al-mugheyrah in A. H. 166. An-nuwayrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 443.

[8] This individual is called Dhú-l-jiyúsh in Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.* p. 51; but it is a mistake: his name was Dhú-jaushan, as here stated. He was the officer deputed by 'Obeydullah Ibn Zeyyád to attack Huseyn at Kerbelá. See Abú-l-fedá, *Ann. Mosl.* vol. i. *sub anno* LXI.

[9] *Sakr*, whence the Spaniards have made 'sacre,' is a kind of high-bred hawk. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 197) read 'saphar.'

[10] This revolt took place four years later, in 155 (A. D. 772). "In the year 155," says An-nuwayrí, "the people of Seville forsook the obedience [of 'Abdu-r-rahmán], and rose under the command of "'Abdu-l-ghaffár and of Haywat Ibn Mulámis. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was then absent from Cordova, "carrying on war against Shakiá [the Berber], and he had appointed his son Suleymán to command in "the capital [during his absence]. When he received the letters of his son, informing him of the rising "[of those two chieftains], and of their having been joined in the movement by all the Yemenites who "resided in Seville, he collected his forces [to march] against them, but would not enter Cordova then, "[as he did not consider himself secure there,] owing to the repeated news which reached him of the "numbers and strength [of the enemy]. He sent forward against them his cousin 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn "'Omar, who marched to Seville, &c."

11 The account of An-nuwayrí agrees with the above; not so that of Conde (vol. i. p. 194), who calls the son of 'Abdu-l-malek, Kásim.

12 The people of Seville, *i. e.* 'Abdu-l-ghaffár, Ibn Mulámis, and the other chiefs of the Yemenite party, whose rising is above specified. See above, *note* 10.

13 The expression in the text is ambiguous; but I find in An-nuwayrí قد انكحت ابني و لي عهدي هشاما ابنتك—which removes all doubt as to the meaning.

14 An-nuwayrí does not mention the revolt of Al-yezídí, but he does that of Al-mugheyrah, under the year 166.

15 Conde (vol. i. p. 188) calls this rebel Abdelgafir, and describes him as being Wálí or governor of Meknásah (Mequinez) in Africa, from which country he is said to have crossed over to Spain at the head of an army; but in giving this account it is evident that the Spanish translator confounded the rising of 'Abdu-l-ghaffár [Ibn Hamíd Al-yahssobí] at Seville with that of a Berber named شقيا Shakiá, who revolted about four years before, pretending to be a descendant of the Prophet. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 441) gives the following account of the latter: "His name was شقيا Shakiá Ibn 'Abdi-l-"wáhed. He was a Berber of the tribe of Meknásah. He could read the Korán and write, owing to "which accomplishments he exercised the functions of schoolmaster to his tribe. His mother's name was "Fátimah, and he, being an ambitious man, gave himself out as the descendant of Fátimah, the daughter "of the Prophet, and took the name of 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed. He rose at شنت برية Santiberia "(not Santamaria, as in the text,) in the year 151 (A. D. 768), and was joined by great numbers of his "tribe. He maintained himself until 160, when two of his followers, named Abú Ma'n and Abú Kharím, "put him to death, and conveyed his head to 'Abdu-r-rahmán."

16 حيات ابن ملابس—Thus in all the manuscripts except the abridgment, which reads حيوة Hayát or Haywah. An-nuwayrí calls him Ibn Mulámis; and Conde (vol. i. p. 178) "Hayût Ibn Molemis." The latter author, however, makes him die before, in 143, in great favour with 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He is the individual mentioned at p. 18, and *note* 14, p. 399.

17 According to An-nuwayrí, the execution of Abú-s-sabáh took place in 149 (A. D. 766). "In this "year (A. H. 149) 'Abdu-r-rahmán deposed Abú-s-sabáh from the government of Seville. Hearing, "moreover, that the Arabian chief was aiming at revolt, he laid a snare for him, and put him to death;" (*loco laudato*, fo. 441.) The rebellion here recorded is the same which the author has already described at p. 82, *ad finem*, evidently without being aware that they were one and the same. Abú-s-sabáh might as well be written Abú-s-sabbáh or Abú-s-sobáh.

18 One of the copies reads Huseyn Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn Yahya, &c.

19 The events here related took place long after the year 157. "In the year 163 (beginning Sept. 16, "A. D. 779)," says An-nuwayrí, "'Abdu-r-rahmán made public his determination to carry the war into

"Syria, for the purpose of avenging the injuries which the Bení 'Abbás had done to his family; but "the rebellion of Suleymán Ibn Yokdhán [Al-'arabí] and of Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Sa'd "Ibn 'Obádah Al-ansárí, at Saragossa, prevented him from carrying that project into execution." An-nuwayrí does not inform us how the rebellion of those two chieftains ended then, but we are to infer from what follows that it terminated in the death of Suleymán, as Al-makkarí states it. "In the year "165 (beginning Aug. 25, A. D. 781), Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya got possession of Saragossa by treason, "and revolted. 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent against him Ghálib Ibn Temám Ibn 'Alkamah at the head of "considerable forces, and they carried on war for some time against each other. Al-huseyn detached a "portion of his forces, under the command of his son 'Isa, to attack 'Abdu-r-rahmán; but 'Isa was "defeated, and his army destroyed. Temám Ibn 'Alkamah [the father of Ghálib] then besieged "Al-huseyn in Saragossa; but without success. The ensuing year, A. H. 166 (beginning Aug. 14, 782), "'Abdu-r-rahmán, in person, came to the siege of Saragossa, bringing with him six-and-thirty *manjanik* "or war-engines to batter the walls with. He took the city by storm, put to death Al-huseyn, and "expelled the inhabitants, owing to an oath he had taken previous to his marching thither; but some "time after he granted them leave to return."

[20] This Suleymán Al-'arabí, whom Al-homaydí (fo. 50) calls Ibnu-l-'arabí, is the "Ibnelarabi" of the old chronicles, who is described as having crossed over to France to implore the help of Charlemagne. See the interesting details given on this subject by M. Romey in his *Histoire d'Espagne*, vol. iii. pp. 228-245.

[21] I suspect that both the date of this rebellion and the name of the principal actor in it are incorrectly given, for I find nothing like it in An-nuwayrí, who gives in detail the events of this reign. The reading, too, is different in all the copies. A. و ثار الرما حسن—the abridgment الرماحس—my copy و ثار خسر بن عبد العزيز—the Gotha MS. ثار الدما حسن بن عبد العزيز—I should be tempted to establish the reading thus و ثار الدما [حسين] حسن بن عبد العزيز الكناني 'and Hasan Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz rose to revenge the murder of Huseyn Al-ansárí, &c.'

[22] Most of the revolts which happened under 'Abdu-r-rahmán's reign are to be ascribed to the inveterate feuds existing between the rival tribes of Modhar and Yemen; 'Abdu-r-rahmán being himself a Modharite, naturally favoured the former. As An-nuwayrí has preserved the history of all these rebellions, I will here translate his account of all those which are not mentioned by Al-makkarí.

"*Zoreyk Al-ghosání.* In the year 143 (A. D. 760), زريق Zoreyk Ibn An-no'mán Al-ghosání rose at "Algesiras. He took Shidúnah and Seville; but 'Abdu-r-rahmán having invested those two cities, "the rebels begged that monarch's forgiveness, and delivered Zoreyk into his hands." Conde, vol. i. p. 176, calls him "Barcerah ben Nooman Algasani."

"*Hishám Ibn 'Adhrah Al-fehrí,* a cousin of Yúsuf Al-fehrí. His rebellion took place in the year 144 "(beginning April 10, A. D. 761), at Toledo. He was besieged in that city by 'Abdu-r-rahmán in "person, until he surrendered himself on condition that his life should be spared, giving his son Aflah as "a hostage for his future good behaviour; but within the same year Hishám revolted a second time "at Toledo. He was again besieged by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who was not able to reduce that city, and "returned to Cordova. At last, in the year 146 (A. D. 763), 'Abdu-r-rahmán having sent against him "his *mauli* Bedr and Temám Ibn 'Alkamah at the head of considerable forces, those two generals "besieged him in that city, which they took; and conveyed him a prisoner to Cordova, together

"with حيوة Haywat Ibn Al-walíd Al-yahssobí, and 'Othmán Ibn Hamzah Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn 'Ab-"dillah Ibn 'Omar Ibn Al-khattáb. They were paraded through that city in fetters, mounted on asses, "with their heads and beards shaved, and with no other dress on than a coarse woollen *jubbah;* after "which they were nailed to stakes." See Conde (cap. xvi.), who places these events in the year 148.

Sa'íd Al-yahssobí; in Conde (vol. i. p. 185), "Said ben Husein el Yahsebi."—"Sa'íd Al-yahssobí, "better known by the surname of المطري Al-mattarí, rose at Liblah (Niebla) in 148 (A. D. 765). The "cause of his rebellion was this:—Being one day intoxicated, he happened to think of the numbers "of his comrades, the Yemenites, who had fallen in the battle in which Al-'ala Ibn Mughíth was defeated "[by 'Abdu-r-rahmán], and he took a banner and raised it. When he came to his senses, and saw the "banner raised, he asked his followers about it, when they told him what had occurred. He then was "going to take it down; but upon consideration, he left it as it was, saying, 'By Allah! it shall not be "said of me that I raised a banner and put it down again without reason;' upon which he made public "his intention to revolt [against 'Abdu-r-rahmán], and was soon surrounded by the Yemenites of that "district. Having put himself at their head, he marched to Seville, which he reduced, his forces being "greatly increased by the partisans [he had there]. At the news of this revolt, 'Abdu-r-rahmán "hastened [towards Seville]. Sa'íd shut himself up in a castle called راغوق Raghúk, and fortified "himself in it: this happened on the 11th of Rabí-l-awal (June, A. D. 765). Sa'íd was immediately "besieged by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who invested the castle on every side, and prevented other rebels from "joining him. Among the chiefs who on this occasion made common cause with Sa'íd Al-yahssobí, "was 'Alkamah Al-lakhmí, who, having collected at Shidúnah the chiefs of certain tribes, was preparing "to march to the assistance of Sa'íd. But 'Abdu-r-rahmán, having received intelligence of their "movement in time, detached a division of his army under the command of his *mauli* Bedr, who "interposed himself between the castle [of Raghúk] and the enemy, and kept him at bay. The siege, "meanwhile, was prosecuted with vigour, until Sa'íd, seeing the number of his followers daily diminished "by death and desertion, made a sally, and was killed, &c.

"After the death of Sa'íd, a lieutenant of his named Merwán was appointed by the rebels to succeed "him: the siege continued with increased vigour, until [some of] the garrison offered to 'Abdu-r-"rahmán to make him master of the castle and of the person of Merwán, if he would only spare their "lives. 'Abdu-r-rahmán consented, and Merwán was apprehended and put to death with numbers "of his followers. This being done, 'Abdu-r-rahmán marched against Ghiyáth Al-azdí, one of the chiefs "who had assisted Sa'íd in his revolt. Having besieged him in his castle, he defended himself for some "time; but at last he surrendered on condition that his life should be spared, and he was conveyed "[prisoner] to Cordova. Some time after, in A. H. 149, Ghiyáth and his friends having again risen in "arms against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he was taken and executed."

[23] The French historians make no mention of this fact. See Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarrasins*, p. 98.

[24] For the etymology of this word see vol. i. pp. 88, 210, and p. 387, *note* 7.

[25] تبدت لنا وسط الرصافة نخلة ∴ تناءت بارض الغرب عن بلد النخل

فقلت شبيهي بالتغرب و النوي ∴ و طول اكتيابي عن بني و عن اهلي

نشاتَ بارض انت فيها غريبة ∴ فمثلك في الاقصا و المنتاي مثلي
سقتك غوادي المزن في المنتاي الذي ∴ يصح و يستمري المساكين بالوبل

[26] One of the *jund* or divisions of Arabs who settled in Syria after the conquest of that country, and took their names from the districts in which they fixed their domicile. The *jund* or division of Kenesrín established themselves at Jaen, to which they gave the name of the country whence they came.

[27] Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of Bedr among those of his illustrious Granadians, no doubt because he resided some time in the city of Elvira; for Granada had not yet risen into importance. He gives him the *kunyá* or appellative of Abú-l-kasr, and says that he was a Greek by birth. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 442) places his disgrace in the year 156 (A. D. 773), owing to some stretch of authority.

[28] Abú Salmah, *i. e.* 'the father of salvation,' was the surname of Khallál Al-hallál, or, as some authors assert, Al-khallál, who was, after Abú Moslem, the principal instrument in the establishment of the Bení 'Abbás in the East. He was put to death by the command of As-seffáh. See a preceding *note*, p. 417.

[29] It was not Hishám, but his brother Suleymán, who at that time disputed the empire with him, who put to death Ghálib, the son of Temám.

[30] ان لا يقدر ان ينظر في تحسين قرباءيه in all the copies; but on looking into Al-homaydí, in the life of Ibn Khâled, I find the same quotation from Ibnu Hayyán, and the passage differently written — ان احداً لا يقدر ان ينظر في تحسين عاقبته — which induces me to alter the translation thus: 'no one has the power of insuring prosperity or success to his own posterity.'

[31] Mohammed Al-khoshaní, in his history of the Kádís of Cordova, treats at length of those theologians who filled the office of Kádí under 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. Yahya Ibn Yezíd At-tojibí (not Al-yahssobí, as stated by Al-makkarí,) was the first. He was originally from Syria; but he was residing in Africa when Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, the governor of that country, appointed him to the office of *Kádhí-l-jund* or judge to the army [of Spain]. He was succeeded by Mu'áwiyah Ibn Sáleh Al-hadhramí Al-hemsí (from Emessa), whom 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent to Syria for the purpose of inviting to Spain his own sister Ummu-l-asbagh and other members of the family of Umeyyah.

[32] 'Omar Ibn Sharáhil Al-ma'aferí, surnamed Abú Hafss, a native of Beja, in Spain, succeeded Mu'áwiyah; but was shortly after superseded by him. He was again replaced two years after, and died in his office. Al-khoshaní, *loco laudato*, fo. 14.

[33] I think that the words *Kádhí-l-jund*, which I have translated by 'judge to the army,' mean a judge of the territorial division called *jund*. (See above, *note* 26.) Al-khoshaní mentions the names of three other individuals who filled the office of Kádí during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán; namely, 'Antarah Ibn Faláh, Muhájir Ibn نَوْفِل Naufil (Theophil?) Al-korashí (of the tribe of Koraysh), and Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán Al-hamdání.

34 The author of the *Aháditku-l-siyásat wa-l-imámat* confirms this statement, and adds that Sa'íd Ibn Abí Leylah took up his abode at Cordova for that purpose.

35 White was the favourite colour of the Bení Umeyyah, as black was assumed by the Bení 'Abbás in opposition to them.

36 Ad-dákhel means 'the enterer, the conqueror,' not the intruder (intruso), as asserted by Conde, vol. i. p. 161. In addition to the above surname, Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi gives him that of Abú-l-motref. The same historian, who, from the fact of his having lived about a century after the death of that Sultán, must necessarily be entitled to great credit, assigns other dates for the accession and death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. He places the former on Friday the 11th of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 138; the latter on the 10th of Jumáda the first, A. H. 172. He was twenty-eight years of age when he ascended the throne, and sixty years old when he died. His reign lasted thirty-two years and five months.

37 The Khalif As-seffáh died in A. H. 136 (A. D. 754), two years before 'Abdu-r-rahmán landed in Spain. It was not him, but his brother Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, who sent expeditions to that country.

38 The title of Imám first appears on silver coins of this prince in A. H. 300.

CHAPTER III.

1 حلل *Halal* or *Holal;* but Al-homaydí (fo. 27) calls her حورا *Haurá, i. e.* 'the black-eyed.'

2 تعرف من ابيه شمايلاً ∴ من خاله اومن يزيد و من حجر
سماحة ذا مع برّ ذا و وفآ ذا ∴ و نايل ذا اذا صحا و اذا سكر

Thus in all the copies; in the Gotha MS. fo. 72, *verso*, the last verse reads differently:

سماحة ذا و برّ ذا و وفآ ذا ∴ و نايل

Instead of Hajr, as in the text, Hojr, one of 'Amru-l-kays' ancestors, is to be read.

3 See vol. i. p. 113, where the introduction of the sect of Málik is said to have happened under Hishám's successor.

4 و في ايامه فتحت اربونة الشهيرة — which cannot be more explicit. M. Reinaud (*Invasion des Sarrasins*, &c., p. 105) and Romey (*Hist. d'Espagnè*, vol. iii. p. 299) are of opinion that the Arabs did not take Narbonne on this occasion, but merely entered and plundered its suburbs. The French chroniclers do not mention the fact, and it must also be observed that An-nuwayrí, who enters into some details relating to this expedition, does not plainly state that Narbonne was reduced by the generals of Hishám. His

words are—" In the year 177 (beginning April 17, A. D. 793), Hishám sent his general 'Abdu-l-malek " Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth with an army to the country of the Franks. The Moslems penetrated " into their territory, and reached as far as Narbonne and Gerona. They began by Gerona, where " there was a Frank garrison; 'Abdu-l-malek slew the greater part of its defenders, and battered down " its walls; he was on the point of taking the city, when he [suddenly raised the siege and] marched to " Narbonne, where he did the same. He then penetrated far into the territory [of the Franks], " oppressed the land of Seritániyah (Cerdagne), exterminated its defenders, and put to death its warriors. " In this manner 'Abdu-l-malek remained for several months in the enemy's country, destroying their " castles, laying their fields waste, setting fire to the villages, and making marauding incursions far into " their country, until the enemy came before him [to implore his mercy]. He then returned [to Cordova], " taking with him immense plunder and numberless captives. This was one of the most successful " expeditions ever undertaken by the Moslems of Andalus."—(*Loco laudato*, fo. 448.)

[5] The expression translated by 'his Galician vassals' is المعاهدين من اهل جليقية—but it is not likely that the Galicians should have been employed on such a service, on account of the great distance. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* p. 18), who, no doubt, borrowed most of his information from the Arabs, says that it was the Franks (Narbonnenses et cæteri Christiani). On this occasion Hishám is said also to have caused the brazen knockers of the city gates to be taken to Cordova. See Marmol, *Hist. de Africa*, lib. ii. fo. 100.

[6] By ارض القلاع 'the castles' or 'land of castles' the historian, whose words are here given, means the province of Bardulia, which, from the number of fortresses erected by the Christians to arrest the progress of the Moslems, began then to be called *Castella*, whence its present name, 'Castilla la Vieja.' Alava or Alabah, as the Arabs wrote it, still preserves its ancient name. Mr. Shakespear has every where read 'Ilia' instead.

[7] The name of this Wizír is variously written in the MSS., some having بخت *Bokht*, as printed; others, نجدة *Najdah;* the abridgment, نجية *Najiah.* Mr. Shakespear (p. 87) reads 'Nujábah;' Conde (vol. i. p. 227), 'Bath,' (Bokht?).

[8] The same expedition alluded to above, which is said to have ended in the taking of Narbonne.

[9] These forces were commanded by 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed, the brother of 'Abdu-l-malek; but Al-makkarí has no doubt confounded here two campaigns, that of 178 and that of 179. Let us hear An-nuwayrí. " And in the year 178 (beginning April 6, A. D. 794) Hishám sent an army, under the " command of 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Mugheyth, to the country of the Franks (*read* " Basques). 'Abdu-l-kerím invaded Alabah (Alava) and the [land of] castles (Castile), where he " collected plunder and made captives. Another army, under the command of his brother 'Abdu-l- " malek Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed, invaded the land of the Galicians, destroyed their capital دار ملكهم " threw down its churches, and collected considerable spoil. However, as the Moslems were returning " from this expedition, their [Christian] guides deceived them, and they were afflicted by a great defeat, " in which numbers of them fell by the sword of the enemy, and the army lost all its provisions and " baggage. Few only escaped this disastrous affair.

"And in the year 179 (beginning March 26, A. D. 795) Hishám again sent his general 'Abdu-l-malek "with a numerous army to make war against the infidels. This time the Moslems marched until they "reached Ashtorkah (Astorga), where the King of the Galicians was, with considerable forces raised "in his own dominions, or sent him by the kings his neighbours. On the arrival of 'Abdu-l-malek the "Christian king struck his tents and fled; but that general followed him closely, laying waste every "thing on his passage, and making his queen prisoner هتك حريم ملك الجلالقة — After this, "having heard that the king had fortified himself in a deep valley, 'Abdu-l-malek marched against him, "and, having attacked him on Friday, the 27th of Jumáda the 2nd, (A. D. 795,) he defeated him, "and made great slaughter among his nobles and knights. This being done, 'Abdu-l-malek returned "[to Cordova] in safety. Another army, however, which Hishám sent from another quarter, also made "its entry into Galicia in search of 'Abdu-l-malek; but as the Moslems were returning home with their "spoil, after laying waste the country through which they had passed, they were opposed by the army "of the Franks, who at first gained a slight advantage over them, and caused the Moslems some loss; "but in the end the Moslems were able to extricate themselves, and they arrived safe in their own "country."

[10] See vol. i. p. 212. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* p. 18) says that a new bridge was constructed by Hishám above the Roman one; but the word جدد 'he restored,' used by our author, removes all doubt.

[11] Al-khoshaní (*loco laudato*, fo. 204) treats of Zeyád among those who would not accept the office of Kádí. He does not give the year of his death, but Al-homaydí (*Jahwatu-l-muktabis*, fo. 91, *verso*) asserts, on the authority of his master, Ibn Hazm, that it took place in the year 204. Al-makkarí gives the life of Zeyád in the fifth book of the first part, among those of illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East.

[12] According to An-nuwayrí, Hishám died on Thursday, the 13th of Safar of the year 180 (April 27, A. D. 796), at the age of thirty-nine years and four months. If we place his accession in Jumáda the first, A. H. 172, which is the date given by Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi (*note* 36, p. 424), his reign lasted seven years and eight months.

[13] Saken or Sakn Ibn Ibráhím was one of the historians of Mohammedan Spain. Ibnu Hayyán quotes him frequently in his history of the Rení Umeyyah, fo. 2, 6, *et passim*.

[14] According to Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, the accession of Al-hakem took place on the 14th day of Safar, A. H. 180 (April 28, A. D. 796). Al-homaydí, cited by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 199), says on the 16th.

[15] These were Suleymán and 'Abdullah, who had already disputed the throne with his father Hishám. Defeated in several encounters by their brother, they had been compelled to accept the terms offered to them. Suleymán crossed over to Africa, and settled at Tangiers; 'Abdullah was allowed to reside in Toledo. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 232, and Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 33.

[16] This was not the first invasion of the Franks under this reign. In the year 797 (A. H. 181) they had reduced the cities of Narbonne and Gironne, which Al-hakem in person is said to have retaken

within the same year. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 234, and Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iii. p. 321. An-nuwayrí, under the year 185, mentions the taking of Barcelona by the Franks; but nowhere does he say that they had previously taken Narbonne, and that Al-hakem retook it. Under the year 186 he records the loss of Tuteylah [Tudela], which, he says, was taken by the Franks, assisted by a rebellious governor of those districts, [Bahlúl Ibn Marzúk?].

[17] The author of the *Iktifá* says his brother, Al-mundhir; Conde (vol. i. p. 245), his cousin, Casim (Kásim), who, he adds, was the first to disclose to Al-hakem the plans of the conspirators. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, p. 451) calls him Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim Al-merwání, and says that he not only informed Al-hakem of the conspiracy against his life and throne, but had spies of that Sultán concealed about the house, that they might hear and report to Al-hakem the intentions and designs of the conspirators, and take their names as they went into the house.

[18] According to other authorities the revolt took place in the suburb of Shakandah or Secunda, which adjoined the capital on the southern or south-eastern extremity. See vol. i. p. 206. The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* says in the southern suburb, contiguous to that of Secunda, on the opposite (or left) bank of the Guadalquivir.

[19] Al-makrizí, in his history of Egypt, records the arrival of the Andalusians in Alexandria and the disturbances which they caused there until they were banished the country. See M. Quatremère's translation of that historian, *art.* Alexandrie, fo. 94.

[20] It was not the Franks, but the Greeks under Armetas, son of Constantine, who retook the island of Crete in A. D. 961. See Cedrenus, vol. ii. p. 508.

[21] The 'Απόχαψ or 'Απόχαψις of the Byzantine historians. Conde (vol. i. p. 254) says that he was born at Fahssu-l-bolútt, another town close to Cordova.

[22] The life of this theologian is given by Al-makkarí among those of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East (Part V. fo. 101), in nearly the same words as those in the text.

[23] An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 449) says that Suleymán landed in Spain in A. H. 182. He was defeated by the troops of his nephew, and compelled to retire to Merida, where he was overtaken, made prisoner, and conveyed to Al-hakem, who put him to death and sent his head to Cordova.

[24] All the copies I have consulted read here طرسونة Tarasúnah, a corruption of Turiaso or Turiasone, but this can hardly be the place meant. Mr. Shakespear (p. 89) reads Tarragona. Perhaps طرطوشة Tortosa, a city on the banks of the Ebro, ought to be substituted, as it was about that time besieged by Louis le Débonnaire and relieved by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom his father, Al-hakem, had sent to the assistance of the besieged. Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 247, and Cardonne, vol. i. p. 122. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, p. 45) says, "And in this year لذويق Ludhuwik, King of the Franks, marched to attack "Tortosa; but Al-hakem, having received intelligence of his movements, sent against him his eldest son "'Abdu-r-rahmán, who penetrated into his territory, and defeated him before he had set foot on the "land of Islám."

[25] The rebellion of the Toledans under this reign is so slightly mentioned by Al-makkarí, and so inaccurately described in Conde (vol. i. p. 279), that I think it necessary to supply the deficiency with the text of An-nuwayrí.

"In the year 219," says that historian, "'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his son Umeyyah against Toledo, "whose inhabitants had revolted some time before. Umeyyah marched thither at the head of con- "siderable forces and besieged the city; he cut down the trees, destroyed the crops, and laid waste "every thing in the neighbourhood. Still the people of Toledo persevered in their rebellion; Umeyyah, "however, being unable to reduce the city, raised his camp and returned [to Cordova], leaving a portion "of his forces at Kalát Rabáh (Calatrava) under the command of an officer named Meysarah, better "known by his surname of *Fata Abí Ayúb* (the page of Abú Ayúb). The people of Toledo, hearing "of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's retreat, left the city in large numbers and marched against Meysarah, thinking "that they would find him unprepared, and might gain some advantage over him. The contrary, "however, happened; for Meysarah, having received intelligence of their movements, prepared to receive "them. Having laid in ambush for them on the road to Calatrava, he attacked them, threw them into "confusion, and made incredible slaughter in their ranks; some few only of their number succeeded "in reaching Toledo. The heads of the slain were then collected and carried before Meysarah, who, "seeing them in such numbers, was seized with horror; melancholy lodged in his heart, and he died a "few days after.

"In the year 220 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent another army [against Toledo]. The Sultán's troops fought "frequently with the inhabitants, but gained no decisive advantage over them. In 221, in consequence "of the siege of Calatrava by the rebels of Toledo, all the Sultán's forces assembled and besieged "that city, which they kept closely invested until the year 222, when 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his own "brother Al-walíd, son of Al-hakem, to take the command of the besieging army. The defenders of "Toledo had been so reduced in numbers by the sword, and the privations consequent on so long a "siege, that Al-walíd had no difficulty in gaining possession of the city, which he took by storm on "Saturday, the 8th of Rejeb of the same year. Al-walíd ordered the restoration of a strong tower "which defended the entrance of the bridge, and which had been destroyed by the command of Al- "hakem; and after staying in Toledo until the end of Sha'bán of the year 223, to provide for the "government of the place, he returned to Cordova."

[26] An-nuwayrí gives some interesting details on this campaign, which is also mentioned by Conde, vol. i. p. 247. "In the year 200," he says, "Al-hakem sent out an army against the Franks. The "Moslems were commanded by 'Abdu-l-kerím, who marched into the very heart of the [Christian] "territory, plundering and laying waste the country, demolishing numbers of their castles, and appro- "priating to himself the treasures of their owners [or feudal lords]. However, when the Christian king "saw what was passing [in his dominions], he wrote to all the kings [or feudal lords] of those districts "to come to his help, which they did, hastening to his assistance with all their forces from every part of "the Christian world. Thus re-inforced, the Christian king went out to meet the Moslems, and encamped "opposite to them on the bank of a river which separated the two hosts. After some days spent in "skirmishing, the Moslems wishing to cross the river and the Christians preventing them, 'Abdu-l-kerím "removed his camp to some distance from the river; upon which the Christians crossed it, and a battle "ensued in which the infidels were defeated with great loss, and compelled to fall back upon the river, "against which they were so pressed by the Moslems that few of them escaped captivity or the "sword; the greater part of their [feudal] lords, officers, and counts remaining prisoners in the hands of "the faithful. After this the Franks again collected in great force to prevent the Moslems crossing the

" river, upon which there were thirteen days of continual skirmishing between the two hosts: at last the " rainy season came on, the river swelled, and 'Abdu-l-kerím, perceiving that it was no longer time " to cross it, raised his camp on the 7th day of Dhí-l-hajjah, and returned to Cordova."—(*Loco laudato,* fo. 455.)

There can be no doubt that the above account refers to an engagement which, according to Sebastian of Salamanca, took place on the banks of the river Anceo. " Uno namque tempore unus in loco qui " vocatur Naharon, alter in fluvio Anceo perierunt," *Chron.* No. 18. The Arabs, however, are there said to have been worsted.

[27] Ibnu-l-khattíb, who gives the life of Al-hakem among those of his illustrious Granadians, (no doubt because he visited that city at some time during his reign, perhaps when he was waging war against his brothers,) speaks of this poet, whom he calls 'Abbás Ibn Sáleh.

[28] طلع الزمان بازمة جلت ∴ جلا تلك الكريهة جوده الغمر
نكد الزمان فامنت ايامه ∴ من ان يكون بعصره عسر

The verses lower down, attributed to the same poet, are—

تهللت في وادي الحجارة مسدا ∴ اراعي نجوما يردن تغيرا
اليك ابا العاصي نضيت مطيتي ∴ تسير بهم ساريا و مهجرا

[29] Abú 'Abdillah Sufyán Ibn 'Adnán At-thaurí, (not At-thúrí, as in the text,) a celebrated traditionist, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.* No. 265).

[30] This is, no doubt, the Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, better known by the surname of Shabattún, who who was Kádí of Cordova in Hishám's time. See above, p. 100.

[31] Al-khoshaní (*loco laudato,* fo. 14) gives the life of Mos'ab Al-hamdání, as well as that of his successor in office, Mohammed Ibn Bashír. The former was the son of 'Imrán, son of Shofa, son of Ka'b, son of Ka'bar, son of Zeyd, son of 'Amru, &c.; he went to Spain before 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., and settled at a place to the north of Almodovar called عليار 'Alyár. He was a favourite of that Sultán, who married a sister-in-law of his. On 'Omar Ibn Sharáhil, see a former note, p. 423.

[32] Ibn Bashír had formerly been a Kátib or secretary of Mos'ab Ibn 'Imrán.

[33] فكيف حببت للتمتع بالوجوه الحسان و التبطن للكواعب الغيد و ما شاكل ذلك من الشهوات

[34] ردا العصفر—The *ridá* was a cloak or mantle worn by faquirs or dervishes. As to the word *al-mu'asfar,* which I have translated by 'deep yellow,' it may also mean of a tawny colour, like that of the fox, lion, &c.

[35] The text says نعل صرارة—that is to say, 'soles of leather tied with strings to the ankle,' which the Spaniards call *abarcas.*

36 ابعد مسن الثريا — A proverbial expression, used to denote excess in any thing.

37 The word translated by 'tooth-powder' is سواك *siwák*, which means any dentrifice whatever, and also a small piece of wood used by the Arabs instead of a tooth-brush.

38 زامر *zámir*, from *zamara*, to play the instrument called *mizmar* or to sing to it, may mean either a flute-player or a musician in general.

39 Músa Ibn Semá'h was صاحب الخيل or master of the horse to Al-hakem.

40 He was replaced by Faraj Ibn Kenánah Al-kenání, a native of Shidúnah (Sidonia), who had just returned to Spain from a journey to the East. Al-khoshaní (*loco laudato*, fo. 24) says that Faraj accompanied 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed in one of his expeditions to Galicia, as general of the vanguard; and that, having been sent on against Astorga, he came up with the Christians and defeated them with great loss. A son of this Faraj, named Ahmed, is said to have written a history of his own times.

41 مسدلا واثقا — The meaning of which, as of most law terms, is not sufficiently explained in the dictionaries.

CHAPTER IV.

1 This 'Obeydullah was the son of 'Abdullah Al-balensí, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. His father was called Al-balensí, or the Valencian, because during his contention for the throne with his brother [Hishám] and nephew [Al-hakem], he had always been favourably received by the inhabitants of that city, who defended his cause to the last. An-nuwayrí describes thus the events here alluded to.

"In the year 224 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched an army to the enemy's country under the command of "'Obeydullah, son of 'Abdullah Al-balensí, who reached Alava and the [land of the] castles and met the "infidels, when, after much hard fighting and great slaughter, the Christians were defeated; such "numbers of them being slain that when their heads were piled up in the field of battle a horseman "could not see his comrade."

'Obeydullah had been twelve years before in command of an expedition to the land of the Franks (Catalonia?), from which he likewise returned victorious.

2 This Fortún Ibn Músa and his brother Músa Ibn Músa, mentioned lower down, belonged to the powerful family of the Tojibites, who had extensive domains in the *Thagher* (Aragon). See the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán hereafter given.

3 This campaign, the only one which 'Abdu-r-rahmán commanded in person, is mentioned by An-nuwayrí under the year 225. "In this year 'Abdu-r-rahmán in person marched against the infidels

" at the head of considerable forces. Having penetrated into the land of the Galicians, he took several " fortresses, plundered and laid waste the land, made numbers of prisoners, and returned victorious " to Cordova."—*Loco laudato*, fo. 461.

[4] Músa Ibn Músa, the governor of Tudela, having quarrelled with one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's courtiers, named خوز بن موفق Khúz Ibn Muwaffek, threw off the allegiance of that Sultán and made an alliance with Garcia, King of Pamplona. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then sent against him one of his generals, named Al-hárith Ibn Yazígh, who at first gained some slight advantage over that rebel; but, having fallen into an ambush prepared by his enemy, was himself taken prisoner and his army destroyed. Being anxious to revenge the defeat which his arms had sustained, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent his own son Mohammed at the head of considerable forces. Mohammed besieged Músa in Tudela, and compelled him to sue for peace. He then directed his arms against Pamplona, defeated the Christians, and killed their king, Garcia. An-nuwayrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 460.

M. Romey, after Conde, has erroneously placed these events in the reign of Mohammed; he has also laboured to identify the Muza Ben Zeyad El Gedaí of Conde (vol. i. p. 288) with the Músa Ibn Músa mentioned in this passage. In this, as in many other instances, the French writer, notwithstanding his extensive reading and sound criticism, has been led into error by the Spanish translator.

[5] The Arabs give the name of Majús indifferently to all the nations inhabiting the northern parts of Europe.

[6] *Mehriyyah* is the name for a camel of a very fine breed which is mostly to be found in Africa.

[7] M. Romey (vol. iii. p. 434) says that *Al-ghazzál* means 'the composer of gazelles,' and that Yahya was so called because he excelled in that species of poetry. Such, however, is not the fact. Yahya was so called owing to his personal beauty; it is so stated by Al-makkarí, Part I. book v. fo. 131, *verso*, where he gives the life of that individual.

[8] An-nuwayrí furnishes us with some interesting details respecting these people.

" In the year 230 the Majús went out of the remote districts of Andalus against the territory of the " Moslems. They first showed themselves at Lisbon in Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 229 (Aug. or Sept. " A. D. 844). After remaining in that city for about thirteen days, during which time they had many " severe battles with the Moslems, they marched to قايس Káyis (perhaps قادس Cadiz), and thence to " شذونة Shidúnah, where they fought a great battle with the Moslems. From thence they advanced " against Seville, where they arrived on the 8th of Moharram (Sept. 24, A. D. 844), and encamped " at twelve parasangs from that city. Four days after, on the 12th of Moharram (Sept. 28), the " Moslems went out against them; but they were defeated with great slaughter. The Majús then came " closer to the city, and encamped at the distance of two miles from it. Again did the citizens of Seville " go out to fight the enemy, but they were a second time defeated with great loss in killed and " prisoners, and the sword of the Majús was not lifted either from man or beast until they actually " gained possession of the city. This last defeat happened on the 14th day of Moharram (Sept. 30). " After staying in Seville one day and one night, the Majús departed to their ships.

" Meanwhile the troops of the Sultán were marching against them, which being known by the Majús, " they went forward to meet them, and a bloody conflict ensued; but the Moslems having summoned up

"all their courage, fought with desperation, and drove them to their ships, after slaying about seventy of "their number. The Moslems allowed them to embark unmolested and withdrew from them. Soon "after another body of troops, sent by the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán, made its appearance in the same "districts, upon which the Majús [left their ships and] attacked them with great fury, and obliged them "to retreat. The Moslems, however, returned to the attack, and on the 2nd of Rabi' the first "(Nov. 16, A. D. 844) fought with them a second time. Provisions came in from every district, and "the army was swelled by volunteers; the Majús were attacked and defeated with the loss of about five "hundred men, and four of their vessels, which, after being emptied of all their valuables, were set "on fire.

"The Majús then went to لسلة (Leslah?), and surprised شينبا (Shinebá?). They landed on an "island close to قوديس (Cadiz?), where they proceeded to divide the spoils which they had taken; "but, whilst they were thus engaged, the Moslems sailed up the river and killed two of their men. "From thence the Majús marched to Shidúnah, where they arrived by night, taking possession of "all provisions and stores they found, and making captives of the inhabitants. The Majús remained two "days at Shidúnah; but hearing that 'Abdu-r-rahmán's fleet had arrived at Seville, they proceeded to "لبلة Liblah (Niebla), which they surprised and sacked; thence they went to الشونية [*lege* اكشونبة] "Oksunobah (Ossonoba); thence to باجة Beja; and lastly to اسلونية [*sed lege* لشبونة] Lishbúnah "(Lisbon). This place was the last where they committed their ravages; for they sailed away and "nothing more was heard of them for some time."

[9] See vol. i. p. 121 of this translation, where Zaryáb is said by mistake to have entered Spain under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. I find that Al-khoshaní, in his history of the Kádís of Cordova, fo. 206, writes his name thus, زِرْيَاب Ziryáb.

[10] This account of Zaryáb, which the author of an improved edition of Al-makkarí in my possession intercalated into 'Abdu-r-rahmán's reign, may be found in the sixth book of the first part, fo. 217, of the original work, together with many other interesting anecdotes respecting that celebrated musician. Zaryáb is there said to have left eight sons, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'Obeydullah, Yahya, Ja'far, Mohammed, Kásim, Ahmed, Hasan, and two daughters, Hamdúnah and 'Aliyyah, the latter of whom was married to the Wizír Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz.

[11] و ان يجري علي زرياب من المعروف ثلاثة الف دينار—The word *ma'rúf*, used in this sense of a gratuity or sum to be received on certain festivals of the year, is not to be found in our dictionaries.

[12] نوروز *nauruz* and مهرجان *mahraján* are two Persian words having the meaning given to them in the translation.

[13] و كذلك يحكي عن ابراهيم الموصلي في لحنه البديع المعروف بالماخوري All the copies I have seen give this passage incorrectly, except that belonging to the library of Gotha, which has it as above. This induces me to alter the translation as follows: "The same is related of

" Ibráhím Al-maussilí, who said that the Jinn used to dictate to him his admirable tune called " *Al-makhúrí.*"

[14] مرتكپ *murtak* and مرداسنكپ *murdásang* are two Persian words, both meaning 'litharge,' a semi-crystalline protoxide of lead which is obtained in separating silver from lead ores.

[15] عيد عنصرة is the feast of Pentecost.

[16] جبّة a kind of waistcoat, called in Spanish 'aljuba' and 'chupa' also. Golius interprets the word ملحم *malham* by 'genus vestis pannive;' and *mulahham* in Persian means also a species of garment and a silk cloth. It is likely that it denotes some article of dress worn close to the skin. As to the word مسحّر which I have translated by 'warm,' I have nowhere found its meaning explained. One of the copies reads و الحرير

[17] Al-makkarí gives the life of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí in the fifth book of the first part, fo. 96, as well as that of his son Mohammed.

[18] See vol. i. p. 113 and the corresponding notes.

[19] An-nuwayrí puts the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán on the night of Thursday, the 3rd of Rabi' the first, A. H. 238; but he adds that other writers fixed it in the ensuing month of Rabi' the second. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi gives the latter date, and adds that he was sixty-two years old when he died; so do Ibn Habíb (fo. 157), Ibnu-l-khattíb (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199), Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím, the author of the *Iktifá*, and others. Al-homaydí is the only author who puts it on the last day of Safar. See Conde, vol. i. p. 285; Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199.

[20] He is sometimes called Abú-l-modhaffer, which means likewise 'the father of the victorious.'

[21] As-soyúttí, in his *Tárikhu-l-kholafá* or 'history of the Khalifs' (Brit. Mus., No. 7325, fo. 230), says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán introduced into Spain the knowledge of [Greek] philosophy. He compares him with Al-mámún in love for the sciences and anxiety to procure the works of ancient philosophers.

[22] See vol. i. pp. 110, 233, and the corresponding notes.

[23] Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi and Ibn Habíb allude to a magnificent palace surrounded by gardens which this Sultán caused to be erected on the outskirts of Cordova.

[24] See Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* p. 23). An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 463) says that he was the first who conveyed good spring water to Cordova, by means of pipes, and built a large cistern or reservoir for the use of the public.

25 بنيتَ لله خير بيت ∴ يخرس عن وصفه الانامُ
حج اليه بكل اوب ∴ كانه المسجد الحرَامُ
كان محرابه اذا مَا ∴ حف به الركن و المقامُ

26 بني مسجداً لله لم يكن مثله ∴ و لا مثله الله في الارض مسجد
سوي ما ابتني الرحمن و المسجد الذي ∴ بناهُ نبي المُسلمين محمدُ
له عُمد حمر و خضر كانهَا ∴ تلوح يواقيت بها و زبرجد
الا يا اميرن لا زلت سَالما ∴ و لا زلت في كل الامُور تشددُ

[27] As-soyútti (*Táríkhu-l-kholafá*, Brit. Mus., fo. 230) says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán II. was the first Sultán of his race who introduced into Spain the use of the *tiráz* (or royal robes with the Khalif's name woven into the pattern), and who established a mint in Cordova. "Before his time," he adds, "there "was no coinage in Spain, all silver or gold money being taken thither from the East." As-soyútti, however, was mistaken when he made this latter statement. As early as the year 139, that is to say, one year after the establishment of the dynasty of Ummeyyah in Spain, coins were struck at Cordova. I possess a silver one bearing the following inscription: بسم الله ضُرب هذا الدرهم بدينة الاندلس سنة تسع و ثلاثين و ماية 'In the name of God, this dirhem was struck at Medínat Al-andalus (Cordova) in 139.' "'Abdu-r-rahmán was also the first," says An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 461), "who had a number of Faquihs or theologians attached to his suite, and made them dispute in his "presence on points of controversial divinity."

[28] An-nuwayrí says only eighty-seven, forty-five of whom were males.

29 خاطم للملك اضحي ∴ حكمه في الناسر ماضي
عابد الرحمان فيه ∴ بقضاء الله راض

[30] Elsewhere called Tarab.

31 اذاما بدت لي الشمس النهار ∴ طالعَة ذكرتني طروباً
انا ابن الشامين من غالب ∴ اشوب حروبا و اطفي حروبا

32 عداني عنك مزار العدا ∴ و قودي اليهمُ سهامًا مُصيبًا
فكم قد تخطيت من سَبسب ∴ و لاقيتُ بعد دروب دَروبا

الاقي بوجهي سُموم الهجير ∴ اذ كاد منه الحصا ان يذوبَا
تدارك بي الله دين الهُدي ∴ فاحييتُه رغم انف الصليبا
و سرتُ الي الشرك في حجفل ∴ ملأْت الحزون به و السهُوبَا

[33] This expedition of Músa Ibn Músa is placed by An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 463) in the year 243.

[34] The battle of وادي سليطة Guadacelete happened in the year 240. See Conde, vol. i. p. 289, and Rodericus Toletanus, *Hist. Arab.* cap. xxvi. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi gives an ode composed by 'Abbás Ibn Firnás, one of the poets attached to Mohammed's court, in commemoration of that victory.

[35] The incursions made by the Northmen under this reign are thus described by An-nuwayrí. "In "the year 245 the Majús went out in their ships to Andalus; they reached as far as Seville "و حملوا بالحاضر and set fire to its mosque; they then crossed over to Africa, and, after plundering "the cities on that coast, returned to Andalus and landed [on the coast of Murcia]. Having defeated "the people of Tudmír in an encounter, they took the castle of Orihuela الي خليطة افرنجة made "several incursions into the interior, and took plunder and prisoners, after which they set sail and went "away. They were, however, attacked at sea by Mohammed's fleet, which took two of their vessels and "sank two more. The Majús, irritated at their loss, renewed the attack, when several Moslems died "martyrs for the faith [in the conflict]. The ships of the Majús sailed on their course until they reached "بنسلونة [*sed lege* برشلونة] Barcelona, which they surprised, making its king, Garcia, the Frank, their "prisoner. Garcia, however, obtained his liberty by paying ninety thousand dinárs for his ransom."

Alfonso III. is the king called *Ludherik* by our author; for, as I have observed elsewhere (vol. i. p. 325, *note* 60), the Arabian writers thought that all the kings of Asturias were descended from the last Gothic monarch.

[36] The abridgment reads ابن ونقة the son of *Unekoh*, as printed; all other copies, including that of Gotha, read وبقة *Ubekoh*, by the mere transposition of one point. There can be no doubt, however, that the individual here mentioned was no other than Garseanus or Garcia, surnamed Enecho (Iñigo) and Arista, Ἄριστος, who about that time revolted against his liege lord Ordoño I., son of Ramiro (not of Alfonso, as in the text), and proclaimed himself independent, in conjunction with Músa Ibn Músa, whose daughter he is said to have espoused (Sebast. Salmant. *Chron.* No. 26). Yet, as this same Garseanus, whom Rodericus Toletanus (lib. v. cap. 21) calls Enecho, is said to have been slain in the battle of Albelda (a corruption of البيضا Albeydhá) or Clavijo some years before, he cannot be the sovereign intended.

[37] It is not quite clear that Alfonso III. of Leon was the king here designated under the general appellation of Ludherik. His father and predecessor, Ordoño, was still living in 865.

[38] Conde (vol. i. p. 302) places about this time a maritime expedition which left Cordova for the coast of Galicia. But An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 464) places it seven years before, under the year 246.

The following are the words of the latter historian. "In the year 246 (beginning March 27, A. D. 860) "Mohammed ordered the building of several vessels at Cordova. After descending the river to Seville "they entered the ocean, and sailed for the shores of Galicia; but a storm at sea scattered them, and "scarcely two of their number returned."

[39] No account of this rebellion is to be found in my copy of An-nuwayrí, which, like its original in the library of Leyden, wants a few pages; but that author records several other insurrections of the people of Merida, the most formidable of which happened in 213, under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. "In the "year 213 the people of Merida put to death their governor, and civil war broke out among them. At "the news of their revolt, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent against them an army which besieged that city, destroyed "their plantations, and cut down the [fruit] trees, until they were compelled to return to their obedience "and give the Sultán hostages for their future good behaviour. The army then left them, after pulling "down the city walls. In order, however, to prevent any further resistance on their part, and from fear "they should be tempted to repair the fortifications, 'Abdu-r-rahmán directed his officers to have the "stones thrown into the river; but when the people of Merida saw this, they returned to rebellion, "seized on their governor, and repaired the city walls, which they made even stronger than before. In "the year 214, 'Abdu-r-rahmán dispatched another army to Merida with the hostages given by the "inhabitants; but, although the city was closely invested by the royal troops, they could not reduce it. "At last, in the year 218, 'Abdu-r-rahmán sent a third army, which took the city, although the principal "actors in the rebellion had time to escape. In their number was a man named Mahmúd Ibn 'Abdi-l-"jabbár Al-máridí (a native of Merida), who fled with numbers of the inhabitants to a castle called "منت شلوط Monsalut, and from thence deserted to Galicia, &c."

An-nuwayrí goes on to relate how Mahmúd, who is no other than the Mahzmuth of Sebastianus Salmanticensis (*Chron.* No. 22), having taken a castle, called Santa-Christina, which belonged to Alfonso III., that monarch marched against him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and put him to death in the month of Rejeb, A. H. 225.

[40] ويل لماردة التي مردت ∴ و تكبرت عن عدوة الدهر
كانت تري لهم بها زهد ∴ فخلت من الزهرات كالقفر
فالويل ثم الويل حين غزا ∴ بجيعهم من صاحب الامر

[41] This last expedition was directed in the first place against Sarogossa, where a son of Músa Ibn Músa, named Lob, had just revolted. The royal troops under the command of Al-mundhir laid waste the environs of that city, and took by storm the castle of روطة Roda (the Rotalyehud of Conde, vol. i. p. 299). From thence the army went to دير بروجة Borja, then to Lerida, and lastly to the district called Birtánnieh, from whence they penetrated into Castile and Alava.—An-nuwayrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 460.

[42] Mohammed died either on the last day of Safar, or on the first day of Rabi' the first. Al-homaydí (fo. 6) and Conde (vol. i. p. 316) give the former of these dates; Ibnu-l-khattíb (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 199), Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi (fo. 62), and Ibn Habíb (fo. 147), the latter; An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 464) gives the one and the other. He was surnamed Al-amín 'ala-illah (he who trusts in God).

[43] Ibn Abí Sheybah is, I believe, Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán (Ibn Abí Sheybah) Al-kúfí, to whom Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Táríkh*, attributes a general history.

[44] The life of this doctor is to be found also in the fifth book of the first part, among those of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain for the East; but the author of the improved edition of Al-makkarí, in my possession, has in this instance, as in many others, mixed the biographical notices scattered through the work with the narrative of events.

[45] An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 465) says that Al-mundhir, to whom he gives the *kunyá* or appellative of Abú-l-hakem, was publicly sworn at Cordova three days after the death of his father. His mother's name was Iyyal إيّل (stag), not اثل Athl or Athol, as is afterwards stated.

[46] Ibnu Hayyán (fo. i.), Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, and Al-homaydí, agree in placing the death of Al-mundhir at ببشتر Bishter or Yobaster. The first-named historian says, و قُتل المنذر علي باب ببشتر الشرقي و هو محاصر لابن حفصون—"Al-mundhir was slain close to the eastern gate of Bishter, "whilst he was besieging ['Omar] Ibn Hafssún [in that fortress]." An-nuwayrí is the only author I know who says that Al-mundhir died during the siege of Toledo. His words are as follow: "Al-mundhir then took a most solemn oath never again to make peace [with 'Omar Ibn Hafssún] "or raise the siege of Toledo,—even if he should be obliged to transfer to his camp the markets of "Cordova,—until that rebel should be in his power. He accordingly besieged him in Toledo, and died "during the siege."

Ibn Hazm, in his *Noktatu-l-'arús* or 'history of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain,' extracts from which may be found in Ibn Bashkúwál, accuses 'Abdullah of having caused the death of his brother Al-mundhir by bribing his surgeon to poison the lancet with which he bled him, which circumstance would lead to the belief that 'Abdullah was not killed in action, as the word قُتل used by Ibnu Hayyán and other historians would seem to indicate. Ibn Hazm, however, agrees with the above writers in placing the death of Al-mundhir at the camp before Bishter. Conde (vol. i. p. 324) says that Al-mundhir was slain in battle near Hisn-Webdeh (Huete); but what reliance can be placed in the statement of a writer who makes 'Omar Ibn Hafssún die in 270, of wounds received during the reign of Mohammed, when it is an ascertained fact that he lived during the whole of 'Abdullah's reign, and was not killed until A. H. 306?—who gives him a son called Kaleb, fighting battles with the Sultán's troops in various parts of the peninsula; whereas 'Omar Ibn Hafssún had no such son?—who makes Navarre, Toledo, Catalonia, and Granada, together and at once the theatre of that robber's exploits; when he is known seldom to have made incursions beyond the provinces of Malaga and Jaen, where his principal force was? The origin of all these blunders,—which, I need not observe, have found their way into every modern history of Spain,—lies in a nut-shell. 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, being a Christian renegade and at the head of the Muwallad party, is frequently mentioned in history under the surname of كلب *kelb* (dog), coupled with his more usual appellation of Ibn Hafssún; Conde, therefore, who had a very imperfect knowledge of the Arabic language, seeing the words كلب ابن حفصون 'the dog Ibn Hafssún,' mistook *kelb* for a proper name, and gave 'Omar a son named *Kaleb ben Hafsun*, who fights at Toledo, in Navarre, in Galicia, and every where, and who, I need not repeat, is no other than 'Omar Ibn Hafssún himself.

It now remains to ascertain the situation of 'Omar's favourite stronghold, the castle of Yobashter or Bishter, (for it may be pronounced both ways, according as it is found written ييشتر or ببشتر). Idrísí mentions a town called Bishter in the district of Rayyah, that is to say, in the province of Malaga, which was so called because the Arabs from Ray or Reistán settled in it. Al-homaydí (*Jadhwatu-l-muktabis*, fo. 54) says that Bishter or ييشتر Yobashter, as the word is invariably written in the Bodleian manuscript, was a castle حصن من عمل رية of the district of Rayyah, and he also mentions a strong fortress near Malaga called بباشتر Bobáshter, which word may easily be transformed into Yobáshter by the single addition of a point. See the Appendix to this volume, p. xviii. Conde (vol. i. p. 295) says that 'Omar's favourite stronghold was a castle called Yebaster, in the mountains of Ronda; and he again mentions a place so called belonging to the Bení Idrís of Malaga (vol. ii. p. 16). The same author states in his notes to the geography of Idrísí (p. 44) that Bishter was the modern town of Vilches, situated between the rivers Guadalen and Guarizaz, which is erroneous, for the district of Rayyah never extended beyond what is now called the province of Malaga. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi frequently mentions a castle called بيشتر Bishter, في ناحية ملقة in the neighbourhood of Malaga. Lastly, Ibnu Hayyán, who writes Bishter also, mentions it in a manner which leaves no doubt as to its being the same place which other authors write Yobashter, Yobáshter, or Bobashter, all the difference consisting in the transposition of the first letter of that word and the addition of one point.

In one passage, especially, he speaks of it in very explicit terms. He says that after the taking of Hisn-Belay (Espeluy) by 'Abdullah in A. H. 278, 'Omar fled to Archidona; but that the inhabitants of that town having refused him admittance, he went further to Bishter, where he was soon besieged by 'Abdullah. From the above and many similar passages which I might adduce, I am inclined to think that 'Omar's castle was situated somewhere between Archidona and Ronda, in that mountain chain extending from Granada to Gibraltar, and which, as well as the neighbouring districts of Malaga, Jaen, Granada, Seville, and Algesiras, was the scene of that robber's exploits; but whether Bishter or Yobashter is to be read, is a point which it is almost impossible to settle, as no place bearing either name remains at present in those parts, with the exception of a small hamlet called Abistar in the Axarquia or mountainous part of Malaga, which might very well be the place called Bishter by the Arabs. However, as the copy of Ibnu Hayyán, which is both ancient and faithful, has always بيشتر Bishter, I should have been tempted to adopt this reading, had not the four copies of Al-makkarí, which I have used, and the Gotha MS., afforded me the reading ييشتر Yobashter or ييستر Yobaster.

[47] Immediately after the above notice of the public officers at the court of 'Abdullah, Ibnu Hayyán proceeds to give a detailed account of all the rebellions and wars by which the long reign of that Sultán was troubled, and the names and genealogies of the principal actors in them. As this period of Spanish history is but imperfectly known, notwithstanding its great interest,—for it was then that the two hostile races in the peninsula, the Arabs and the Muwallads, or people of mixed blood, fought for the possession of power,—I here give some extracts from that valuable work.

"*Inauguration of 'Abdullah.*

"On the death of Al-mundhir, 'Abdullah returned to Cordova, carrying the body of his brother upon a "camel. He arrived at the palace, called Mun'yat An-na'úrah, situated on the banks of the Guadalquivir

" below Cordova علي الشط اسفل قرطبة on Sunday, fourteen days before the end (the 15th) of Safar, " A. H. 275.

" On the following morning at dawn of day 'Abdullah removed to the royal palace in Cordova, and, " having read the funeral service over the body of his brother, caused it to be interred in the cemetery " called Ar-raudhah, within the palace. On the same day he sat to receive the oaths of the public " officers and high functionaries of the state, and sent messengers into the provinces, that the governors " might do the same.

" Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, however, says that the inauguration of 'Abdullah took place on Saturday, " thirteen days before the end (the 16th) of Safar; and another historian, named Saken Ibn Ibráhím, " says that he was proclaimed by the troops on the same day his brother Al-mundhir died, that is to say, " on the 15th of Safar, but that he did not enter Cordova till the 17th.

" *Names of those individuals who resisted the authority of the Amír 'Abdullah, or revolted against him,* " *kindling the fire of civil war in the provinces of his empire.*

" ديسم *Deysam Ibn Is'hák.*—This individual took possession of Lorca and Murcia; he was fond of " poets, and very generous towards them. One called 'Obaydis wrote verses in his praise.

" *'Obeydullah Ibn Umeyyah Ibn Ash-shâliyyah.*—This rebel assumed authority in the mountains of " شنتان Somontan, near Jaen. He went so far as to lay his hands on قسطلونة Cazlona and other " important cities. Defeated by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah, one of the generals of 'Abdullah, he was " obliged to hide himself; but he appeared again and proclaimed 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, to whom he " became connected by giving his own daughter in marriage to Ja'far, one of the sons of that chieftain. " He was at last reduced by 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who gave him Cordova for a residence and employed " him in his army."—Compare Casiri (vol. ii. p. 47), and Conde, who with his usual inaccuracy designates this chieftain under three or more different names, calling him at p. 331 (vol. i.) " Obeidala ben Umia, el conocido por Asalat," p. 337 " Abdala ben Asaliat," and p. 364 " Obeidala ben Omeya."

" *Ibráhím Ibn Hejáj* (or *Hajjáj*) *Ibn 'Omayr Al-lakhmí,* Lord of Seville and Carmona, where he ruled " for many years, almost independent. He had a body-guard of five hundred horsemen, appointed the " Kádís and public officers in his dominions, and used the robes called *tiráz* inscribed with his own name, " while he affected obedience to the Sultán, whose vassal he acknowledged himself to be on every " occasion. He was fond of science, and liberal towards the poets who visited his court."—See Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35.

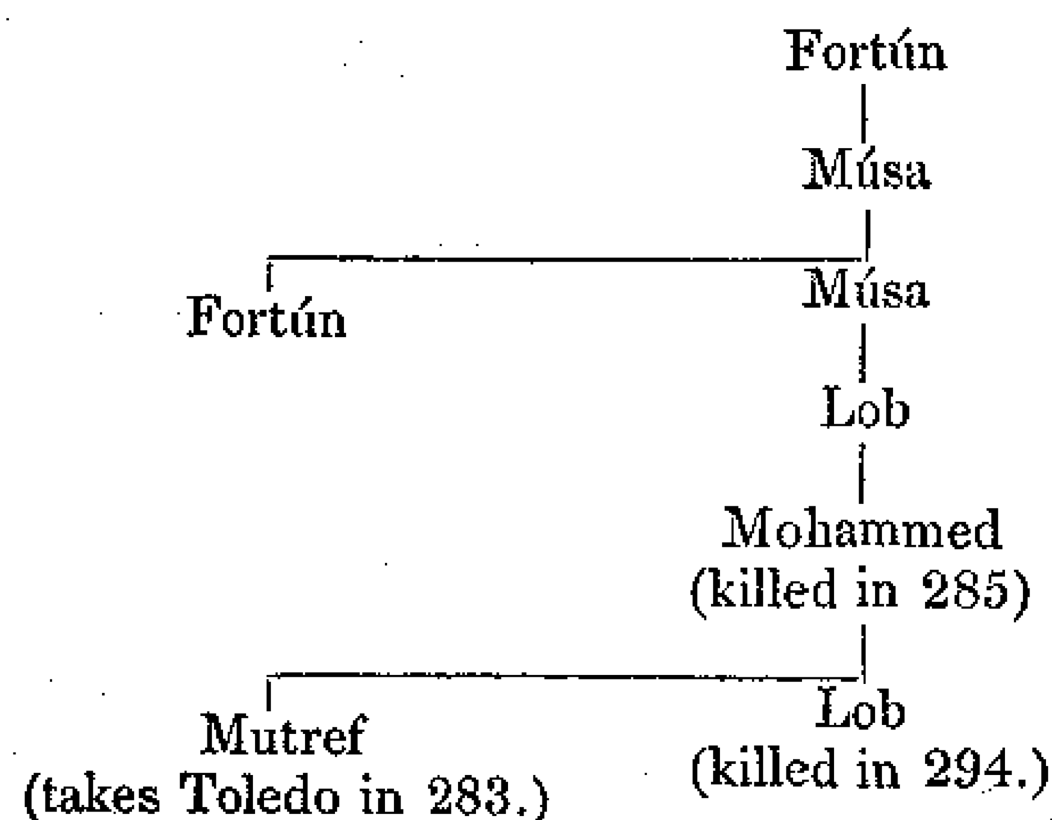
" *'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Merwán Ibn Yúnas,* better known as *Ibnu-l-jalíkí* (the son of the Galician) and " *Al-morédí* (the native from Kal'ah Moréd). This chief revolted at Badajoz, where he fixed his court, " embracing the party of the Muwallads against the Arabs. He was besieged in Merida and obliged to " surrender. He revolted again, seized on the castle of الحنش Alhanje, and was one of the chiefs who " fought under Sa'dún Ibn Fatah السرنابقي As-sarnábekí against Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, 'Abdullah's " general, whom they defeated at a place called كركر Karkar. This 'Abdu-r-rahmán peopled Badajoz " and surrounded it with walls. A grandson of his, named 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed, lived some time " in Cordova at the house of the hostages بدار الرهن and succeeded his grandfather and uncle in the " government of that city.

" *'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-jawwád,* Lord of Beja, Mertola, and the adjoining territories, made common

"cause with the former and with Abú Bekr, Lord of Ossonoba, and, like them, embraced the party of "the Muwallads.

"*Bekr Ibn Yahya Ibn Bekr.*—This man was the grandson of a Christian named زدلف Zadlaf. His "father, Yahya Ibn Zadlaf, rose in favour of the pretensions of the Muwallads, and fixed his quarters at "Santa Maria de Algarbe, in the district of Ossonoba, where he built a strong fortress, the gates "of which were lined with iron. His son Bekr, who succeeded him, was pardoned by 'Abdullah, who "granted him the government of Silves. He nevertheless continued to lend his assistance to the "*'Ajemís* (Christians) and Muwallads, whose cause he had espoused. He died at the beginning of the "reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

"*Mohammed Ibn* لُب *Lob Ibn Músa Ibn Músa Ibn Fortún* القَسَوي *Al-kasawí.*—This chief revolted "in Aragon at the commencement of 'Abdullah's rein. He besieged and took تُطيلة Tudela, and put to "death its governor, Mohammed Ibn طملس Tamlas. Having enlisted a number of adventurers, he "commenced war with his sovereign, and upon one occasion marched against Cordova. He fought "also with the infidels of Alava and Pamplona bordering upon his dominions, and defeated them in "several encounters, and chiefly in 278. He next gained possession of the city of Toledo in 283, and, "leaving his son Lob to command in his absence, returned to his states of Aragon. As he was "besieging Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán At-tojibí in Saragossa, he was killed in a sally made by the "garrison, in Ramadhán, 285, and his head was sent to Cordova. His son Lob returned to the "obedience of the Sultán, who granted him سجلًا the government of Tudela, Tarazona, and the "surrounding districts, wherein he kept himself faithful, until he was killed in battle with the Christians "in 294 (A. D. 907)."—Compare Conde, vol. i. p. 305, who calls him *Abu Abdallah Muhamad ben Lobia;* Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35; and the *Cronica General,* Part III. fo. ccxxxiii. *passim.* The similarity of the names of the members of this illustrious family has led to much confusion among the writers of Spanish history, who have frequently mistaken Mohammed Ibn Lob (or the Abenlope of the *Cronica General*) for his son Lob Ibn Mohammed (Lope). Conde has added to, instead of diminishing, the confusion, thereby leading into error Romey, who, with all his acuteness and sound criticism, has been unable to explain satisfactorily this period of history. See *Hist. d'Espagne,* vol. iii. chap. XIII. In order, therefore, to clear up the many difficulties of this intricate period of history, I here subjoin the genealogical tree of the Bení Fortún or Bení Lob.



"*The sons of Músa Ibn Dhí-n-nún.*—These were three, Yahya, Al-fat'h, and Mutref. They were the "sons of a Berber chief, named Músa Ibn Dhí-n-nún, governor of شنت برية Santiberia, a descendant "from As-samh, one of the Berber chiefs who were present at the conquest of Andalus. The influence

"of this family originated thus: Suleymán, the father of Músa, was living at Santiberia when a favourite "eunuch of the Sultán 'Abdullah fell dangerously ill, on his return from the frontiers of Aragon; "Suleymán received him in his house, and took care of him; with which the eunuch was so well pleased "that he prevailed upon his master the Sultán to confer on Suleymán the government of his native town "and the neighbouring district. Notwithstanding the rebellion of his son Músa, who revolted several "times against his sovereign, Suleymán remained faithful until 274 (beginning May 27, A. D. 887), "when he died. Músa succeeded to his father's estates; but he was soon after killed in an engagement "with the troops of the Sultán.

"*Yahya* succeeded his father Músa in part of his feudal dominions, and at first maintained fidelity to "his sovereign 'Abdullah. At the time when Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-bekrí Ar-riyáhí revolted "against the Sultán and seized on the fortress of ملقون Malagon, it was he who marched against him, "made him prisoner, and sent his head to Cordova, in Rabi' the second of the year 303 (Nov. or Dec. "A. D. 915). As a reward for this signal service, Yahya received a royal diploma conferring on him the "tenure of his father's estates; but having afterwards shown symptoms of disobedience, 'Abdu-r-"rahmán III. sent against him his Wizír 'Abdu-l-hamíd Ibn Basíl, who took him prisoner, and "sent him to Cordova with his family, in 321 (A. D. 933). He died at Saragossa in 325 (beginning "Nov. 18, A. D. 936).

"*Al-fat'h Ibn Músa* was Lord of Uclés, and made war on the people of Toledo. Having upon one "occasion gained a signal victory over them, he followed his fugitives with too much ardour, and was "killed by a soldier named Al-akra' (the bald). This happened in 303.

"*Mutref Ibn Músa* inherited from his father the town of وبدة Webdeh (Huete), which he "strengthened with new fortifications. He was taken prisoner by Sancho, King of Navarre, and taken to "Pamplona; but he afterwards made his escape with only three of his followers. He was present at the "battle of Al-handik, near Zamora, in 327 (A. D. 939), and distinguished himself by his conduct. As a "reward for his gallant behaviour on that occasion, 'Abdu-r-rahmán conferred on him the government of "Medínat-Al-faraj الفرج (now Guadalajara), where he died in 333 (beginning Aug. 23, A. D. 944).

"The *Bení Al-muhájir* or *Tojibites*, who aimed at independence in Saragossa. The origin of this "family is thus related. When the Bení Kasí rose in Aragon, during the reign of the Amír Mohammed, "'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of 'Abdullah, son of Al-muhájir, chief of the powerful "tribe of the Tojibites, was intrusted by that Sultán with the arduous task of re-establishing his "authority in those parts. Having succeeded in part, he made himself master of Saragossa; but, "being deprived of the government of that city by 'Abdullah, Mohammed's successor, he rose in "arms, together with a son of his, named Abú Yahya Mohammed, and, in 276, surprised and put to "death the governor appointed by the Sultán. After a variety of events which it would take too long "to relate, 'Abdullah deemed it prudent to temporize with him, and, in the year 278, granted him "the government of Saragossa, which he held till the time of his death in 313 (beginning March 28, "A. D. 925).

"*Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-khozá'í*, better known by the surname of *Sheikhu-l-islamí*, rose "in the castle of قليوشة (Callosa?), in the province of Tudmír. Having made his submission about "the close of the reign of 'Abdullah, he obtained the government of the districts which had been "the theatre of his rebellion. He revolted again under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who dispatched an army "against him. He was besieged in the castle of Alicante حصن لقنت and compelled to make his "submission; but shortly after he revolted a third time. Having been taken prisoner by Ahmed Ibn

" Is'hák, the Korayshite, one of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's generals, he was taken to Cordova, where he died in " 323 (A. D. 935), at the age of one hundred.

" *Abú Wadhdháh 'Abdu-r-rahmán.* This individual was the son of 'Abdullah, son of Mohammed, " son of Al-huseyn, son of Wadhdháh, son of Yahya Ibn Wadhdháh, a *mauli* of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-" malek Ibn Merwán. During the civil war he took possession of Lorca, in the province of Tudmír, and " was sometimes obedient and sometimes rebellious under the reign of 'Abdullah and part of that of " his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán, until the latter gave him the city of Cordova as a residence and " employed him in his armies. He died in 322.

" *Abú Farank* or *Faránik* زعلل *Za'lal,* son of Ya'ysh, son of فرانك Faránik An-nefezáwí. He rose " in a castle of his called Umm-Ja'far, in the *Jauf* or north-western districts of Andalus. He maintained " his independence for upwards of twenty years, when he died, and was succeeded by his nephew " 'Abdullah Ibn 'Isa Ibn Kúttí, who ruled unmolested for five years, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. reduced " him to obedience.

" *As-sarnabákí* (السرنباقي elsewhere written السرنابقي As-sarnábekí) *Sa'dún Ibn Fatah.* This man, " who was the friend and ally of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-jalíkí (see above, p. 439), took possession of a " castle called قفبروة between the Tagus and the city of Kolimbriah (Coimbra). He was taken " prisoner by the Majús (Northmen) in one of their incursions during the reign of Mohammed. A " Jewish merchant paid his ransom, and freed him, intending to make a good profit; but far from " acknowledging his gratitude to him, As-sarnabákí escaped from the Jew, and took refuge in the " mountains between Coimbra and Santarem, where he led a life of plunder, attacking alike Christians " and Moslems, until Alfonso, King of Galicia, took him prisoner and put him to death.

" *Ibnu-s-selím.* His name was Mundhir, and he was the son of Ibráhím, son of Mohammed, son " of As-selím, son of Abí 'Ikrimah, son of Yezíd, son of 'Abdullah, a *mauli* of the Khalif Suleymán " Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. He raised the standard of revolt at a town of the territory of Shidúniah, which " is still called Medínat Bení Selím from the name of his family. This happened during the reign " of 'Abdullah, and he persevered in his rebellion until a mameluke of his, named علندة 'Alando, killed " him by treachery. He was succeeded in command by Walíd Ibn Walíd, who in the course of time " submitted to the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

" *Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-kerím Ibn Elyás* rose in rebellion in a castle of the province of Sidonia, called " ورد Ward, where he maintained himself during the whole reign of 'Abdullah, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. " compelled him to reside in Cordova, where he died, and left posterity.

" *Sawwár Ibn Hamdún Al-mohárибí Al-kaysí,* chief of the Arabian party in the province of Elvira, rose " against 'Abdullah in the year 276. He was the friend and companion of Yahya Ibn صقالة Sukálah, " the first Arab of those parts who made war against the Muwallads and 'Ajemís; and he succeeded him " in command when that chief was treacherously slain by the Muwallads of Elvira. The first step " of Sawwár was to revenge the death of his friend. He marched against the Muwallads, who were " commanded by Nábil and Shokhays, and, having overtaken them near منت شاكر Mont-shékar " (Montexicar), defeated them with great slaughter. This done, Sawwár proceeded towards the castles " of the مسالمة renegades and Christians, and reduced them one after the other, slaying all those of " the enemy who fell into his hands. The Muwallads then implored the assistance of Ja'd Ibn 'Abdi-l-" gháfir, governor of Jaen, who granted their request, on condition that they should return to the " allegiance of the Sultán. Having united his forces with those of the Muwallads, Ja'd marched against

"Sawwár; but he was defeated and taken prisoner. Meanwhile 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, hearing of the "unhappy plight of his partisans in the province of Elvira, hastened thither at the head of considerable "forces; but he was defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to fly to his strongholds, leaving "his lieutenant, named Hafss Ibn Al-marrah, in command of his forces. Shortly after, in 277, "Sawwár fell into an ambush prepared by the Muwallads, and was killed. His body was taken to "حاضرة البيرة the capital of the district of Elvira, where the excitement produced by the sight of his "mangled corpse was such that it was cut into small pieces and distributed among the women, most of "whom ate of it."—(Compare the narrative of Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 36, and that of Conde, vol. i. p. 333. The latter, however, says that Sawwár was defeated and slain by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Bedr, one of the generals of 'Abdullah.)

"*Khayr Ibn Shákir*, one of the most active and enterprising chiefs of the Muwallad party, who were "commanded by 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, rose at شودر Shaudar (now Xodar), in the province of Jaen, "and made war against the Arabs of that district. He was killed in 277, by an assassin paid by 'Omar "Ibn Hafssún.

"*'Omar Ibn* مضم *Modhamm* الهتروري *Al-haterúlí*, better known under the surname of Al-maléhí, "because he was originally from a town of the province of Jaen called Maléhah. He was a Berber, "and a common soldier. Having gained possession of a castle called منتليون Monteleon, in the above "province, he defended himself against the generals of 'Abdullah until, being deserted by some of his "friends, he was taken prisoner and conveyed to Cordova, where he died.

"*Fehr Ibn Asíl*, a soldier of the Sultán's body-guard, who joined the rebels during the civil war. "Having a brother in prison as a hostage, he planned the following stratagem for his liberation. One "day while the prisoner was walking out with one of his keepers, Fehr attacked and slew the latter, "and released his brother. After this they made themselves masters of a castle called بس Bes, in "which they defended themselves against the troops of 'Abdullah. At last, another rebel, named Sa'íd "Ibn Walíd Ibn مستنة Mustanah, who rose in the district of باغة Beghah, and had conceived an "enmity against him, succeeded in taking him prisoner and sending him to Cordova, where, by the "command of 'Abdullah, he was nailed to a stake by one of the gates of the royal palace, called "*Bábu-l-'adal* (the gate of justice).

"*Sa'íd Ibn Hudheyl.*—The rebellion of this individual happened in the castle of Monteleon, in the "province of Jaen. The Sultán 'Abdullah having sent against him some troops under the command of "one of his generals, named 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah, he defended himself gallantly; "but was at last obliged to capitulate. He again revolted and joined 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, Sa'íd Ibn "Walíd, and other chiefs of the Muwallad party, in an attack upon Jaen; but Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn "'Abdillah, who commanded in that city, went out against them and defeated them with great slaughter "near a fortress called حصن جريشة Hisn-Jeríshah, in the neighbourhood of Jaen.

"*Sa'íd Ibn Walíd Ibn Mustanah*, the friend and companion of 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, rose in the district "of Beghah, in the province of Jaen. He had four castles of admirable strength, where he resided "habitually. The names of these were الغالية—النظرة—لقونش—اقوط Al-gháliyah, An-nadhrah, La-"kúnesh, and Akútt. He was assisted in his rebellion by the three sons of Mattrúh,—Hárith, 'Aún, and "Tálút. The Sultán 'Abdullah went out in person against him in 279 (beginning April 2, 892), when "his castles were taken one after the other, and among them that of كركبولية Karkabúliyah, where he "himself resided: he was, in short, compelled to make his submission, but soon after revolted, and "died in his rebellion.

" The four sons of Hábil,—and first, *Mundhir Ibn Haríz.* This rebel rose in the territory of Jaen, " and having taken possession of a castle called بعويدة repaired its fortifications and built two strong " towers called يرغيطة Yarghíttah and San Estevan. He led a life of excess, slaying or plundering " all those who came near his castle, until he was reduced to obedience during the reign of 'Abdu-r-" rahmán III., and compelled to reside in Cordova.

" *Abú Karámah Hábil Ibn Haríz Ibn Hábil* rose conjointly with his brother Mundhir during the reign of " 'Abdullah, and was likewise reduced by 'Abdu-r-rahmán and compelled to reside in Cordova. He escaped, " however, and seized on a castle called مرهريطة Marharíttah (Margarita?), which had once belonged " to his brother, asked 'Abdu-r-rahmán's pardon, was forgiven, and obtained the government of the castle.

" *'A'mir Ibn Haríz Ibn Hábil* rose in the castle of شنت اشتبن San Esteban at the same time with " his two brothers. He made his submission to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who employed him in his army " and promoted him. He died a martyr for the faith in the battle of شبت مانكش Shebt-mánikas " (Simancas), in the expedition of Al-handik in 327.

" *'Omar Ibn Haríz Ibn Hábil.*—His history is the same as that of his three brothers. He accompanied " 'Abdu-r-rahmán to the campaign of Badajoz in 327 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 938), and was killed by " an arrow-shot at the siege of Beja.

" *Ibn 'Attáf Al-'okaylí.*—This individual, whose name was Is'hák, was the son of Ibráhím, son of " Sakhar, son of عطاف 'Attáf, son of Al-hasan, son of الدجن Ad-dajen, son of 'Abdullah, son of " Mohammed, son of 'Omar, son of Yahya, son of 'A'mir, son of Malek, son of خويلد Khowaylad, " son of Sam'án Al-'okaylí. During the reign of Mohammed he remained faithful and accompanied " that Sultán in all his expeditions; but when the civil war between the Arabs and the Muwallads " broke out, he embraced the party of the latter, and having made himself master of a castle called " منتلشة Montalesa, he defended himself in it against Ibn Hafssún and his followers. In 310 he made " his submission to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who compelled him to reside in Cordova.

" *Sa'íd Ibn Suleymán Ibn Júda* or جودي *Júdí* became general of the Arabs of Granada in 277, after " the death of Sawwár, who had been the first to raise the banner against the Muwallads of those " districts. His election having been confirmed by the Sultán 'Abdullah, he marched immediately " against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, whom he defeated in several encounters. On one occasion he fought " personally with that chief, and would have killed him had not his followers snatched him from his " hands. Sa'íd was treacherously slain, in Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 284 (Dec. A. D. 897), by two " influential men of his own party, named Mohammed Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Seyd and Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-s-" sellám.

" *Ibn Adhha.*—Mohammed Ibn Adhha Ibn 'Abdillatíf Al-hamdání, one of the most illustrious Arabs " of the province of Elvira. He was the sworn enemy of Sa'íd, who persecuted him incessantly, " following him from place to place. The inhabitants of a fortified town called بوالش Buélash having " invited him to come among them, he accepted their invitation, and took the command of the place. " After the death of Sa'íd in 284, he obtained the command of the Arabs of Elvira. He maintained " fidelity to the Sultán 'Abdullah, who appointed him governor of that district. In 313 he was conveyed " to Cordova, and obliged to settle there.

" *The sons of Muhallib.*—These were two, Khalíl and Sa'íd, and they belonged to the Berbers of Elvira. " The former made himself master of a castle called حصن قرديرة Kazdeyrah, and the latter of the

" fortified town of اشبرغرة Esparraguera, both belonging to the province of Elvira. Khalíl having " shown some disposition to return to the obedience of the Sultán, they were both invested with the " government of their respective castles, and directed to make war against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún and " his partisans, which they did. On the death of Khalíl, his brother Sa'íd obtained the command of both " castles, which he held till his death.

" *The sons of Jorj.*—'Abdu-l-wahháb, son of Jorj, a *mauli* of Abú 'Othmán 'Obeydullah Ibn 'Othmán, " and his cousin Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Jorj, belonged to the rebels of Elvira. The " former made himself master of a castle called Nokúr. He died in 303 (beginning July 26, A. D. 915), " and was succeeded by his cousin Mohammed, who embraced the party of 'Obeydullah Ibn Sháliyyah, " and built a castle called مورنية Morania, not far from Xodar, in the province of Jaen. Subdued " by 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., he was conducted to Cordova like the other rebels, and obtained command " in the armies of that Khalif. Having accompanied Ahmed Ibn Is'hák Al-korayshí in the expedition " against the rebels of Tudmír, he was killed at the siege of Alicante.

" *Account of the poets of his court.*

" Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi and Al-kalafátt were two of the most eminent poets of 'Abdullah's " court; they employed their pens in writing verses in praise of that Sultán, and of the various " independent chieftains who rose during his reign. They were rivals and enemies. Al-kalafátt gave " Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi the surname of الطلاس At-talás, and whenever the book of the '*Ikd*, which " was the composition of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, was mentioned in his presence, he used to say, " ذلك حبل الثوم لاعقد الدر—'It is a string of heads of garlic, not a pearl necklace.' The third " place after the two above-mentioned poets was occupied by 'Obeydullah Ibn Yahya Ibn Idrís " Al-kháledí. 'Obeydis Ibn Mahmúd was another of the distinguished poets of the court of 'Abdullah. " He was a clerk in one of the offices in the royal palace; he fled from Cordova and joined the rebel " 'Obeydullah Ibn Sháliyyah, who appointed him his secretary. Isma'íl Ibn Bedr was likewise a " distinguished poet, but it is my intention to treat of him under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

" *Poets of the tribe of Koraysh, or belonging to the royal family of Umeyyah.*

" Al-mundhir Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, son of 'Abdullah, son of Al-mundhir, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II.; " —Malek, son of Mohammed, son of Malek, son of 'Abdullah, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of 'Omar, " son of Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, better known under his patronymic Al-merwání; he was likewise " an accomplished grammarian and a writer on general literature;—Mohammed and 'Omar, the sons " of Ibráhím Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah the Korayshite; they were both known as the " sons of *Ibni-l-musnu';* the younger, Mohammed, lived to the times of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí;—the two " sons of Abú Sefwán, also of the tribe of Koraysh, Ahmed Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Kolzam, and Kásim Ibn " 'Abdi-l-wáhed العجلي Al-'ajelí; this latter travelled to the East; on his return to Cordova in " 293 (beginning Nov. 1, A. D. 905) he was assassinated by some of his enemies;—Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdi-r- " rabbihi, a cousin of Abú 'Omar Ahmed [Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi], who, besides being a good poet, excelled " also in the knowledge of medicine, which he practised in Cordova;—Is'hák Ibn Isma'íl, better known " by the surname of المُنادي Al-munádí;—Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdi-l-kabt قبط—these two last were very " good scribes;—Yezíd Ibn Rabi' Ibn Suleymán Al-hijárí, known as Yezíd Al-bárid;—'Akír Ibn Mas'úd;

"—'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Jehwar, the Wizír;—'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar Ibn Shahíd [or Shoheyd], the "Wizír;—Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám, better known as Ibn Kalmún;—'Amru and Ahmed, the sons "of Faraj, and several others, who will be more fully mentioned in our next volume."

[After the above passages there follows in the manuscript a chronological history of the reign of 'Abdullah, from which I will only extract a few of the most important events.]

"*Events of the year* 275 (*beginning May* 15, A.D. 888).—According to 'Isa Ibn Ahmed Ar-rází, "one of the first acts of 'Abdullah's reign was to take measures to put down the rebellion of 'Omar "Ibn Hafssún. No sooner, however, had that rebel heard of the death of Al-mundhir, than he sent "to Cordova his son Hafss, with one of his principal officers, Ibráhím Ibn Dhamír.

"'Abdullah received 'Omar's ambassadors with every honour; he gave orders that Hafss and his "suite should be well lodged and entertained, and having granted them an audience he accepted Omar's "submission, and appointed him governor of the district of Rayyah, on condition of sharing the govern-"ment with an officer appointed by him, whose name was 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn 'Abdi-r-rúf. 'Omar "accepted the condition, and remained faithful for some months; but at the end of that time he "again revolted, and began committing all manner of depredations upon the peaceable inhabitants of the "province, carrying his devastations as far as Ezija and اشونة Osuna, in the province of Cordova. The "rebels were commanded on this occasion by 'Omar himself, or by a lieutenant of his, named Hafss "Ibnu-l-marrah, who was a man of great experience and courage.

"When the intelligence of these disorders reached Cordova, 'Abdullah sent against him one of "his generals, named 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Moslemah Al-bájí; but the royal troops, having met the rebels "near Osuna, were defeated and their general slain, which success so elated 'Omar that he expelled from "Rayyah the governor appointed by the Sultán, and remained sole master of the province. About "this time the feuds between the 'Ajemís (Christians living under the Moslem rule) and Muwallads "on one side, and the Arabs on the other, grew fiercer than ever, and they made war against each "other in every province of Andalus.

"In the same year 'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-ghamr Ibn Abí 'Abdah, governor of Jaen, "marched against a rebel named Sa'íd Ibn خنجر Khanjar, and besieged him in the castle of جريشة "Jeríshah, where he had fortified himself. He was on the point of reducing the place when he received "orders to raise the siege and to repair the fortifications of حصن اندوشر Anduxar, and to people "it with peasants from the neighbourhood. Scarcely, however, had he began to put his orders in "execution, when he was attacked by the [inhabitants of the] البراجلة و الاسند Al-borájelah and Al-"asnad, commanded by their respective chiefs, Nábil and Shokhays, who were re-inforced by a body of "cavalry which Ibn Bartíl brought from Tudmír to their assistance. Having been attacked by the "royal forces, the rebels were defeated with the loss of seventy-five of their principal officers.

"Whilst these events were taking place the district of Sidonia revolted against the Sultán, and the "rebellion soon spread to those of Algesiras, Rayyah, and Liblah (Niebla). The cause of these troubles "was a feud between the Yemenites or Arabs from Yemen and the Bení Modhar.

"In this year 'Omar Ibn Hafssún laid siege to القمنين Al-kameneyn, a castle belonging to the Bení "Khaled; but the garrison defended themselves vigorously, and Ja'd Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir, governor of "the province of Elvira, hastening to their assistance, they drove the enemy off their walls.

"In Sha'bán of this year the inhabitants of Tortosa sent to Cordova to ask for a governor, and the "Sultán granted their request, sending them 'Abdu-l-hakem Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám. 'Abdu-r-

" rahmán Ibn Merwán, better known by his surname of Ibnu-l-jalíkí (the son of the Galician), applied for " a confirmation of his government [of Merida], and the Sultán granted his request.

" The mariners and merchants of Bejennah (Pechina) solicited permission to trade with the coast of " Africa, and to build castles for their defence; 'Abdullah granted their request, and the advantages of " their port having soon attracted thither people from all the provinces of Andalus, they built upwards " of twenty castles, such as Al-hámah (Alhama la seca), Burshenah (Purchena), Al-khábiyah (Al-habia), " عالية 'A'liyah (Olias?), Bení Tárik, and Hisn-Náshir (Nixar). These mariners of Bejennah were " Africans who settled on that coast about the close of Mohammed's reign.

" *Events of the year* 276 (*beginning May* 5, A. D. 889).—In this year 'Abdullah left Cordova at the " head of his army and laid siege to Bishter; but being unable to reduce that castle, into which 'Omar " Ibn Hafssún had thrown himself with all his forces, he returned to Cordova, leaving the command of the " besieging forces to Mohammed Ibn ذنين Dhanin, who took up his quarters at حاضرة رية Malaga. " 'Omar, however, having evaded the vigilance of that governor, united his forces with those of Al-khali' " التكراني At-tekeraní, of Tekerná, and having surprised the town of اصطبة Estepa, expelled the governor, " and advanced to Osuna, where he did the same. Having, whilst there, received a deputation from the " people of Ezija, he repaired thither and took possession of the city. The Sultán sent against him his " uncle Al-mundhir, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-hakem, who had no sooner arrived at Guadajoz " وادي شوس than he was met by a deputation from 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who implored forgiveness " for his past offences, and promised fidelity for the future, if the Sultán would grant him the government " of the district of Rayyah, which was done.

" About this time also took place the revolt of Sawwár Ibn Hamdún in the district of the Al-borájelah " بناحية البراجلة in the province of Elvira. This Sawwár had been the friend and companion of Yahya " Ibn Sukálah, a noble Arab, who was the first to rise in that district against the 'Ajemís, the Muwallads, " and the Musálimah or renegades. After the death of Yahya, who was treacherously slain by the " Muwallads of Elvira, in A. H. 276 (A. D. 889), Sawwár succeeded him. He made war against the " Muwallads, defeated them in several encounters, and took their strongest castles. Ja'd Ibn 'Abdi-l- " gháfir, one of the Bení Kháled, who was governor of Jaen, having concluded an alliance with the " Muwallads, marched against Sawwár; but he was defeated with great loss and taken prisoner. The " Muwallads then, seeing that the royal forces in that quarter were insufficient to defend them from " the Arabian party, applied to their old chief, 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who hastened to their assistance. " 'Omar was defeated and wounded in a bloody battle, and obliged to return to his usual haunts; " he, however, left behind his lieutenant, Hafss Ibnu-l-marrah, to prosecute the war, who, having " some time after laid an ambush for Sawwár not far from Gharnáttah (Granada), put him to death.

" According to the poet 'Obádah, in whose hand-writing I have read the events here related, the war " between the Muwallads and the Arabs in the district of Elvira originated thus. When Yahya Ibn " Sukálah rose in rebellion to assert the pretensions of the Arabs بدعوة العرب a number of his countrymen " stationed in those parts surprised and took the castle of Montexicar of the Berbers منتشاقر البرابر " which they repaired and fortified. This being made known, the Muwallads and 'Ajemís, who were very " numerous in the province, and who nourished an implacable hatred against the Arabian faction, began " to stir in every direction, and having appointed a chief of their own, named Nábil, who was a man " of courage and determination, they marched against Yahya, whom they defeated and obliged to shut

" himself up in the castle of Montexicar. Yahya, moreover, was some time after decoyed into Elvira, " where the chiefs of the Muwallads were, and treacherously put to death about the beginning of the " year 276 (May, A. D. 889).

" Yahya was succeeded by Sawwár, who, as above related, was at the head of the Arabian party until " the month of Moharram of the year 277 (June, A. D. 890), when he was killed. The poet 'Obádah " relates the following anecdote, which I here transcribe. 'I was once told by one of the elders of " Granada that upon one occasion the Muwallads of Elvira laid siege to the castle of Granada " حصن غرناطة where Sawwár was at the time. The walls being crumbled and the fortifications " out of order, the besieged fought in the day and worked at night to repair them. One day the " Muwallads shot into the castle a hollow reed بطاقة containing a scroll with the following verses:

منازلهم منهم قفار بلا قع تجاري السفا فيها الرياح الزعازع
و في القلعة الحمراء تدبير زيغهم و منها عليهم تستدير الوقايع

'Tenantless and roofless are the houses [of our enemies]; invaded by the autumnal rains, ' traversed by tempestuous winds.

'Let them within the Al-hamrá (red castle) hold their mischievous councils; perdition and woe ' surround them on every side.'

" These verses were the composition of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ahmed العبلي Al-'ablí (from 'Ablah). " Sawwár immediately ordered his poet Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Mokhárif الاسيدي Al-asídí to reply " to them, which he did on the spot, in verses full of spirit and elegance.'

" *Troubles in Liblah (Niebla).*

" According to 'Isa (Ibn Ahmed Ar-rází), in the year 276 an Arab named 'Othmán, better known " by his surname of Ibn 'Amrún, rose at Liblah (Ñiebla), on pretence that he was going to make war " against the Muwallads and the Musálimah (renegades) of that province. Having made a night attack " upon the palace of the governor, whose name was 'Amru Ibn Sa'íd Al-korayshí, Ibn 'Amrún slew " the guards, plundered the palace, expelled 'Amru, and remained sole master of the place. He then " made an incursion into the province of Seville, upon which 'Abdullah sent against him his general, " 'Othmán Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir, who reduced Ibn 'Amrún to obedience. But war breaking out again " between the Muwallads and the Arabs, Ibn 'Amrún took possession of حصن قرقبة Hisn-Karkabah, " whilst Ibn Khassíb and Ibn 'Ofeyr rose in favour of the Muwallads, the former at Montemayór, the " latter at Jebal-'oyún (Gibraleon).

" *The rebellion spreads to Seville.*

" In the year 276 the spirit of disaffection and revolt spread to the province of Seville, the inhabitants " of which city renounced their allegiance to 'Abdullah. According to Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn " Al-ash'ath, who wrote a history of Seville, the first rebel of those districts was كريب Koreyb Ibn " 'Othmán Ibn Khaldún, who, hearing of the rising of Suleymán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek in " the district of Shidhúnah, of 'Othmán Ibn 'Amrún in that of Niebla, and of جنيد Jeníd Ibn Wahb " Al-karmúní, who had likewise taken arms with the Berbers of his district [Carmona], declared himself " in open revolt against the Sultán. As each of these chiefs had raised a banner and proclaimed a party, " —Suleymán that of the tribe of Lakhm, to which he belonged, 'Othmán Ibn 'Amrún that of خشين

" Khoshayn, and Jeníd that of the Berbers, called Beránis, Ibn Khaldún proclaimed also the party of the " Yemenite Arabs and the tribe of Hadhra-maut, to which he belonged. No sooner had the Muwallads " who inhabited Seville and the neighbouring districts heard of the rising of the Arabian chieftains above " mentioned, than they entered into a defensive alliance with the Botar and the Bení Modhar, the former " of whom were the sworn enemies of the Beránis, and the latter of the Yemenites. Koreyb began by " taking possession of a town called بلاط Balát or Albalate, close to Seville, where he fortified himself, " persuading the inhabitants of the Axarafe to join his banners. When the news of his rebellion " reached Cordova, 'Abdullah appointed a governor, named Músa Ibnu-l-'ássi, who proceeded to Seville, " and who by his moderation and talents succeeded in allaying the fire of civil discord; but Koreyb " and his lieutenant Jeníd dispatched messengers to the Berbers of the districts of Merida and مدلين " Medellin, to inform them that the province was badly guarded, and that, if they were to make an incur- " sion, they would undoubtedly meet with the most complete success. Their intention was to harass and " molest the Sultán's troops until they should oblige them to evacuate the province. The Berbers did as " they were directed; they invaded the province of Seville, laying waste and destroying every thing on their " passage, and, having surprised the town of Tablada, near Seville, put the inhabitants to the sword, and " carried away their wives and daughters. Músa then went out against them, and pitched his tents on " a hillock called *Kud'yat Az-zeytún* (the hillock of the olive-trees), three miles from Tablada; and the " two hosts prepared for the ensuing contest. The night preceding the battle, Ibn Khaldún [Koreyb], " who was in Músa's camp, sent a secret message to the Berbers, to say that in the hottest of the fight " he would desert the royalists and go over to them, which he did, the consequence being that the " Sultán's troops were defeated with great loss, being closely pursued by the victorious Berbers to a " town called Kariat وبر Wabr or Wabar, in the district of البر Al-barr, [elsewhere written الير " Aleyr.] After remaining three days at Tablada, the Berbers returned home laden with spoil.

" After this came the invasion of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Merwán Al-jalíkí, who hastened to that district " from Badajoz. Having pitched his tents near a town called مورة Mora, in the district of Aleyr " [or Al-barr, as above], distant three parasangs from الحاضرة the capital, he began to commit every " sort of depredation in the neighbourhood, without any one going out to check his progress.

" These different troubles contributed in a great measure to diminish the authority of the Sultán " in those parts, as the inhabitants, seeing that they were neglected, no longer respected the authority " which did not protect them against their enemies.

" Moved by these considerations, the Sultán deposed Músa from the government, and appointed in his " room Huseyn Ibn Mohammed البوري from Mora. Meanwhile a native of Ezija, named Mohammed " Ibn Ghálib, applied to the Sultán for permission to build a castle and raise troops with which to repress " the excesses of the Berbers who infested that province, and principally of one named الطماشكة " At-tamáshekah. As Mohammed was a Muwallad, he soon saw himself surrounded by numbers " of his party, *maulis* or freedmen, and Berbers of the tribes of Botar, who willingly took up arms " against the Arabian party, commanded by Ibn Khaldún and Ibnu-l-hejáj and their allies the Beránis.

" Whilst these events were passing, Suleymán Ibn Mohammed, the rebel of Shidhúnah, built a strong " castle not far from نبريشة Nebrixa. Having by this means collected round him great numbers of " adventurers, he once made an incursion into a neighbouring island, where Al-mundhir, the Sultán's " uncle, kept his stud, and, having put to death the director of the establishment, carried away all " the horses and mares he found, and retired to a strong castle named قورة Korah, at the extremity of

"the Axarafe, and about ten miles from Seville. At the same time 'Abdullah Ibnu-l-hejáj, assisted by "Jeníd the Berber, took possession of Carmona, and expelled Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn يـزيـغ "Yezígh, who commanded in the Sultán's name. All this was accomplished on the same day by mutual "agreement between the conspirators. When the news of the taking of Carmona reached Seville, "Mohammed, the son of 'Abdullah, who commanded there, wrote to his father, the Sultán, apprising "him of what had happened, and asking for assistance. 'Abdullah summoned his Wizírs and asked their "advice. Some were for putting to death Mohammed Ibn Ghálib, and giving satisfaction to the Arabian "party; others for rewarding him and making use of him to reduce Ibn Khaldún, Ibnu-l-hejáj, "and their followers, to obedience. The former opinion, which was also that of the Sultán, prevailed; "and orders were accordingly sent to Ja'd Ibn 'Abdi-l-ghháfir, brother of Umeyyah, who had been "governor of Seville, enjoining him to put Ibn Ghálib to death. Ja'd went out of Seville with his army "as if he meant to besiege Carmona, and when Ibn Ghálib had joined him with his forces, he seized him "and put him to death. By this means tranquillity was somewhat re-established, and the rebels sur-"rendered Carmona to the troops of the Sultán.

"When the intelligence reached Seville, the Muwallads, commanded by their chiefs ابن شبرقة "Ibn Shabarkah and ابن البجلين Ibnu-l-bajileyn, rose in arms, crying aloud for vengeance. They "surrounded the palace of the governor, Mohammed, and would have put him to death, had not "Umeyyah come to his assistance and delivered him from their attacks. Mohammed, not considering "himself safe in Seville, returned to Cordova. This happened in Jumáda the second, [A. H. 276.]

"Some time after these events, Umeyyah was killed [by the insurgents], upon which 'Abdullah "appointed his uncle, named Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, to be governor of Seville, and gave "him as lieutenant Sa'íd Ibnu-l-'abbás. Shortly after, Al-mutref, one of the sons of the Sultán, "went out against the rebels of Seville at the head of considerable forces. Having defeated them in "several encounters, he returned to Cordova, bringing with him as prisoners Kháled Ibn 'Othmán Ibn "Khaldún, the brother of Koreyb, Ibráhím Ibnu-l-hejáj, and Moslemah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-"malek, of Sidonia.

"Then came the murder of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah, whom Al-mutref caused to be put to "death, because he was his personal enemy; but 'Abdullah was so angry when he heard of it, that "he had his own son executed for it. After the death of Al-mutref, 'Abdullah sent ابن خمير "Ibn Khamír (or ضمير Dhamír) to Al-gharb, with instructions to depose the governor, Mohammed "Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Al-'abdí, and put him to death if he offered any resistance. Ibn Khamír executed "his commission faithfully. He surprised the governor at a village called ارنبسة Aranbasah, and had "him beheaded in sight of the inhabitants.

"About this time the power of the Muwallad faction becoming greater, 'Abdullah was advised by "some of his Wizírs to grant liberty to the Arabian chiefs who were prisoners in Cordova, and to "employ them. They were accordingly conveyed to Seville and set free, after they had severally "taken a most solemn oath never again to rise against their lawful sovereign, but to employ all "their energies in reducing the Muwallad faction. No sooner, however, had they returned to their "respective districts, than they again declared themselves in open rebellion, and refused to pay the "customary tribute. 'Abdullah, however, having through his Wizír, 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn "Abí 'Abdah, succeeded in dividing them, the rebels made war upon each other, until Ibráhím Ibnu-l-"hejáj took both Kháled and Koreyb prisoners, and put them to death, by which means the Sultán's "authority was re-established in Seville.

" Ibráhím wrote to announce his victory to 'Abdullah, and asking to be appointed governor of Seville. " The Sultan granted his request, on condition that he should yearly remit to Cordova the sum of " seven thousand dinárs, after defraying all the government expenses in the province. Ibráhím " consented, and Kásim Ibn Walíd Al-kelbí was given him as lieutenant; but some time after, at " the solicitation of Ibráhím, Kásim was recalled, and that chieftain remained sole governor of Seville " and its district.

" *Rebellion in Saragossa.*

" According to 'Isa [Ar-rází], in this year Abú Yahya Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdi-l- " 'azíz At-tojibí, better known by the surname of الأنقر Al-ankar, rose in Saragossa and slew the " governor. This last event took place on the 17th of Ramadhán. Subsequently to this another " chieftain of the Thagher, named Mohammed Ibn Lob القسوي Al-kasawí, quarrelled with Abú " Yahya, besieged him in Saragossa, and made war against him for twelve consecutive years, until " he was slain in one of his attacks upon that city by a Korayshite, who shot him with a javelin from " behind a garden fence.

" By the death of Mohammed, the star of the Bení Kasí was eclipsed, and that of the Tojibites " gained the ascendant. The few individuals who remained of the former family surrendered their " castles, and, forsaking the alliance of the people of Pamplona, made their submission to 'Abdu-r- " rahmán III. There was one, however, who would not submit; his name was Isma'íl Ibn Músa, " Lord of Lerida. Assisted by his two sons, Músa and Mutref, he persisted in his rebellion, and " made incursions into the province of سريطانية Cerdagne. Having in one of these forays taken " prisoner a young man named 'Abdu-l-malek, who was the son of شبريط Shebrít At-tawíl, (or the " tall,) Lord of Oshkah (Huesca), the latter retaliated and made incessant war against them, until he " slew Músa, took Mutref prisoner, and obtained possession both of Lerida and بريطانية (*sic*) Britániyah.

" *Treacheries of Ibn Hafssún.*

" In this year (A. H. 276) 'Omar Ibn Hafssún left Bishter and laid siege to البلاط Albalate, where " a chief named Abú Harb Shákir Al-bornasí or البرنسي Al-beránisí commanded in the Sultán's " name. Abú Harb made a valiant and protracted defence; but having been killed by a random " shot, the place surrendered to the rebel. From Albalate 'Omar marched to Algesiras, but the " governor, Ibráhím Ibn Khāled, met him on the road and obliged him to return to Bishter. Some " time after, the people of Algesiras, having expelled their governor Ibráhím, appointed two of their " people, called Hafssún Al-beránisí and Músa Az-zeyyát, to command them. About the same time, " the Arabs of the district of Sidonia rose against the Sultán.

" In this year 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, having made himself master of a strong castle called بلاي " Hisn-Belay (Espiel or Espeluy?), in the district of Cabra, began to molest the inhabitants of the Kan- " báníah, or territory of Cordova, with frequent incursions. A Christian count, named شربيل Sherbil, " who was the son of Hajjáj Al-kúmis (the Count), fearing for his life, owing to some offence which he " had committed, fled from Cordova, and joined Ibn Hafssún, who gave him the command of part " of his forces. Sherbil then began to infest the neighbourhood of the capital to such a degree that " the inhabitants dared not go out of the walls, and they lived in as great anxiety and fear as if they " were close to the Christian frontier. At length the Sultán sent some troops, who took Sherbil and " brought him to Cordova, where he was beheaded, together with Count Hajjáj.

" *Events of the year* 277 (*beginning April* 24, A. D. 890).—In this year 'Abdullah sent his general, " Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah, against Jaen, where Khayr Ibn Shákir had just revolted; " but Khayr having been treacherously slain in the interval by one of his own partisans, the presence of " the royal troops in that district was no longer necessary.

" In the same year 'Omar Ibn Hafssún strengthened the fortifications of Hisn-Belay, from which " he made frequent incursions into the districts of Cabra and Al-yasánah or Alisánah, which latter place " was peopled by Jews اليسانة اليهود الذمة

" *Events of the year* 278 (*beginning April* 14, A. D. 891).—In this year the power of 'Omar Ibn " Hafssún having greatly increased through the enlistment of thousands of adventurers who flocked " to his banners from every province, he conceived the design of having the 'Abbássides proclaimed in " Andalus. To that end he dispatched an embassy with presents in the Khalif's name to Ibnu-l-aghlab, " governor of Africa, offering to have his master proclaimed; but Ibnu-l-aghlab refused to give his " assent, and returned a contemptuous answer, which became celebrated in Andalus.

" Meantime 'Omar continued to make incursions till within arrow-shot of the walls of Cordova, " and close to the village of Shekundah, on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir. One night he " was daring enough to attack the مضرب pavilion of the Sultán, intending to destroy it; but, although " there were only a few night watchmen and a score of mamelukes, they defended themselves so well that " they repulsed his attack and drove him away.

" At length 'Abdullah, wishing to put a stop to the incursions of the brigand, left Cordova at " the head of his forces and took the road to Hisn-Belay. On his arrival at وادي الفوشكة Wáda " Al-fúshekah or Alfoseca, which is two miles distant from that fortress, 'Abdullah ordered his troops " to halt, and encamped on its banks. 'Omar then sallied out of Hisn-Belay, and drew up his forces " in front of those of the Sultán. A battle ensued, in which the rebels were completely defeated, " and obliged to shut themselves up in their castle. A general assault was then ordered, and 'Omar " would have fallen into the hands of 'Abdullah, had he not made his escape on an ass بردون which " a Christian procured him. 'Abdullah prosecuted his victorious march to أرشيدونة Archidona, and " thence to Bishter, whither 'Omar had fled without stopping. The siege of that fortress was then " commenced, and in a skirmish with the rebels no less than five hundred of their number were killed. " This happened on Saturday, the first of Rabi' the first, [A. H. 278.] Despairing, however, of reducing " that impregnable fortress, 'Abdullah returned to Archidona, to الفنتين Al-faneneyn (or Al- " kameneyn, see above, p. 446), a castle belonging to the Bení Khâled, and thence to قسطيلة " حاضرة البيرة Kastilah, the capital of the district of Elvira, whence, after receiving hostages from the " inhabitants, he returned to Cordova.

" In the same year the troops of 'Omar Ibn Hafssún evacuated Jaen, and the authority of 'Abdullah " was re-established there. One of that rebel's partisans, named As-serráj, who stayed behind, was " taken prisoner and nailed to a stake. About the same time, according to Mu'áwiyah Ibn Hishám " Ash-shebenísí, who relates it in one of his works, one of the sons of Count Servando,[a] son of Hossán " شربند بن حسان القومس—who was a valiant knight, being offended with 'Abdullah, because one " of his brothers had been imprisoned, fled from Cordova and joined 'Omar Ibn Hafssún.

[a] Evidently the same person and event mentioned above; the words شربيل Sherbil and شربند Sherband being written nearly alike.

"In the same year Mohammed Ibn Lob, Lord of الثغر الاعلي Aragon, defeated the Christians with "great slaughter.

"About the end of Dhí-l-hajjah (March, A. D. 892), the Sultán appointed 'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed "Ibn العمر Al-amr Ibn Abí 'Abdah Ibn Al-'abbás Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr to the government of Tortosa, in the "room of 'Abdu-l-hakem Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám, who held it.

"*Events of the year* 279 (*beginning April* 2, A. D. 892).—In this year the traitor 'Omar Ibn Hafssún "had again recourse to his usual deceit. Having shown some inclination to return to the obedience of "his sovereign, his hostages were given up to him; but he had no sooner attained the object of his "wishes than he revolted again.

"*Expedition to Karkabúliyah.*

"In the same year [A. H. 279] the Sultán in person set off for the mountainous districts of باغة "Bágbah (Vega), to make war against Sa'íd Ibn Mustanah. After reducing all his castles in succession, "'Abdullah besieged the rebel chief in كركبولية Karkabúliyah, and compelled him to surrender. This "was the last expedition which 'Abdullah commanded before he died: he had under him his general "'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah.

"Whilst 'Abdullah was occupied in the siege of Karkabúliyah, the people of Elvira revolted, and sent a "message to 'Omar Ibn Hafssún to come and take possession of the town. 'Omar hastened thither at "the head of his forces, and having repaired the fortifications and put the *kassábah* in a state of defence, "prepared to attack Sa'íd Ibn Júdí, the chief of the Arabian party at Granada.

"*Events of the year* 280 (*beginning March* 22, A. D. 893).—In this year Al-mutref [the son of "'Abdullah] went out against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, and besieged him in his castle of Bishter. Having "ordered his soldiers to demolish a palace belonging to that rebel, as well as a church which his father "Hafss had erected, the infidel dog الكلب attempted to prevent it, and a series of skirmishes ensued "in which the troops of the Sultán had the advantage, the rebels being repulsed with considerable loss, "and the two buildings destroyed. Among the Muwallads slain on this occasion was Hafss Ibnu-l-"marrah, one of 'Omar's lieutenants.

"*Peopling of Zamora.*

"In this year Adefunsh (Alfonso), son of Ordhún (Ordoño), King of Galicia, went to the city of "Zamora, and, having repaired its buildings and fortifications, peopled it with Christians of the "neighbouring districts. The builders were people from Toledo.

"In the same year 'Abdullah deposed Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr from the command of the forces on the frontier "of Tortosa, and gave it to Músa Ibn Foteys.

"*Events of the year* 281 (*beginning March* 12, 894), *and expedition to* سنجيلة *Sinjílah.*—In this "year Al-mutref went out of Cordova to make war against the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafssún. His general "on this occasion was 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah. He left Cordova in the month of Safar, and "directed his course towards that rebel's haunts. Having arrived at the نهر سنجل river Sinjíl "(Singilis), he encamped on its banks, and sent his light cavalry to lay waste the land. He then "encamped at كرتش Kartash, opposite to حصن اشد Hisn Ashad or Ashd. Here he was attacked "by the rebels, but Al-mutref drove them before him. On the following day there was another skirmish, "in which Zeyd Ibn Khaldún was killed. The rebels fled to حصن طرش Torrox, being pursued by

" the Sultán's troops. From Torrox, which he destroyed, Al-mutref went to لوشة Loxa, to الفنتين " Al-faneteyn,[b] to سحنة Sahnah, and to الفندق Al-fondak. Having laid waste the whole country " between Vega and Kal'at Yahssob (Alcala la Real), he arrived at the city of Sinjílah مدينة سنجيلة " Thence he returned to Kal'at Yahssob, to برشانة Purchena, to مورليانة Murliánah, to the halting- " place of خشخاش Khaskhash, and to Mun'yat Nasr, a country villa near Cordova. He had been " absent in all three months.

" *Events of the year* 282 (*beginning March* 1, A. D. 895), *and execution of Ibn Umeyyah* ['*Abdu-l-* " *malek*].—In this year happened the expedition against Seville and Sidonia. Mutref left Cordova " in the month of Rabi' the second, accompanied by his general, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah. On " the arrival of the army at a place called طربيل Tarbíl, upon the banks of the river وادي ايره Guadaira, " two miles from Seville, Al-mutref ordered his men to halt. One morning he had 'Abdu-l-malek seized " and put to death. He then sent for Ahmed Ibn Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Ibn Háshim, and gave him " the command of the army, directing him to assemble the Korayshites, and tell them that he had ordered " the execution of 'Abdu-l-malek because he knew him to be very negligent in his duties, and not to treat " the soldiers as they deserved. The Korayshites, however, not being satisfied with that excuse, sent a " deputation to Cordova, requesting the Sultán to have the death of their general investigated.

" Meanwhile the army was marching towards its destination. After encamping at a place called " ابن برسيس Ibn Barsis, opposite to Carmona, they removed to منت فيق Montefique, a fortress " built on the banks of the وادي ايره Guadaira by a man named Tálib Ibn Maulúd. Thence the " army proceeded to حصن امرينة Hisn-Amarina, on the Wáda-lekah or Wáda-lekeh (Guadalete), " near Shidhúnah, thence to قلسانة Kalsánah, and lastly to Sherísh (Xerez). After remaining some " days at the latter place, the army marched to Medínat Ibn Selím, and thence to Bishter, which " was immediately invested and taken. From Bishter Al-mutref went to the island of Kádis (Cadiz). " After passing some days in the island, Al-mutref took the road to Seville. Passing again by Kalsánah " and Nebríshah (Nebrixa), a castle belonging to Suleymán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, which he " took on the way, he arrived before Seville about the end of Jumáda the second. Soon after, Al-mutref " gave orders that Ibráhím Ibnu-l-hejáj, Kháled Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khaldún, 'Abdu-l-malek of Shidhúnah, " and their followers, who were kept as hostages in his army, should be brought into his presence. Three " days after, he ordered them all to be strangled, together with Mohammed Ibn Malek Al-korayshí. " Sahmún, the Kátib, was punished with four hundred lashes, and had his tongue cut besides. This " done, Al-mutref returned to Cordova.

" In the same year the tribute of Seville, Niebla, and Montemayor, having been received in the capital, " 'Abdullah gave orders that all those of the partisans of Ibnu-l-hejáj, Ibn Khaldún, and [Ibn] 'Abdi-l- " malek, who were still in prison, should be set at liberty.

" *Events of the year* 283 (*beginning Feb.* 18, A. D. 896).—In this year an uncle of the Sultán, whose " name was Hishám, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-hakem, went out of Cordova to make war " against Ibn Hudheyl, the rebel of Tudmír. Hishám left Cordova at the end of Rabi' the second, " accompanied by Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah, one of the generals of the

[b] This word is written in three different ways in these extracts, Al-faneneyn, Al-kameneyn, and Al-faneteyn; but I cannot decide which is the correct reading.

"Sultán. The troops marched till they came to a place called قامرة Kámirah, on the banks of the river "بلون Belún. Having encamped in the neighbourhood of a castle called قلعة الاشعث Kal'at Ash'ath, "Hishám sent detachments of cavalry to lay waste the dominions of Ibn Hudheyl.

"In this year Lob Ibn Mohammed began to build the castle of Monteleon, on the banks of the "Wáda-z-zeytún (the river of the olive-trees), in the province of Birtániyah. Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-"malek At-tawíl, Lord of Huesca, who was the enemy of Lob, armed his retainers and tried to prevent "him; but Lob defeated him in several encounters, and took a brother of his, named Fortún, prisoner.

"In the same year Mohammed, the son of Lob Ibn Mohammed, took possession of Toledo, in the "month of Dhí-l-hajjah (January, A. D. 897).

"*Events of the year* 284 (*beginning Feb.* 7, A. D. 897).—In this year an expedition left Cordova for "Xerez, commanded by the Amír Abán, one of the sons of 'Abdullah. Abú-l-'abbás Ibn Abí 'Abdah "accompanied him. They left Cordova at the end of Rabi' the first (May, A. D. 897). The object "of the expedition was to chastise several rebels who, perched up in their castles, defied all the power of "the Sultán.

"The troops had no sooner returned from this service than they were again summoned to war. "Commanded by the Amír Abán and the general Abú-l-'abbás, as before, they departed from "Cordova on the 18th of Rejeb (Sept. 1, A. D. 897). The itinerary of the army was as follows: "to منت شنت Mont Sant, to Tarifa, to Algesiras, to Mersa Ash-shajrah, to Khandak Al-jennat, "to Tarík-khoshayn, to Sohayl, to Dhekuwán, to the river. Thence the army returned to Kasr Bineyrah "(Pineira), and the next march took them to Wáda Bení 'Abdi-r-rahmán, or the river of the Bení "'Abdi-r-rahmán, opposite to Bishter. After besieging the rebel in his castle, and doing all possible "harm to the districts which obeyed his rule, the army returned by the Alpuxarras and Jaen to "Cordova.

"On Thursday, seven days before the end of Sha'bán, the Sultán 'Abdullah ordered the arrest of his "own brother, Hishám Ibn Mohammed, of Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah, "of Sa'íd Ibnu-l-walíd, the Syrian, of Ahmed Ibn Hishám, the grandson of the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahman II., "and lastly, of Músa Ibn Mohammed Ibn Zeyyád. Three days after, on Saturday, the 21st of the same "month, they were all executed, together with Yúsuf Ibn Hamdún Ibn Basíl, who had been arrested "some time before.

"In the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year, Sa'íd Ibn جودي Júdí, chief of the Arabian party of "Granada, was put to death by his own people.

"In the same year Lob Ibn Ahmed Al-kasawí, Lord of the upper *Thagher* (Aragon), besieged and "took the castle of أورة Aurah, in the territory of Barcelona, then the court and residence of the King of "the Franks. A count of that country, named عنقديد بن المنذر القومس 'Ankadid Ibn Al-mundhir, "having attempted to arrest his progress, Lob defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to "return to his capital, where he died shortly after of a wound which Lob had inflicted on him. 'Ankadid "was succeeded by his son شنير Shinir (Suniarius?).

"In the same year, about the month of Ramadhán, Lob began to build the castle of بلغي Balaghí "(Balaguer), in the district of Lerida.

"*Events of the year* 285 (*beginning Jan.* 27, A. D. 898).—In this year 'Abbás Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz made "war in the district of كركر Karkar or Karki, and in the mountains of جبل البرانس Beránis,

" subjecting all that country to the authority of the Sultán, after having put to death Ibn Yámín and Ibn " Maujúl, two of the leaders of the insurrection.

" In the same year Lob Ibn Mohammed had an interview with 'Omar Ibn Hafssún in a castle called " فينليجة Finilejah, near Jaen. Whilst there, Lob received news that his father, Mohammed, had been " killed before Toledo on the 18th of Ramadhán (November, A. D. 898).

" *Events of the year* 286 (*beginning Jan.* 16, A. D. 899).—In this year 'Omar Ibn Hafssún showed his " partiality towards the Christians, and gave out that he was about to assist them in shaking off the yoke " of the Moslems, which being reported to خليع التكراني Khali' of Tekerná, Yahya Ibn انتلة Intalah, " and others among his partisans, they took the first opportunity to desert his cause and make their " submission to the Sultán.

" *Events of the year* 287 (*beginning Jan.* 6, A. D. 900).—In this year the general Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed " left Cordova at the head of considerable forces, and marched to the district of Múrúr, which, as well as " those of Rayyah and Shidhúnah, he entirely purged from rebels. Having taken prisoner a chief named " Is'hák, who was one of the staunchest partisans of the infidel 'Omar, he had him nailed to a stake and " burnt in front of the army.

" *Events of the year* 288 (*beginning Dec.* 25, A. D. 900).—In this year 'Omar made propositions " of peace, and offered to make his submission. His offer being accepted, he sent hostages to Cordova.

" In the same year happened the rebellion of Ahmed Ibn Umeyyah, surnamed Ibnu-l-kitt (the son " of the cat), who, having assembled a number of adventurers, made an incursion into the Christian " territory, and laid siege to Zamora. Having been attacked by Alfonso (III.), son of Ordoño, King " of Galicia, he was defeated and put to death on the 20th of Rejeb (July, A. D. 901).

" *Events of the year* 289 (*beginning Dec.* 15, A. D. 901).—In this year the traitor 'Omar Ibn Hafssún " broke the treaty which he had sworn to keep; for which reason three out of the four hostages given by " him were put to death.

" *Events of the year* 290 (*beginning Dec.* 4, A. D. 902).—In this year Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed besieged " and took Jaen, where he found a rebel named 'Omar Ibn Modham, whom he took with him to Cordova.

" In the same year, at the request of Mutref Ibn Habíb and Yahya Ibn قظام Kadhám, two of the " chief inhabitants of Toledo, Lob Ibn Mohammed sent thither his brother Mutref at the head of a large " body of troops. Mutref made himself master of the city without opposition.

" In this year, on Wednesday, the 28th of Dhí-l-hajjah (Nov. 21, A. D. 903), there was an eclipse of " the sun visible in Cordova.

" *Events of the year* 291 (*beginning Nov.* 23, A. D. 903).—In this year, on Thursday, the 6th of " Jumáda the second (April 28, A. D. 904), the Amír Abán, and the general Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn " Abí 'Abdah, left Cordova for the district of Rayyah, at the head of considerable forces. Having arrived " at Bishter, the capital of the district called حاضرة وادي بيشتر Wáda Bishter, they besieged it for " some time and laid waste the neighbouring country, but, despairing of reducing that fortress, returned " to Cordova.

" *Events of the year* 292 (*beginning Nov.* 12, A. D. 904).—In this year there was also an expedition " against the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, under the command of the above-mentioned general. The traitor " this time came down from his stronghold, and was bold enough to engage the royal forces; but he was " defeated with great loss, close to the river يلوز Yelúz, and obliged to shut himself up in his castle.

" *Events of the year* 293 (*beginning Nov.* 1, A. D. 905).—In this year the Amír Abán and Abú-l-'abbás " Ahmed left Cordova at the head of the army, and marched to the province of Jaen, where a rebel, " named Fehr Ibn Ased, was committing great depredations, and practising all manner of cruelties " on the peaceful inhabitants of those districts. Having besieged the castle of يمش Yemes, where " the rebel had taken refuge, Abú-l-'abbás took it by storm and made prisoner Fehr, who was sent " to Cordova under a strong escort, and, on his arrival there, nailed to a stake. Abú-l-'abbás then " repaired to the district of Tekerná, where he also took by assault the castle of القنيط Al-kanítt.

" *Events of the year* 294 (*beginning Oct.* 21, A. D. 906).—In this year the Amír Abán received orders " from his father the Sultán to proceed to the district of Algesiras, where serious disturbances had been " raised. He left Cordova and repaired to the seat of the rebellion, and having put to death such " among the rebels as fell into his hands, re-established his father's authority in the province, and " returned to Cordova with a great number of prisoners.

" *Events of the year* 295 (*beginning Oct.* 11, A. D. 907).—In this year the Sultán determined upon " sending an army against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún. Having assembled considerable forces, he gave the " command of them to his son Abán and to his general Abú-l-'abbás Ibn Abí 'Abdah, who besieged " the traitor in his castle and laid waste the neighbouring country, until, the autumnal rains coming on, " they were compelled to raise the siege and to return to Cordova.

" *Events of the year* 296 (*beginning Sept.* 29, 908).—In this year there was another expedition " against 'Omar Ibn Hafssún. The army was commanded, as in the former years, by Abán and Abú-l- " 'abbás [Ahmed Ibn Abí 'Abdah].

" *Events of the year* 297 (*beginning Sept.* 19, A. D. 909).—In this year an expedition left Cordova " against 'Omar. This time the army was commanded by Abú Umeyyah العاصي Al-'ássi, another of " the Sultán's sons, accompanied by Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed. After besieging and taking بلدة Beldah, " one of the strongholds of 'Omar, they proceeded to شنت برية Santiberia, which they also took; " thence to طليرة Talheyrah, and to Hisn-Shubiles (Jubiles), near Granada; after which they returned " to Cordova by way of Jaen, taking on the road the castles of Baeza and حريسة Harísah (Ariza?).

" In this year there was a dreadful famine in the province of Jaen, which caused the death of thousands, " and the emigration of innumerable of families, who went over to Africa.

" *Events of the year* 298 (*beginning Sept.* 8, A. D. 910).—In this year a body of troops left Cordova " against the rebel 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who was infesting the neighbourhood of Cabra. Not far from " the river وادي الفة Guadalfeo, in the hamlet called مطلناطة Matalanátah, there was a collision " between the troops of the Sultán and those of the traitor, in which the former had the advantage. " Calatrava and أشر Asher, in the district of Rayyah, were taken on this occasion.

" *Events of the year* 299 (*beginning Aug.* 28, A. D. 911).—In this year considerable forces left " Cordova to hunt the rebel [Ibn Hafssún] in the mountain districts of Bishter. On the 28th of " Shawwál there was an eclipse of the sun."

Such is in substance Ibnu Hayyán's account of a reign which lasted upwards of five-and-twenty years, and upon which no details are to be found in the historians known to us. This unusual laconicism on the part of writers to whom the works of Ibnu Hayyán were known, and some of whom are even

said to have been his disciples, can only be explained by a natural wish not to dwell upon a reign the greater part of which was spent in civil wars and dissensions, and which no triumph over the infidels signalized. To judge from the great mass of historical information contained in the volume,—the only one known to exist of Ibnu Hayyán's *Muktabis*,—it may be safely asserted that, until the remaining volumes are found no reasonable hopes can be entertained of ever seeing the history of the Peninsula fairly disengaged from the mass of error and contradiction by which it is at present disfigured.

One very important fact, among others, is gained by the attentive perusal of the above extracts, namely,—that for a considerable length of time two powerful factions disputed with each other the empire of Mohammedan Spain, and threatened in their convulsions to overthrow the throne of Cordova. As one of those factions, the Muwallads, is but imperfectly known, the works of Conde and Casiri containing no allusion whatever to them, a few words of explanation may perhaps be desirable. After the battle of Guadalete, which gave the Moslems the empire of the Peninsula, thousands of the Christian population in the southern provinces of Spain were cut off from their countrymen of the north; for it is an error to suppose, as some writers have done, that the Christians fled every where before the invaders, and took refuge in the mountain fastnesses of the Asturias or beyond the Pyrenees. Thousands of the vanquished population preferred remaining in the districts and towns of their birth, under the comparatively mild rule of the Arabs, to whom they paid a moderate tribute, rather than share the privations and dangers of their brethren among the mountains, which became afterwards the cradle of Spanish liberty. Many there were who, tempted by the brilliant offers made to them, renounced the faith of their fathers, served in the army, fought against their former brethren, and opened to themselves the path to honours and riches. The Arabs, however, always looked upon them as outcasts, and a distinction was established between the proud Isma'ílite and the infidel newly admitted to the rights and privileges of the Mohammedan community; and in the same manner as the Moriscos or their sons, converted to Christianity after the taking of Granada, were called *Cristianos nuevos* (new Christians) by the Castilian fidalgo, proud of his unstained pedigree and boasting of his religion, the Christian renegades were known by the appellation of مسالمة Mosálimah, the plural of Mosálim, a word meaning 'one newly converted to Islám.' The sons and descendants of these were called مولد *Muwallad*, signifying 'any thing or person which is not of pure Arabic origin,' and which, being pronounced then, as it is now, in Barbary, *mulad*, gave origin to the Spanish words *mulato* and *mula*.

Notwithstanding their great numbers, and their influence in the state, the Muwallads were always treated by the Arabs with the greatest contempt. Had the Arabian and African settlers been less intolerant and more united together, the Muwallad faction would probably never have raised its head; but during the interminable wars and sanguinary feuds which raged between the tribes of Arabian or African origin inhabiting the Peninsula, between the Arabs descended from Modhar and those of Yemen, between the Berbers of Botar and those of Beránis, the Muwallads sided occasionally with one or other of those great factions, often obtaining from the victorious party an increase of power. The Sultáns of Cordova, moreover, frequently found it their best policy to nourish the hatred between the hostile factions, and to help even the Muwallads against the Arabs; and whenever a sudden coalition of the tribes of Yemen, or the revolt of some powerful governor, came to disturb the state, they never failed to obtain the assistance of the Muwallads against their more powerful enemies. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if, during the reign of 'Abdullah, when the Arabian tribes established in the various provinces of Spain seem to have come to the determination not to obey the rule of the Bení Umeyyah, the Muwallads should arm in defence of their rights, no longer protected by a central government. Assisted by the Mosálimah (Christians converted to Islám), by the *Ahlu-dh-dhimmah* (Christians paying tribute), by the *'Ajem* (Christians not subdued), and, lastly, by the *Muraddiin*

(Moslems who had deserted their faith),—all which classes, according to Ibnu Hayyán, enlisted under their banner,—they more than once raised the standard of revolt against the Arabs, whether Yemenís or Modhaís, and, led by chiefs of their own, like 'Omar Ibn Hafssún and others, carried plunder and desolation to the very gates of Cordova.

[48] بطاقة —in Spanish 'butaca' or 'petaca,' which means the same thing.

[49] An-nadhr Ibn Salamah Al-kaysí is mentioned by Ibnu Hayyán (*Al-muktabis*, fo. 4) among the Kádís, not the Wizírs, of 'Abdullah. The following is the account given by that historian of the public functionaries during the reign of that Sultán.

"*The names of persons selected by the Amír 'Abdullah to bear with him the weight of the government.*

"*Hájibs.*—'Abdullah confirmed in this office 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Umeyyah Ibn 'Isa Ibn Shahíd; but "after some time he replaced him by Sa'íd Ibn Mohammed Ibn As-selím, who discharged the functions "of that post until about the close of 'Abdullah's reign, when a slave وصيف named Bedr was "appointed to the vacant office.

"*Wizírs.*—These were Al-'abbás Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-merwání; البر Al-barr Ibn Málik Al-korayshí; "'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah, who was also commander of the forces; Merwán Ibn "'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah; 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah; Hafss Ibn Mohammed Ibn Basíl, who "held at the same time the office of *Wáli-l-medínah* or police magistrate; Mohammed Ibn Wálid Ibn "Ghánim; Abú 'Othmán 'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah; Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Abí "'Abdah; Selám Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí 'Abdah; 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Hamdún Ibn Abí 'Abdah;—these four "belonged to the same family, and were of the posterity of Abú 'Abdillah Hossán Ibn Málik Ibn Abí "'Abdah;—Asbagh Ibn Foteys; 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Az-zejálí; Suleymán Ibn Mohammed Ibn "Wansús or Wanesús; Ahmed Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, who was also commander of the forces; "Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-ghâfir, also general of his armies; Umeyyah Ibn 'Alkamah; and Ibráhím Ibn "Dhamír.

"The generals of his armies were: 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Umeyyah; 'Obeydullah Ibn "Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdillah; Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah; Asbagh Ibn Foteys; جعد "Ja'd [Ja'far ?] Ibn 'Abdi-l-ghâfir; Ibráhím Ibn Dhamír.

"*Kátibs.*—'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdah; 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Az-zejálí.

"*Kádís.*—An-nadhr Ibn Salamah Al-kaysí; Músa Ibn Zeyád Al-jodhámí, a native of Sidonia; "Mohammed Ibn Salamah Al-'otbí, who was likewise Imám or president of the public prayer; Ahmed "Ibn Zeyád, better known by the nickname of Al-habíb or the rag-picker (*Span.* Alhabibe). When "'Abdullah ascended the throne, the office of Kádí was held by Abú Mu'áwiyah 'Amir Ibn Mu'áwiyah "Al-zeyádí Al-lakhmí, but he deposed him some months afterwards."

Ibnu Hayyán then gives the names of the most eminent theologians who either lived in Cordova under 'Abdullah, or who had distinguished themselves under the reigns of his father Mohammed and his brother Al-mundhir.

[50] انت يا نضر دايماً ∴ ليس ترجي لفايده

انما انت عِدّة ∴ لكنيف ومايّده

يا مهجة المشتاق ما اوجعك ∴ و يا سرير الحب ما اخشعك
و يا رسول العين من لحظها ∴ بالرد و التبليغ ما اسرعك
تذهب بالسر فتاتي به ∴ في مجلس يخفي علي من معك
كم حاجت انجزت ابرارها ∴ تبارك الرحمن ما اطولك

CHAPTER V.

[1] The events connected with the execution of Mohammed, the father of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., are vaguely told by the Arabian writers. Conde (vol. i. cap. LXII.) says, that soon after the accession of 'Abdullah, his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán (who is no other than the Al-mutref here mentioned) informed him that Mohammed, assisted by his brothers Al-kásim and Al-asbagh, had revolted in Seville, and had refused him admittance in that city. On the receipt of this intelligence, 'Abdullah intrusted the siege of Toledo to his generals and returned to Cordova. The same author states (vol. i. cap. LXIII.) that immediately after his arrival in Cordova, 'Abdullah dispatched his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-modhaffer (Al-mutref?) against his rebellious son Mohammed. 'Abdu-r-rahmán made his entry into Carmona and Seville, which last city his brother evacuated at his approach. Al-mutref having started in pursuit of his enemy, a battle ensued, in which the rebels were defeated with great loss; Mohammed and his brother Al-kásim falling wounded into the hands of the victor. Mohammed was confined in a dungeon, where he died of his wounds, others say of poison administered to him by his brother, others, again, by his father's order, on the 10th day of Shawwál, A. H. 282 (Nov. A. D. 895). Such is, in substance, the account given of these events by Conde, who afterwards says (p. 283), that Al-mutref himself was assassinated at Cordova in Ramadhán of the same year. It is, however, remarkable, that Conde should call the murderer of Mohammed *'Abdu-r-rahmán*, whereas Ibnu Hayyán, An-nuwayrí, Al-homaydí, and every other historian I have consulted, agree in giving him the name of *Al-mutref*. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35) adds nothing to the above facts, except that Mohammed had made an alliance with 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, and that he was killed in action.

An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 467), whilst alluding to 'Abdullah's tyranny, says ان ابنه مطرفا قتل اخاه محمد بن عبد الله والد الناصر فلم ينكر عليه بذلك بل قال له قد سوغتك قتل اخيك فالله الله "Such was his want of feeling that, when his son Al-mutref put to death his brother "Mohammed, 'Abdullah not only did not upbraid him for the act, but even told him, 'Much good may "thy brother's death do thee;' Allah! Allah!" But neither does the author explain the cause of Mohammed's rebellion, nor does he give the particulars or the date of his death.

Ibnu Hayyán is the only author who might have cleared up the obscurity; but strange to say, although he generally enters into long and interesting details, he is most despairingly laconic with respect to the death of Mohammed, which he mentions only incidentally in two places of his work. To what cause Ibnu Hayyán's silence is to be attributed, is a question not easily solved, for he is, without dispute, the most diligent, as well as the most accurate, historian of Mohammedan Spain. Nor can we suppose that it was owing to a wish not to throw the blame upon 'Abdullah; for, at the time he wrote,

the influence of the Bení Umeyyah was no longer felt in Cordova, and he frequently condemns in the strongest terms some of the acts of 'Abdullah's reign.

The only facts to be gleaned from his narrative are as follow: In Jumáda the second of the year 276 (Sept. A. D. 889) Mohammed was already governor of Seville; but whether he had been appointed to that office by his uncle Al-mundhir or by his father 'Abdullah, when he ascended the throne, is uncertain. About the end of 276 (A. D. 890), in consequence of a civil war which had broken out at Seville between the Arabs and Muwallads, Mohammed's authority was disobeyed; he was besieged in his palace, and would have been massacred by the insurgents, had not an Arabian chieftain, named Umeyyah, saved him from the hands of the infuriated mob. Soon after Mohammed returned to Cordova by his father's order. An uncle of the Sultán, named Hishám, succeeded Mohammed in the government of Seville; but he seems also to have failed in the attempt to put down the insurrection, for in the same year Al-mutref left Cordova at the head of an army. What became of Mohammed until A. H. 282 (A. D. 895), when he appears at the head of the insurgents in Seville, we are not informed. In the spring of that year Al-mutref, accompanied by one of the Sultán's generals, named 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Umeyyah, a relation of that chief who had saved the life of Mohammed, started for Seville; but, before he reached that city, he had 'Abdu-l-malek arrested and put to death. An-nuwayrí gives as a reason for the perpetration of that murder, that Al-mutref had frequently attempted to remove 'Abdu-l-malek from the command of the forces, but had never been able to accomplish it, owing to the great favour which that general enjoyed with his father the Sultán. He had him accordingly seized under some specious pretext, and put to death. و كان مطرف قد عزم علي خلعه فلم يمكنه ذلك لمكان ابن اميه فعمل عليه حتي قتله—Soon after, however, 'Abdullah, offended at the execution of his favourite, had his own son, Al-mutref, put to death. The words of Ibnu Hayyan are as follow: و غضب عبد الله علي ولده المطرف لقتل عبد الملك بن عبد الله بن امية غضبا الي الامر به فيه الي ان قتله فالحقه فيه "When 'Abdullah heard of the death of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah "Ibn Umeyyah, whom Al-mutref had killed to revenge some private quarrel of their own, he was "exceedingly angry with his son for having done so, and he dispatched him after his victim."

In a separate chapter, entitled باب الذم (section of vituperation or abuse), where Ibnu Hayyán passes in review the defects and vices imputed to 'Abdullah, after charging him on report with having poisoned his brother Al-mundhir, he adds, "'Abdullah put to death two of his own sons, one after "the other; Mohammed, the father of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who reigned after him, and his brother and "enemy Al-mutref. He also put to death his two brothers, Hishám by the sword and Al-kásim "by poison."

The above is what we know of Mohammed's fate; but what the objects of his rebellion were, which of the two parties then contending for power—the Arabs or the Muwallads—favoured his views, and, lastly, whether he was the victim of his brother's personal hatred, or of his father's unflinching severity, are points for the critic to decide. The expression of which Al-makkarí makes use here—محمد قتيل اخيه المطرف—"Mohammed, he who was murdered by his brother Al-mutref," by no means removes the difficulty, since it might have been in obedience to his father's orders.

2 An-nuwayrí says that Mohammed left thirty-three sons when he died, and that the number of those whom he had by his different wives was one hundred. He likewise says that Al-mundhir left behind him eight sons,—a statement, however, which is contradicted by Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, who, in his

history of the Bení Umeyyah, asserts that Al-mundhir died childless. From the narrative of Ibnu Hayyán, however, we gather that 'Abdullah had two brothers, Hishám and Al-kásim, and amongst others, two sons, ابان Abán or Ibán and Abú Umeyyah Al-'ássi, who commanded his armies, and obtained many a victory over the enemy. Conde mentions, besides, another of 'Abdullah's sons, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-modhaffer, who is said to have commanded afterwards the armies of his nephew, 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

[3] During the whole of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's reign, one or more expeditions left Cordova yearly to make war against the Christians or to chastise the different rebels who resisted the authority of that Khalif. Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, in his history of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain, forming part of his historical cyclopædia, introduces a long poem, in which he recounts all the expeditions of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, from his accession down to the year 322, when that author wrote his work. See vol. i. *note* 38, p. 338.

[4] The expression is a remarkable one, و وصل الي سدة—The word *suddah* is often used by the writers of Mohammedan Spain as a synonyme of *báb* (door). There was, moreover, in the royal palace of Cordova a gate called *Bábu-s-suddah*. See vol. ii. p. 173 of this translation.

[5] بدا الهلال جديدا ∴ و الملك غض جديد
يا نعمة الله زيدي ∴ ان كان فيك مزيد
ان كان للصوم فطر ∴ فاليوم للدهر عيد

In the copy of the *'Ikd*, which I have used, the seond hemistich of the second verse reads as follows:

ما كان فيه مزيد

[6] Sancho, son of Garcia, King of Navarre. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi (*loco laudato*) mentions this expedition under the year 308. He says that the campaign began by the taking of a town called وشمة Oshamah, now Osma.

[7] Probably Ja'far, son of 'Omar Ibn Hafssún, who about this time held Toledo. His father died some years before, in 306. The expedition said to have been sent into Alava was commanded by Al-modhaffer, the Khalif's uncle.

[8] In the same year the troops of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, under the command of a general named Músa, are said to have crossed the Pyrenees, and to have made an incursion into France.

[9] If this expedition was really undertaken between A. H. 322 and 325 (A. D. 933-6), Ramiro II., not Ordoño III., reigned then in Leon. The author alludes, no doubt, to some campaign made after 950, the date of that sovereign's accession.

[10] The city of Zamora, on the Douro, had been taken several years before by Alfonso III. of Leon. "In the year 280 (beginning March 22, A. D. 893)," says Ibnu Hayyán, "Alfonso, the son of Ordoño,

"King of Galicia, rebuilt and peopled the city of Zamora, and repaired its fortifications. The architects "were people from Toledo. From that time the city became a nuisance to the Moslem frontiers."

No attempt seems to have been made during the reign of 'Abdullah to recover so important a place until in the year 288 (A. D. 900), when a member of the royal family, named Ahmed Ibn Mu'áwiyah, indignant at the continuation of the peace with the infidels, collected a body of adventurers and tried, though in vain, to reduce that city.—Compare Conde (vol. i. cap. LXIV.), Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 35), and the Chronicle of Sampiro, *apud* Florez, *España Sagrada*, vol. xiv. No. 14. Ibnu Hayyán (*loco laudato*, fo. 72) has preserved us an account of this expedition, which, as it contains information not to be found in the above writers, I here translate.

"In this year (A. H. 288) Ahmed, the son of Umeyyah, son of Mohammed, better known by the "surname of Ibnu-l-kitt (the kitten), son of Hishám, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of the Amír Hishám, left "Cordova secretly, and joined a rebel called Abú 'Alí As-serráj. From thence he repaired to the "district of Fahssu-l-balútt and to the mountain of برانس Beránis, and, having persuaded the Berbers "of the tribe of Nefezah that he was the Mahdí, he induced them to enlist under his banners, to wage "war against the unbelievers, and retake the city of Zamora. This city had been destroyed and dis-"mantled by the Moslems during the reign of the Amír Mohammed; but King Alfonso rebuilt it, "repaired its fortifications, and peopled it with Christians. The distance between Zamora and Leon the "Great ليون الكبري is two days' march. Against this city Ibnu-l-kitt marched at the head of his "followers, and, having encamped close to the river of Ordoño وادي ارذوني (rio Sequillo or Urbigo), "laid siege to Zamora. The Christians made a sally, but they were defeated with great slaughter, and "compelled to shut themselves within the fortress. Having, however, received considerable re-inforce-"ments from Galicia, the infidels again attacked the Moslems, and defeated them with great loss "in killed and prisoners. Ibnu-l-kitt, being in the number of the latter, was immediately beheaded, and "his head nailed under the principal gate of Zamora. This disastrous battle is still known among the "Christians of those parts as *Yaum Samúrah* (the day of Zamora). It was fought ten days before "the end of Rejeb (July, A. D. 901), according to 'Isa Ibn Ahmed [Ar-rází], who says that he read "the statement in the hand-writing of the Khalif Al-hakem. Mu'áwiyah Ibn Hishám treats at full "length of this Ibnu-l-kitt in his genealogical work."

[11] *Medínat Ghalisiyah* (the city or capital of Galicia). Zamora is often so designated by Ibnu Hayyán and other historians. The word *medínat*, meaning a large town covering a wide extent of ground, is often used by early Arabian writers to designate the capital of a province or district; because, in consequence of their nomadic habits, one town was sufficient in the territory of each tribe. See vol. i. p. 529, *note* 2.

[12] This battle was fought at Simancas, on the banks of the Pisuerga, about fifteen miles from Zamora, on July the 19th, A. D. 939. See the sensible observations of M. Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iv. p. 170.

[13] The word which I have translated by 'ditches' is فصلان *foslán*, the plural of *fasíl*, 'a breast-work, a parapet, and also a trench or dry moat.' One of the copies reads نصلان—which I believe to be a mistake.

[14] Conde (vol. i. p. 424) says, on the authority of Al-mes'údí, that, after the unsuccessful attempts

here recorded, 'Abdu-r-rahmán again attacked Zamora and took it by storm; but I have read attentively the chapter in which that historian mentions the siege and battle of Zamora, and I have found nothing to justify the assertion. Indeed, Al-mes'údí has no more on the subject than the meagre account which Al-makkarí has embodied into his history, and which is to be found in the 35th chapter of the *Murúju-dh-dhahab,* treating "of the Franks and Galicians, their kings, and their wars with the Moslems of Andalus." Is it probable that 'Abdu-r-rahmán, defeated before the walls of Zamora with the loss of forty thousand of his best troops, should undertake and achieve the storming of that strong city?

[15] Al-makkarí treats at full length of this learned man in the sixth book of the first part of his work. His name in full was Abú 'Alí Isma'íl Ibn Al-kásim Ibn عيذون 'Aydhún Ibn Hárún Ibn 'Isa Ibn Mohammed Ibn Suleymán Al-kálí. He was born at Menár Jord (one of the copies reads منازك) in Diyár-Bekr, in A. H. 288, according to some authors, and according to others in 285. The surname 'Al-kálí' was given to him because he travelled to Baghdád in company with people from قالي قلي Káli Kali, a town in Diyár-Bekr. He studied under Abú Bekr Ibn Doreyd Al-azdí, Abú Bekr Al-anbárí, and Ibn درستوية Darastuyah, and became one of the most accomplished grammarians of the school of Basrah; he left his native place for Baghdád in A. H. 303, and remained in that city until A. H. 328. 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. sent for him and appointed him preceptor to his son; he made his entrance into Cordova on the 27th of Sha'bán, A. H. 330 (May, A. D. 942), and by the order of that Khalif a deputation of the inhabitants of Cordova, chiefly composed of Arabs who were originally from Kúfah, went out to meet him. Besides the *Kitábu-l-amálí* (dictations), which he dedicated to his pupil the Amír Al-hakem, he composed the *Kitábu-n-nawádir* (novelties), and another work entitled البارع *Al-bári'* (the conspicuous), the subject of which is not stated; but which Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136) says was a dictionary of the Arabic language. He died at Cordova in A. H. 357 (A. D. 968), and left several pupils, among whom were Abú Bekr Az-zubeydí, Ibnu-l-kúttiyah, and others. An author named Abú Mohammed Al-fehrí wrote an account of the life and writings of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí.

[16] ذوقو *Dhúku,* no doubt a corruption from Dux.

[17] *Kaldoh* or *Kalodoh,* an easy corruption from Carolo; the *l* and the *r* being affined letters. The King of France at the time was Charles the Simple.

[18] This Rabi', the bishop, is the same individual mentioned in the first volume of this translation, p. 236, and *note* 10, p. 502, and who was employed by the Khalif in negotiating with the monk of Gorz, Otho's ambassador. But the messenger who accompanied him on his return to Germany is there said to have been a layman, named Recemundus, who was one of the Kátibs or clerks of the palace. See the interesting narrative of Joannes à Gorz, Embassy to Cordova, *apud* Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti,* vol. v. p. 404, and the sensible observations of M. Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne,* vol. iii. p. 214, *et seq.,* and Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrasins,* p. 187.

[19] This date must be mistaken. According to Sampirus (*Chron.* No. 27), Ordoño the third, not the second, as in the text, died about the middle of August, A. D. 955, at Zamora.

[20] Garcia, son of Sancho, was King of Navarre, not of Galicia. The author, no doubt, means Sancho I., son of Ramiro II., who succeeded his brother, Ordoño III., on the throne of Leon in 955, being shortly after deprived of power by a rebellion of his subjects, headed, as related in the text, by Ferran Gonzales, Count of Castile, and Ordoño IV., son of Alfonso IV.

[21] The usurper Ordoño, whom the Spanish historians do not count in the number of the kings of Leon, was not the son of Ramiro II., but of Alfonso IV. He was called 'El Malo,' or the wicked.

[22] Al-makkarí, or rather the historian whose words he transcribes here, has invariably confounded the dethroned King of Leon [Sancho I.], who was *the grandson* of Theuda, with *her own son* (Garcia, son of Sancho, King of Navarre), attributing to one the actions of the other; or else Al-makkarí himself committed the mistake by transcribing too hastily the words of his authority, which is not at all improbable. The confusion arising from such misplacement of names might easily have been avoided in the translation; but in this, as in other instances, I have preferred translating literally the text of my author, however palpable his errors, rather than introducing any corrections of my own.

[23] Sancho I. was not the son, but the grandson of Theuda; his mother, Urraca, was the daughter of that princess.

[24] That is, her own son, the King of Navarre, and her grandson Sancho, the dethroned King of Leon, surnamed 'Crassus' (the fat), owing to his excessive corpulence, arising from hydropsy. The avowed object of Sancho's visit to Cordova is said to have been to obtain from the Arabian physicians a remedy for his disease; and it is added, that by the juice of certain herbs Sancho was cured, and restored to his former lightness and agility. Sampirus, *Chron.* No. 26, *apud* Florez, *España Sagrada,* vol. xiv.; Ferreras, *Hist. de España,* Part IV. p. 340.

[25] Sancho, not Garcia, as here stated, was replaced on the throne of Leon by the help of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who furnished him with money and troops for his enterprise.

[26] Some copies read here كلدة ملكة الافرنجة 'Kaldah, Queen of the Franks.' If the reading be correct, which I doubt, it is meant for the widow of Charles, mother of Louis d'Outremer.

[27] Sunoifred, son of Miro, Count of Barcelona.

[28] Upon the probable site of Bejénnah, which was a flourishing town before Almeria rose into importance, see vol. i. p. 359, *note* 122, of this translation, and the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán.

[29] The same theologian mentioned in vol. i. pp. 150 and 430. He was the son of the celebrated traditionist, Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí.

[30] In other copies ''Obeydullah.'

[31] The text reads رق *rákk,* which might also mean 'vellum.'

[32] The word translated by 'case' is جعبة *ja'bah,* in Spanish 'aljava' (a quiver).

[33] Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr Al-kasiniání, who must not be confounded with Abú 'Amru Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr, although belonging to the same family.

[34] The author of the *Karttás* relates this differently. He says that Mossálah kept Yahya in prison until that monarch revealed to him the spot where his treasures lay concealed, when he set him at liberty, and banished him to Assílah (Arsila). Yahya remained some time at that place, where a relative of his was then reigning; but having left it with the intention of proceeding to Eastern Africa, he fell in with Músa Ibn Abí-l-'áfiyyah, one of Mossálah's lieutenants, who kept him in confinement for about twenty years. Yahya was at length released and suffered to proceed to Mahdiyah, where he died in extreme poverty in A. H. 332 (beginning Sept. 3, A. D. 943). Yahya was the son of 'Omar, son of Idrís. He was the seventh Sultán of his family who reigned over Fez, and the third of his name.

[35] My copy has حُجَّام *hojjám,* as printed; but two copies of the *Karttás,* which I have consulted, have حَجَّام *hajjám.* The origin of the surname is thus explained by Ibnu Khaldún. In one of the many battles which Hasan had to fight against his uncle, Ahmed Ibn Al-kásim, the former attacked a horseman, and struck his steed three times, one after the other, on the *mahjám* (that part of the neck where horses are bled); which being reported to his uncle, he is said to have exclaimed, "By Allah! our nephew is a *hajjám*" (bleeder); and the surname ever after remained to him. The same author quotes the following verse:

و سميتَ حجامًا و لستَ بحاجم ولاكن لِطَعْنٍ في مكان المَحَاجِم

"Thou hast been named a bleeder, and yet thou art not such, unless it be through thy striking on "the *mahájim.*"

The word *al-hajjám* has passed into the Spanish *alfageme.*

[36] There must be some mistake here. The author informs us elsewhere (vol. i. p. 122), on the authority of Al-bekrí, that during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. the Kádí-l-kodá or supreme judge of Fez, whose name was Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'Isa, landed in Spain, and was received by that Sultán with all the honours due to his high rank and noble birth (Mohammed being a member of the family of Idrís). By referring to Al-bekrí (Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 87), I find the quotation correct. But then I find the arrival of Abú-l-'aysh Ahmed, son of Al-kásim Kanún or Kannún, the Idrísite, recorded in the *Karttás* under the same circumstances; from which I conclude that there were two arrivals, that of *Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Isa* and that of *Abú-l-'aysh,* both of whom visited Spain during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and that it was the former, not the latter, as is stated in the *Karttás,* who met with the brilliant reception described in vol. i. p. 122 of this translation.

[37] According to Ibnu Khaldún (fo. 99) and Al-bekrí (fo. 87), they were all sent to Cordova as hostages for the fidelity of their family. They came escorted by Ahmed Ibn Ya'la, who commanded 'Abdu-r-rahmán's forces in Africa.

[38] Al-bekrí (*loco laudato,* fo. 87, *verso*) mentions, besides the names of Hasan and 'Isa, the sons of جنون Jannún (Kannún?).

[39] Alhomaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 8) places the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán on the first of Ramadhán. According to Ibnu-l-athír (*'Ibratu-l-oúlí*) he died of مرض الفالج a paralytic stroke. Immediately after this passage there follows in the abridgment the following account, said to have been borrowed from the historian Ibnu Khaldún. "When the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir saw his "power consolidated, he gave all his attention to the erection of palaces and other buildings. His "predecessors, Mohammed, 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., and Al-hakem I., had been all fond of building, "causing several palaces to be constructed with admirable art and solidity, such as that called مجلس "الزاهر Mejles Az-záhir, or the pavilion of the flowers; Al-kámil (the complete or perfect); Al-muníf "(the eminent), and others; but none was so fond of it as 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who is well known to have "erected several stupendous buildings, and among others a palace called *Dáru-r-raudhah*, to which he "conveyed abundance of water, as well as to the other palaces built by his ancestors. In the con-"struction of this palace, which was close to Mejles Az-záhir, 'Abdu-r-rahmán is reported to have "lavished countless treasures, having employed architects and geometricians even from Baghdád and "Constantinople. After this he took to building pleasure-houses, and planted the gardens of *Mun'yatu-n-"ná'úrah*, which he supplied with water brought from the top of distant mountains. But the greatest "work in which he was engaged was the city of Az-zahrá, which he took for his residence and the court "of his empire, causing buildings and palaces to be erected there, and gardens to be planted, which left "far behind any such building or garden belonging to his ancestors; making besides spacious recesses "for wild beasts, strongly railed in, as well as receptacles for birds, covered with awnings of net-work. "He had also an arsenal where all sorts of warlike weapons were made, as well as ornamental work and "other articles of workmanship. He ordered an awning to be thrown over the court of the great mosque "of Cordova, to guard the people, who frequented it, from the rays of the sun."

Alluding to the buildings erected by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, I find the following passage in An-nuwayrí, which I deem worthy of being translated. "Az-zahrá was situated three miles from Cordova, on the "declivity of a mountain. It was divided into three parts. That nearest to the mountain was inhabited "by the Khalif, who had there his palaces, pleasure-grounds, &c. In another resided the servants and "eunuchs of the Khalif's household, and his body-guard, composed of twelve thousand men, splendidly "attired, and having swords and belts glittering with gold. A detachment of these accompanied the "Khalif whenever he rode out, and mounted guard at his palace. The remaining third was laid out "in gardens and pleasure-grounds, over which the palaces of 'Abdu-r-rahmán had a commanding view. "The whole was plentifully supplied with water brought from the neighbouring mountains. But the "most remarkable building in Az-zahrá was a pavilion overlooking the gardens. It was supported "by columns of streaked marble, mounted in gold and inlaid with rubies and pearls. In front of the "pavilion was a sea [large tank] filled with *zabík* or quicksilver, which was kept in perpetual motion, and "reflected the rays of the sun upon the pavilion. Twelve years were spent in the building of Az-zahrá, "and the number of workmen employed was twelve thousand."

An-nuwayrí adds, "that twelve اثني عشر صانع Christian workmen of great skill were daily "employed in the construction of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's palace at Az-zahrá, according to the terms of a "treaty which the Christians made with him to insure peace."

[40] This was not the only motive which induced 'Abdu-r-rahmán to take the measure. According to Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 5), the appearance of the Shiites in Eastern Africa, and the assumption by Al-mahdí of the title of Khalif, were the principal reasons. Alluding to this event,

An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 467) says, "'Abdu-r-rahmán was the first sovereign of Andalus who "assumed the titles of Khalif and *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful). He was instigated to "that act by the news of the rising of the Shiites at Cairwán and of their having proclaimed Al-mahdí, "as well as by the information he received of the weakened state of the Khalifate under Al-muktadir the "'Abbásside. So that there were no less than three Khalifs at the time, Al-muktadir in the 'Irák, "Al-mahdí at Cairwán, and An-násir at Cordova."

41 This quotation is from the Korán, Súrah 18, verse 78.

42 Al-fat'h Ibn Kháḱán Al-kaysí gives the life of Mundhir Al-bolútti in his *Mattmah* (Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 133), among those of the الاعلام doctors or theologians. Al-makkarí mentions him also in Part I. book v. fo. 97, among the Spanish Moslems who travelled to the East. "Al-mundhir," he says, "left Andalus in A. H. 308. On his return in 339 he was appointed Kádí of Cordova by 'Abdu-r-"rahmán, and retained the office until the end of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 355 (Nov. A. D. 966), when "he died under the reign of Al-hakem II. He was buried in the cemetery of Koraysh, in the western "suburb of Cordova, and to the north-west of the mosque of Suddatu-l-kobra, not far from the house in "which he had resided. He left several works on theology and jurisprudence, among which the most "celebrated are *Ah'kámu-l-korán* (decisions of the Korán) and *Al-munassakh wa-l-mansúkh* (the original "and the copy). Although he professed in secret the sect of Abú Suleymán Adh-dháherí, he is known "never to have uttered decisions in conformity with its opinions."

43 Al-makkarí mentions this individual in the fifth book of the first part (fo. 219), among the Moslems who visited Spain. His full name was Abú-l-yosr Ibráhím Ibn Ahmed Ash-sheybání; but he was better known by his patronymic Ar-riyádhí. He was a native of Baghdád, where he studied under the best professors, such as Al-jáhedh ('Amru Ibn Bahr), Al-mubarrad, Tha'lebah, Ibn Koteybah, &c. While young, he left his native country and travelled through Khorasán, Syria, Egypt, and Africa, where he settled, and became the Kátib of Ibráhím Ibn Ahmed Ibn Aghlab, Amír of Eastern Africa, and after his death, of his son Abú-l-'abbás 'Abdullah, and lastly of Zeyádatullah Ibn 'Abdillah, the last of the Aghlabites. He died at Cairwán in A. H. 298 (beginning Sept. 8, A. D. 910), at the beginning of the reign of 'Obeydullah, the Shiite: he was then seventy-five years old.

According to Ibnu-l-abbár, in his افادة الوفادة *Ifádatu-l-wafádat*, Ash-sheybání visited Andalus during the reign of Mohammed, the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II. He wrote the following works: لقيط المرجان 'the fall of corals,' which Ibnu-r-rakík describes as a history still more voluminous than the '*Oyúnu-l-akhbár* (fountains of history); سراج الهدي 'the lamp of direction,' a commentary upon the Korán; قطب الادب 'the pole of literature,' and others. It was he who first introduced into Africa the literary production known as رسايل المحدثين 'the epistles or tracts of the traditionists.'

The above account, however, is in contradiction of what is stated here; for if Ash-sheybání visited Spain during the reign of Mohammed [A. H. 238-73], and died in 298, he could not have resided in Cordova under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., whose reign began in A. H. 300.

44 Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek (or 'Abdi-l-málik) Ibn Aymen is the same author mentioned at

p. 181, vol. i. of this translation. Al-makkarí treats of him in the fifth book of the first part, in the life of Kásim Ibn Asbagh.

45 ذهب العين *dhahebu-l-'ayn* means 'coined gold;' ذهب التبر *dhahebu-t-tibr*, which the Spaniards call 'oro de Tíbar,' is virgin gold.

46 A *bidr* is a purse containing ten thousand dirhems. A custom still prevails in Spain of counting money in this way. A 'talega' (purse) is equal to one thousand dollars.

47 The Rich MS. reads العود المختبر—but the reading in the abridgment, as well as in the Gotha MS., fo. 77, *verso*, is المتخير

48 The word منتقي *muntaki* means 'spotless, pure.'

49 عود الغالي *i. e.* costly or of the best quality, unless the epithet الغالي *al-ghálí* applies to the kind of scent called غالية *ghálíyah*, whence the Spanish 'algalia' and 'agalla.'

50 Musk or misk (Sp. *al-misque* and *almizcle*).

51 *Samúr* is the *mustela scythica;* hence jackets made of the skin of that quadruped are called by the Spaniards *zamarra*, by the Italians *zimarra*, and by the French *simarre*. The word *zamarra* is now applied in Spain to any sort of skin-jacket.

52 The Sha'ybites were the followers of Sha'yb Ibn Mohammed, who was the founder of a religious sect, differing only from that of the 'Ajdarians or disciples of 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn 'Adjar in a few immaterial points. *Kitábu-n-nahal wá-l-melal*, by Ash-sheherastání, Brit. Mus., No. 7251, fo. 100.

53 The *milhaf* or *milhafah* ملحفة is an outer garment made in the shape of a cloak without sleeves. The Spaniards call it *almallafa*.

54 The word *sordakát*, plural of *sorádik*, which I have translated by 'tents,' means also the awning thrown over the court of a house.

55 قزبون—The Gotha MSS. reads قربون—Neither word, however, is to be found in our dictionaries; but I have no doubt that the former reading is the correct one, and that the stuff called 'cazon' by the Spaniards is here meant.

56 قطيفة *katífah*, a small carpet, called in Spanish 'alcatifa.'

57 One of the MSS. reads في القتوبية—another في القيبنية—but there can be no doubt that قنبانية is meant. *Kanbániyyah* is nothing more than the Latin word *campania* Arabicized.

[58] The MSS. here present various readings. That in the British Museum has سيرة *Seyrah* or *Sírah;* my copy and that belonging to the library of Gotha have Sheyrah في قرية شيرة—which reading I have adopted.

[59] The life of Abú 'A'mir [Ahmed] Ibn Shoheyd is in the *Jadh'watu-l-muktabis* by Al-homaydí, fo. 54, *verso*, and in the *Mattmahu-l-anfús* by Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán (fo. 47, *verso*). The latter author gives him the patronymic Ashj'aí. Conde mentions him frequently, but calls him sometimes 'ben Said,' and at other times 'ben Sahid.' See vol. i. pp. 426, 432, 441, *et alibi*. See also Romey (*Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. iii. chap. xv.), who, led into error by the Spanish translator, calls him 'Ahmed ben Saïd Abou Ahmer.'

[60] The word translated by 'starling' is زرزور *zorzúr*, which has been preserved in the Spanish 'zorzal.'

[61] ايها الفاصد رفقاً ∴ بامير المؤمنينا
انما تفصد عرقاً ∴ فيه محيا العالمينا

CHAPTER VI.

[1] It is elsewhere stated that Al-hakem ascended the throne on Thursday, the 5th of Ramadhán, two days after his father's death, which agrees with the dates fixed by Al-homaydí, *apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 201.

[2] An-nuwayrí, who gives the names of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's sons, does not mention Abú Merwán 'Obeydullah among them. Yet there can be no doubt of his having had one so named; for Al-makkarí mentions, though incidentally, a splendid entertainment which that Khalif gave on the occasion of the circumcision of the two sons of Abú Merwán 'Obeydullah.

[3] The word translated by 'wings' is فصلان *foslán*, the plural of *fassíl*, which means 'the projecting angle of a building,' and 'a buttress.'

[4] عليهم الظهاير الابيض [و] شعار الحزن—This would indicate that 'white' was the colour used by the Beni Umeyyah for mourning. It is probable that as their rivals the 'Abbássides appeared clad in sable robes on all public occasions, the Sultáns of Spain adopted white even when in mourning. However, by inserting the conjunction و (and), the meaning might be so altered as to make it appear that the eunuchs wore some garment made of a stuff appropriated for mourning, as, for instance, the شرقة *sherkah* (Sp. xerga), which the Arabs and the Spaniards generally used for mourning apparel.

[5] This general was descended from the Tojibites of Aragon. He was probably the son of Abú Yahya Mohammed, governor of Saragossa, who died in 312. See a preceding *note*, p. 441.

[6] قطوبية *Kottúbiyah.* Mr. Shakespear's copy reads قطونية *Katúniyah,* by the alteration of one single point. As it is not stated in what part of the Christian frontier this fortress was situated, it is impossible to say what may be its present name. M. Romey (*Hist. d'Espagne,* vol. iv. chap. xvi.) states it to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Huesca, but the text says only that "it was taken by the governor of Huesca," which is by no means conclusive of its being situated in the vicinity of that place.

[7] The same fortress called elsewhere 'Shant Ehstiban' or San Esteban de Gormaz, and which appears to have been retaken by the Christians in the interval.

[8] See the extracts from Ibnu Khaldún in the first volume of this translation, App. B. p. xxxv., where Ibn Romáhis is said to have been the commander-in-chief of the naval forces under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

[9] The expedition was no doubt intended against his ally, Ferran Gonzalez, Count of Castile, and not against Ordoño, who had then no dominions subject to his rule.

[10] Ghálib had previously been a *mauli* or freedman of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, whence his surname An-násirí.

[11] Elsewhere called قلنسوة رومية or a Christian cap. The word *kalansuah,* which is not of Arabic origin, seems to be a corruption from *calantica.*

[12] Two of the copies read 'Ibn Talmís;' that belonging to the library of Gotha ابن طملس 'Ibn Tamlas.'

[13] يلبوال—Thus in all copies, except the Rich MS., which reads بلوان—Neither word, however, is to be found in the dictionaries.

[14] ابن خيرون—but the abridgment and the Gotha MS. read ابن خيزران Ibn Khayzarán.

[15] It is doubtful whether the individual here mentioned was "the bishop himself" or the "son of the bishop." At all events it is curious enough that he should have a name so essentially Arabic, although this is not the only instance of the kind which occurs in the history of Mohammedan Spain.

[16] The text reads في برطل البهو الاوسط—The word برطل *bortal,* which I have translated by 'gate or gateway,' appears to be a corruption from *porta* or *portal.* It is one of the many words which the Moslems of Spain borrowed from the language of their Christian neighbours. Instead of دار الجندل *Dáru-l-jandal,* which is the reading afforded by all the manuscripts, the copy belonging to the library of Gotha has دار الجند *Dáru-l-jund* (the house or the barracks of the army).

[17] *Bornús* or *bornós,* which has been preserved in the Spanish 'albornoz.'

[18] The word used is *dará'h*, which means a breast-plate, any garment fitting tight to the chest.

[19] ولـه لوزة الفرغة من خالص التبر—It is by mere guess that I have translated the word *lúzah* or *laúzah* by 'belt.'

[20] If the author be not mistaken, this would prove that *Mun'yatu-n-ná'úrah* and *Kasr Ar-rissáfah* were one and the same building; for it is said above (p. 161), that when Ordoño arrived in Cordova he was lodged at the *Mun'yatu-n-ná'úrah*, or 'the pleasure-grounds of the water-wheel.' See vol. i. p. 212, and p. 489, *note* 40.

[21] Thus in the abridgment; but in the original work Al-makkarí introduces some fragments of a poem composed on the occasion by 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd Al-morádí (see vol. i. pp. 190 and 468 of this translation), after which he quotes some verses supposed to have been the composition of Al-hakem.

[22] The arrival of the Catalonian ambassadors in Cordova must have taken place after the successful invasion of their territory by Ahmed Ibn Ya'la and Yahya Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí. See p. 159.

[23] I have shown elsewhere (vol. i. p. 380, *note* 14) that this unnatural commerce was carried on by the French along the Pyrenees.

[24] About this time Rodericus Velasconis or Velasci, one of the most powerful counts of Galicia, is said to have entered into a league with other nobles to make Galicia independent of Leon. His mother might, therefore, have visited Cordova with the view to obtain the assistance of Al-hakem.

[25] See p. 145. He was killed in A. H. 343 (A. D. 954), in an encounter with the troops of Ordoño III.

[26] Mu'izz or Al-mu'izz lidín-illah Abú Temím Ma'd, the fourth of the Fátimites or 'Obeydites of Africa. He was the first of his family who established himself in Egypt. His general, Jauhar, took Fez in Ramadhán, A. H. 349 (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 960), and Balkín Ibn Zeyrí subdued the rest of Western Africa, with the exception of Ceuta, Tangiers, and other fortified places along the coast which remained faithful to the Bení Umeyyah.

[27] *Hajaru-n-nasr* (the rock of the eagles), a strong castle in the neighbourhood of Assílah, south of Fez. See Al-bekrí, *Mesálek wa-l-mem'alek*, fo. 87.

[28] When Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-azrak arrived in Spain, Al-hakem had not yet ascended the throne. Al-makkarí gives the life of Abú Bekr Al-azrak among those of the illustrious Moslems who visited Spain (Part I. book vi. fo. 217). His name was Mohammed, and he was the son of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, son of 'Abdullah, who was a lineal descendant from 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, the twelfth Khalif of the race of Umeyyah in the East.

[29] One of the MSS. reads here النكوطي *An-nokútti*, but the abridgment and the copy belonging to

the library of Gotha have البلوطي *Al-bolútti*, the relative adjective of Fahssu-l-bolútt, or 'the field of the oak trees,' a district near Cordova.

[30] Conde (vol. i. p. 466) says that the work which Abú-l-faraj, of Ispahán, presented to Al-hakem, was a history of the Khalifs of the race of Umeyyah in the East and in Spain. In a refutation of the Korán, written by a Spanish missionary in 1511, for the use of the newly-converted Moors of Valencia, the original of which is in my possession, large extracts are given from a work by Abú-l-faraj, entitled *Iyámu-l-'arab* (the celebrated days or epochs of the Arabs), which is quoted as existing in Spain at the time. The work is there said to be divided into seventeen hundred *iyám* or days. According to Al-homaydí, the correspondence between Abú-l-faraj and Al-hakem took place during the lifetime of An-násir, which is far more probable, as Abú-l-faraj died in A. H. 356. Oriental literature is greatly indebted to Professor Kosegarten for a beautiful and correct edition of the *Kitábu-l-aghání*.

[31] *Mokhtassar* (the abridged) is the title of several compilations of traditional law, the most celebrated of which is one by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem Al-misrí, which, according to Khayr Ibn Khalífah in his Bibliographical Repertory, was greatly in use among students professing the sect of Sháfi' in Spain.

[32] An-násir lidín-illah Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed, the thirty-fourth Khalif of the race of 'Abbás, son of Mustadhi binúr-illah. The library which he collected was destroyed by the Moghûls under Hulâku at the taking of Baghdád in A. H. 656 (A. D. 1258).

[33] This statement is likewise to be found in Casiri (vol. ii. p. 37), and Conde (vol. i. p. 459), who borrowed it from the same sources. It is no doubt exaggerated, unless the forty-four volumes, of which the unfinished catalogue is said to have consisted, contained also a biography of the authors.

[34] ابن ديهم Ibn Dahim or Ibn Deyham, for it may be pronounced both ways. One of the copies reads ابن ديلم Ibn Deylam.

[35] العذري Al-'odhrí; but perhaps it is to be written Al-'adhrí, *i. e.* 'the native of or born at Adra,' on the coast of Granada.

[36] Of Ibn Mughíth ['Abdullah Ibn Mohammed ?], the poet, I find no account in Al-makkarí; but there occurs in Part I. book v. fo. 124, a long notice of Ibn Mufarraj, which I here translate.

"In this year (A. H. 378) died the celebrated author Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Yahya "Ibn Mufarraj, of Cordova. His great grandfather, Mufarraj, had been master of the horse to the "Sultán Al-hakem I. His father, Ahmed Ibn Yahya, was a man of irreproachable conduct and great "piety; he was well known in Cordova by his patronymic Al-kantúrí, from his being born in the "quarter of the city called Kantúriah. Mohammed was born in 320 (beginning Jan. 12, A. D. 932). "After studying under Kásim Ibn Asbagh, Ibn Deylam, and Al-khoshaní, he set out for the East in 338 "(beginning June 30, A. D. 949), and arrived at Mekka, where he profited by the lessons of Ibnu-l- "'arábí, continuing as one of his disciples until that theologian died. He then travelled to Juddah

"and to Medína, visited San'á, Zubeyd, and 'Aden, where he likewise received instruction from the "learned of each country. From the latter place he journeyed to Cairo, where he frequented the house "of Al-barakí, the friend of Ahmed Al-bezáz, As-seyrafí, and other eminent authors. Lastly, he went "to Ghazzah, 'Askalán, (Ascalon), Tiberiyah (Tiberias), Damascus, Tripoli, Beyrút, Seydah, Ar-ramlah, "Súr, Kaysariyyah, Kolzúm, Al-farmá, and Alexandria, in all which cities he endeavoured to form the "acquaintance of the theologians most distinguished for their learning; so that, at the end of his travels, "the number of Sheikhs from whom he received instruction, and whose conversations or writings he "afterwards quoted on his return to his native country, is said to have exceeded two hundred and thirty. "He himself was cited by Abú 'Omar At-talamankí (of Salamanca), and several other doctors. During "his stay in Egypt, Mohammed Ibn Mufarraj became acquainted with Abú Sa'íd Ibn Yúnas, the author "of the history of Misr, which he copied after him.

"On the return from his travels in 340 (beginning May 8, A. D. 951), Mohammed attached himself to "the suite of Al-hakem, who granted him many favours and distinctions. When that prince ascended "the throne, he appointed Mohammed to be Kádí of Ezija, and afterwards of Almeria, and moreover "commissioned him to write several works, among which the most celebrated are: a treatise on the *Fikh* "or 'legal decisions, extracted from the body of traditions respecting the Prophet;' another treatise "entitled 'legal decisions founded on traditions preserved by the *tábi's* or followers of the companions "[of the Prophet];' and two other works on the decisions of Al-hasan Al-basrí and Az-zahrí; the "former consisting of seven thick volumes, the latter divided into several parts. Ibn Mufarraj died in "the month of Rejeb, A. H. 378 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 988)."

The above is not the only writer of Mohammedan Spain known by the surname of *Ibn Mufarraj*. There were besides, 1st, Al-hasan Ibn Mohammed (Abú Bekr), who is often quoted by Ibnu-l-khattíb as the author of a history of Mohammedan Spain entitled الاحتفال بعلم الرجال (the gathering of information on the history of the Spanish Moslems), and is, no doubt, the same individual mentioned by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 141), under the name of Hasanus ben Mohamad; 2nd, Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-khalíl Ibn Mufarraj, better known by the surname of *Ibnu-r-rúmiyyah* (the son of the Christian or Greek woman), and Al-'ashsháb (the botanist), whose life is in Ibnu-l-khattíb; 3rd, Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed *Ibn Mufarraj* Ibn Abí-l-khalíl; and lastly, Nábit Ibn Mufarraj Ibn Yúsuf Al-khath'amí. The individual mentioned in this passage is the same alluded to in the chapter treating of the literature of the Spanish Arabs, vol. i. p. 183 of this translation, notwithstanding that his name is there given erroneously "Mohammed Ibn Yahya," instead of Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Yahya. The theologian here and there named Az-zahrí, and whom I identified with Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd, of Basrah, is no other than the celebrated traditionist Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Moslem Az-zahrí, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 574).

[37] See vol. i. p. 175 of this translation, and Conde, vol. i. p. 459.

[38] Ahmed Ibn Faraj was also the author of a history of the most celebrated rebels during the reign of 'Abdullah, which is frequently quoted by Ibnu Hayyán. See vol. i. pp. 185 and 187 of this translation.

[39] Conde (vol. i. p. 481) mentions an author named "Yaix ben Said de Baena," who lived at the court of Al-hakem II., and was a favourite of that Sultán, by whom he was employed in transcribing such poems as deserved his approbation. Adh-dhobí gives the life of a poet named Abú 'Othmán Ya'ísh Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Mohammed Al-warrák (the bookseller or paper merchant), who is reported to have composed several historical works for Al-hakem. He was alive in A. H. 390.

40 An-nuwayrí places the death of Al-hakem some time before. His words are as follow: "There are "various dates given for the death of Al-hakem: some say that he died of a paralytic stroke, the 4th "day of Safar; others are of opinion that he died at the beginning of Moharram, and that his death was "kept concealed until Saturday, the 10th of the said month, when it was publicly announced to the "people. The latter is the most certain. He was born on Friday, the 1st of Rejeb, A. H. 302, and was "sixty-three years, six months, and ten days old when he died. His reign had lasted fifteen years, four "months, and some days."—(*Loco laudato*, fo. 469).

CHAPTER VII.

1 Other authors, like Ibnu-l-athír and Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, fo. 7), say "ten." Of the authors consulted by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 50), one says that "he was twelve years old at the time;" another (*ib.* p. 202), that "he had just attained his eleventh year;" An-nuwayrí (fo. 470) says "twelve."

2 According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, the appointment of Al-mansúr to the office of Wizír took place in A. H. 364, two years before the death of Al-hakem. An-nuwayrí (fo. 470) says that it was Hishám who, upon his accession to the throne, appointed Al-mansúr to the post of Wizír, giving him at the same time the command of the *shortah* or police-guard, and the direction of the *sekah* or mint.

3 جونر—which is written جوزر *Jauzar* in some copies of this work.

4 Ja'far Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hamdún, Lord of Masílah, was the general appointed by Al-mansúr to relieve Ceuta, when that city was besieged by Balkín Ibn Zeyrí, the founder of the dynasty of the Zeyrites of Africa. He was not a native of Spain, as some authors have erroneously supposed, but of that quarter of Fez called *'Idwatu-l-andalusiin* (or the side of the Andalusians), whence he took the surname of *Andalusí*. Ibn Khallekán, who gives his life, calls him Abú 'Alí Ja'far Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ahmed *Ibn Hamdán*. See Baron Mac Guckin de Slane's excellent translation of that biographer's work, vol. i. p. 326.

5 This observation can be applied to no other than 'Abdullah, the only Sultán of the dynasty of Umeyyah in Spain, who succeeded his brother [Al-mundhir], and whose reign was troubled by protracted civil wars.

6 Most copies read المغافري *Al-mugháferí;* but there can be no doubt that المعافري *Al-ma'áferí* is the true reading. See p. 403, *note* 26.

7 تاريخ العامريين—If this statement be correct, and the work here mentioned do not form part of the *Matín*, it may be added to the list of Ibnu Hayyán's historical productions. Conde (vol. i. p. 512) mentions also a history of the Bení Abí 'A'mir written by Ibnu Hayyán.

[8] Mohammed Ibn Foteys was a celebrated theologian who lived in Cordova during the reigns of 'Abdullah and his grandson and successor 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. Al-makkarí mentions him in the fifth book of the first part, among the Andalusians who travelled to the East. His entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Foteys Al-gháfekí Al-albírí, *i. e.* from Elvira, where he died in Shawwál, 319 (A. D. 931), at the age of ninety. Ibnu-l-khattíb (*Hist. of Granada*, cap. iii.) says that the ancestors of Mohammed Ibn Foteys were originally from the *jund* of Damascus, one of the five military divisions of Syria: the other four were Hems or Emessa, Filistíyn, Kenesrín, and Al-urdán.

[9] اركادة — Sometimes called Rokádah. See the French translation of Al-bekrí in the twelfth volume of the *Notices et Extraits*, p. 552.

[10] Conde (vol. i. p. 491) calls her *Sobeiha* (Sobeyhah); but all the authors I have consulted write her name صبح Sobha, as printed.

[11] لجم محلي — 'an ornamented bridle,' says the text.

[12] Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Háni Al-andalusí Al-azdí, surnamed Abú-l-kásim and Abú-l-hasan, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 679). A collection of his *kassídas* or poems, among which is the one here mentioned, is in the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, *Sale Collection*, K. 21. The volume contains several poems in praise of Mu'izz, the Fátimite, and of Ja'far Ibn 'Alí Al-andalusí.

[13] This chieftain belonged to the powerful family of the Tojibites, whose frequent rebellions at Saragossa and other towns of the *Upper Thagher* (Aragon) are fully related by Ibnu Hayyán. See the extracts from the *Muktabis*, *note* 47, p. 441.

[14] The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* intimates that Al-mansúr behaved ungratefully to Sobha; for after ridding himself of Ja'far and Ghálib, he stirred up Hishám against his own mother, and destroyed all her influence in public affairs.

[15] من ارباب الدولة in some copies; others من الفتيان القصر 'of the eunuchs of the palace.' The abridgment من الفتيان المعروفين بالخلفاء الاكابر 'of the eunuchs called great Khalifs.'

[16] Ghálib had greatly distinguished himself in the African wars during the reign of Al-hakem. It was he who overthrew the dynasty of the Beni Idrís and took Al-hasan Ibn Kannún prisoner. He was the captain of a guard chiefly composed of *maulis* or freed slaves, and was the son of a Christian.

[17] والي المدينة — that is, governor of the city (præfectus urbis). According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, the duties of this officer were the same as those of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*, or chief of the police guards. See vol. i. p. 104 of this translation. An office called 'Vadalmedina,' no doubt a corruption from Wála-l-medínah, existed at the court of the kings of Aragon. The duties of its holder seem to have been the same with those of the Mohammedan functionary. See the collection of the laws and privileges of Aragon, entitled *Fueros y observancias del Reyno de Aragon*, Zaragoza, 1517, fo. xliii.

18 روضة الازهار وبهجة النفس و نزهة الابصار—The title of this work is not in Hájí Khalfah.

19 تعاطيت صرف الحادثات فلم ازل ∴ اراها توفي عند موعدها الحرا
فلله ايام مضت بسبيلها ∴ فاني لا انسي لها ابدًا ذكرا
تجافت بها عنا الحوادث برهة ∴ و لا نظرت منها حوادثه شزرا
ليالي ما يدر الزمان مكانها ∴ و ابدت لنا منها الطلاقة و البشرا
و ما هذه الايام الا سحايب ∴ علي كل ارض تمطر الخير و الشرا

20 Ghálib is here called النصراني An-nasrání, which is evidently a mistake for الناصري An-násirí.

21 رايق—But perhaps فايق Fáyik is meant. See p. 175.

22 My copy adds "on the banks of the river of Cordova or Guadalquivir."

23 Gold and silver coins with the name of Al-mansúr are very common; some have only his name, Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, others Al-hájib Al-mansúr. The oldest I have seen bears the date of 372. There is likewise a very rare copper coin, bearing on one side the inscription المنصور Al-mansúr, in Cufic, and on the other a church-bell reversed. There is no date upon it; but there can be no doubt of its having been struck shortly after the expedition of the year 384, which ended in the destruction of the cathedral church of Santiago, the bells of which were carried to Cordova on the shoulders of Christian captives.

24 The word used does not exactly mean 'bridge,' but a dam (*sudd*, Sp. azuda) thrown across the river in order to collect the waters for the purpose of irrigation, and yet wide enough to serve as a bridge; a very common contrivance in Spain.

25 According to the author of the *Karttás*, Al-hasan had resided in Cordova, as a guest of the Khalif Al-hakem, from Moharram, A. H. 364 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 974) to A. H. 375 (beginning June 3, A. D. 984), when, owing to a dispute about a large piece of amber which the Idrísite prince possessed, but which he would not make over to Al-hakem, notwithstanding that Khalif had repeatedly asked him for it, and offered him in return any sum of money he should like to fix, his property was confiscated and himself banished from Spain, together with other individuals of the family of Idrís. The block of amber, however, remained in the treasury of the Khalifs, where 'Alí Ibn Hamúd found it on his taking possession of Cordova in A. H. 407 (A. D. 1016).

The word Kanún or Kenún is written by some authors كنّون Kannún and جنّون Jennún also.

26 Conde (vol. i. p. 511), who mentions this campaign, says that Al-mansúr left Cordova on the 12th of Dhí-l-hajjah.

[27] This passage is not to be found in all the copies of Al-makkarí, and I have in vain looked for it in those preserved in the British Museum. I have therefore translated it such as I found it in the edition of the *Nafhu-t-tíb*, made in the eighteenth century by Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik At-telemsání, and which, as I have stated elsewhere, is fuller than the usual ones of the same work, owing to the editor having in many instances given at full length those passages which Al-makkarí only abridged.

[28] One of the copies reads "Ibnu-l-gharíf;" but it is a mistake.

[29] بن النجم — Perhaps a mistake for ابن النّجام 'the son of the astronomer.' His life is not to be found among those of the illustrious Moslems who visited Spain.

[30] المحدود — Khayr Ibn Khalífah, in his Bibliographical Repertory, mentions a poet of this name who made a collection of poetry for the use of Al-mansúr.

[31] Casiri treats in two places (vol. ii. pp. 139 and 148) of this Yúsuf, who was a native of Cordova, but originally from Ramédah, a town of Western Africa.

[32] This Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán is no doubt the Maron mentioned by Conde (vol. i. pp. 449, 531).

[33] النكاس *An-nakkás* means 'the seller of ink.' The abridgment reads النحاس *An-nahhás,* 'the coppersmith.'

[34] The name of this writer, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 662), in the *Mattmah* by Ibn Khákán (fo. 144), as well as in Adh-dhobí (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 133), was not Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl nor Al-huseyn Ibn Mohammed, as stated elsewhere (vol. i. p. 194), but Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Madh'hij Ibn 'Abdillah Al-mad'hijí Az-zubeydí Al-ishbílí (from Seville). He was a pupil of Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, and gained so much reputation by his works that Al-hakem II. appointed him to be his son's (Hishám) preceptor. Among other works,—the list of which may be found in Ibn Khallekán,—Az-zubeydí made an abridgment of the *Kitábu-l-'ayn,* an Arabic dictionary generally attributed to Khalíl Ibn Ahmed Al-faráhídí (vol. i. p. 419, *note* 5), a copy of which is in the Royal Library at Madrid, GG 5. I have often had occasion to refer to this dictionary, and have always found it of great assistance in explaining numerous words in use among the Western Arabs. Instead of beginning with the letter ا — the first of the alphabet, as the generality of Arabic dictionaries do, it commences with the letter ع *'ayn.* The reason for this unusual arrangement is explained in the preface. It appears that Khalíl, being unwilling to begin his dictionary by the first letter in the alphabet, owing to certain grammatical objections which he fully explains, put all the letters into a bag, and drew out one which happened to be the letter *'ayn,* taking all the letters in succession as they came out. Az-zubeydí wrote besides a work on grammar entitled *Al-wádheh* (the clear expositor), which is greatly praised by the authors of the time. He is said to have been Kádí of Seville, and *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* or chief of the police guards of Cordova. He died in A. H. 379, or, according to Al-homaydí (*Jadh'watu-l-muktabis,* fo. 80), in 380. His lives of celebrated grammarians, the title of which I have given elsewhere

after Khayr Ibn Khalífah, is not limited, as I there imagined, to those who were natives of Spain, but contains also the lives of Eastern grammarians. See vol. i. p. 474, *note* 30, of this translation.

35 منيل—which is perhaps meant for the Christian name Emmanuel or Manuel.

36 This individual belonged, no doubt, to the family of Háni, so celebrated in the republic of letters. See vol. i. p. 453 of this translation.

37 Elsewhere called Mohammed Ibn Mutref Ibn Shakhíss. See vol. i. pp. 190, 468.

38 See vol. i. pp. 190, 468, of this translation.

39 البلجي Al-balehí or Al-balhí.

40 The author of the *Karttás*, from whom this account seems to have been borrowed, for Al-makkarí did not possess a copy of Ibnu Hayyán's valuable history, says و احمال كثيرة من قسي الزاب

41 قطوط الزبد—*kottút* is the plural of *katt* or *kitt* (Sp. gato); *zubud* is the 'zybethum.'

42 Neither the lions nor the tigers are mentioned in my copy of the *Karttás*.

43 من اناب الفيل—The words *náb al-fíl* (elephant's tooth) have passed into the Spanish *marfíl*. The word *alfíl* or *arfíl*, meaning 'a knight in the game at chess,' is likewise derived from the same root, it being well known that in the Indian game that piece is represented by an elephant.

44 يدوا بن يعلي اليفروني—He was the chief of the Berber tribe of يفرن Yefrun or Yefren. His father, Ya'la Ibn Mohammed, had been governor of Fez for An-násir ('Abdu-r-rahmán III.), until he was put to death by the tribe of Kotámah in 349.

45 This account is not correct: according to the author of the *Karttás*, زيري Zeyrí, or, as Ibn Khallekán writes it, زيري Zírí, died before the town of Ashír, which he was besieging, after having reduced the province of Záb and the districts of Telemsán, شلف Shelf, and Masílah, and causing Hishám to be proclaimed; for it would appear that, notwithstanding his quarrel with Al-mansúr, he still remained faithful to the Bení Umeyyah. The cause of his rebellion was a personal one. See Moura's *Karttás*, cap. xxi.

46 Probably Zamora, although the Christian chroniclers place the taking of that city, together with those of San Estevan de Gormaz and Coyança, in the autumn of 984.

[47] This is elsewhere said to have been his forty-eighth expedition to the land of the infidels, but neither statement is correct; for even supposing that Al-mansúr had made two yearly expeditions,—one in the spring and the other in the autumn,—since the death of Al-hakem, that number could not be made up.

[48] ياقُب Yákob for Jacobus; the real Arabic name is Ya'kúb. The passage is interesting, as it shows how far popular traditions common to the Christians found their way among a hostile race professing a different religion.

[49] Conde (vol. i. p. 530) has erroneously placed this campaign in 384, whereas he describes the expedition which left Cordova in Safar, 387, as directed against Alava and Navarre.

[50] مدينة غليسية *Medínah Ghalisiyah* or the city of Galicia. The word *medínah* is often used by ancient writers in the sense of capital. See vol. i. p. 529, *note* 2. But what is here meant by *Medínah Ghalisiyah* it is not easy to determine. Ibnu Hayyán repeatedly calls Zamora by that name, و سمورة هي مدينة غليسية—'and Samúrah (Zamora) is the [large] city of Galicia;' but it is evident that Zamora cannot be the city here intended. M. Romey (*Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 445) is of opinion that by *Medínah Ghalisiyah* the author means Gallegos, a village not far from Ciudad Rodrigo; but I think differently: the word *medínah* is always used to express a large and populous city; and it is unreasonable to suppose that it should have been given to a mere village, of the existence of which during the middle ages we have not the least proof. The wording of the text leads me to suppose that by Medínah Ghalisiyah the author means the same city of Coria, of which he has just made mention, و دخل علي مدينة قورية فلما و صل الي مدينة غليسية

[51] قصر ابي دانس—Idrísí mentions a port on the coast of Al-gharb or Western Ocean called Kasr Abí Dánis.

[52] فرتارش in all the copies. M. Romey (*ubi supra*), Farthás. The fortress called Shant Beláy (San Pelayo or San Payo) might very well be the Sakhr Beláy mentioned in vol. i. p. 291 of this translation, and which I conjectured, without sufficient foundation, to be the Sierra de Covadonga. See also p. 546, *note* 17.

[53] دير قسان in all the copies except the Gotha MS., which reads دير قسطان Deyr Kastán or Kostán. Romey (*loco laudato*, p. 446) reads Deyr-Kosmán, or the monastery Saint Cosmo.

[54] بلنبوا—M. Romey reads *Belbenu* by the alteration of one point. The place called مرسية Morasiah is the peninsula of Morazo, on the coast of Vigo.

[55] بليقة—This castle M. Romey (*ubi supra*) conjectures to be Vallecos, near Ciudad Rodrigo.

56 من صوف [حيوان] البحر — literally, 'of wool of sea-monsters.'

57 وكسآين عنبريين in all the copies, that of Gotha not excepted. But what is meant by dresses *'anbariin* (of amber) I cannot conjecture. Neither can I guess what the author means by the word مريشات which is not to be found in dictionaries.

58 فروي فنك — The word فرو *faru* or *foru* means 'a skin-jacket and the lining of a dress;' hence the Spanish *forro,* and the French *fourrure.* The *funk* is described by Ad-demírí as a quadruped of the rat tribe.

59 ابني امية اين اقمار الدجي ∴ منكم و اين نجومها والكواكب
غابت اسود منكم عن غابها ∴ فلذلك حار الملك هذا التغلب

60 This is the battle of Calatañazor, about which so many wonders are related by Lucas Tudensis, *Chronicon Mundi,* lib. iv. pp. 84-88; Rodericus Toletanus, *De Rebus Hispaniæ,* lib. v. cap. 16; and in the *Cronica de España,* Zamora, 1543.

61 Conde (vol. i. p. 548) says three days before the end Ramadhán, *i. e.* on the 27th, which answers to August 9, A. D. 1002. An-nuwayrí is the only author who places the death of Al-mansúr in 393. و كانت وفاته في اقصي الثغور بمدينة سالم في سنة ثلث و تسعين و ثلثماية في طريق الغزو "And the death of Al-mansúr happened in the year 393, at Medinaceli, on the extreme frontier, as he was "returning from one of his military expeditions."

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

[1] الاستظهار والمغالبة علي من انكر فضايل الصقالبة — which, literally translated, means "clear and victorious arguments against those who deny the excellences of the Sclavonians."

[2] Our author gives the life of Abú Bekr Al-azrak (Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-misrí), in the sixth book of the first Part, among those of the illustrious Moslems who left their native places to travel in Spain; but it is there said that he went to Spain during the reign of Al-hakem II. [350-66]. He was born at Misr (Old Cairo) in 343 (A. D. 954); but left his native country, and went to Cairwán, where he settled. Not choosing to take part with the Shiites, who were then all-powerful in Africa, he was imprisoned at Mahdiyah (Mehedia), and passed some time in confinement. He was at last set at liberty, and allowed to set out for Spain, where he arrived in 349. He died at Cordova in 385 (A. D. 995).

[3] Hájí Khalfah (v. *akhbár*) gives the title of this work thus: اخبار الفقهاء المتاخرين من اهل قرطبة "The history of the Cordovan Faquihs in later times."

[4] حفظ الغريب — "I excel in knowing by heart obsolete words."

[5] The word اولق *aulak*, from الق *alaka*, means 'folly, insanity;' مالوق *málúk*, whence the Spanish *loco* is probably derived, means 'a man who is out of his senses.' The answer returned by Sá'id is that of a man imperfectly acquainted with his own language.

[6] قد غاض في البحر كتاب الفصوص ∴ و هكذا كل ثقيل يغوص
عاد الى معدنه انما ∴ توجد في قعر البحر الفصوص

[7] The text reads دينار دراهم

[8] بدايع البداية — A work so entitled is mentioned by Hájí Khalfah, who attributes it to Jemálu-d-dín Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Dháfer Al-azdí, a native of Cairo, who died in A. H. 623 (A. D. 1226).

9 كان ريح الروض لما اتت ∴ فتت علينا مسك عطار
كانما بريقنا طاير ∴ يحمل ياقوتا بمنقار

10 اتتك ابا عامر وردة ∴ يذكرك المسك انفاسها
كعذرآ ابصرها مبصر ∴ فغطت باكمامها راسها

11 There were various Spanish Moslems known by the surname of "Ibnu-l-'aríf," or the son of the inspector of works (Sp. alarife). Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 67) gives the life of one whose name was Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed As-senhájí. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 135) mentions another, named Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa, who wrote a work which is preserved in the library of the Escurial, No. 728; but as the former is said to have died in A. H. 536, and the latter in 516, neither of them can be identified with the poet here alluded to, who is probably no other than the Abú-l-kásim Huseyn Ibn Al-walíd mentioned above, p. 190. Conde (vol. i. p. 518) says that Ibnu-l-'aríf presented to Al-mansúr, on his return from one of his campaigns, a book of poetry entitled *Kitábu-l-humám* (the book of death). I should think, however, that *Kitábu-l-hamám* (the book of the ring-dove) would be a preferable reading.

12 عشوت الي قصر عباسة ∴ و قد جدل النوم حراسها
فالقيتها و هي في خدرها ∴ و قد صرع السكر اناسها
فقالت اسار علي هجعة ∴ فقلت بلي فرمت كاسها
و مدت يديها الي وردة ∴ يحاكي لك الطيب انفاسها
كعذرآ ابصرها مبصر ∴ فغطت باكمامها راسها
و قالت خف الله لا تفضحن ∴ في ابنة عمك عباسها
فوليت منها علي غفلة ∴ و لا خنت ناسي و لا ناسها

Instead of عشوت in the first verse, B. reads غدوت "I went early in the morning;" and انفاسها instead of اناسها at the end of the second verse.

13 The word translated by 'tray' is سفاط *safát*, whence the Spanish word 'azafate.'

14 ابا عامر هل غير جدواك واكف ∴ وهل غير من عاداك في الارض خايف
يسوق اليك الدهر كل غريبة ∴ و اعجب ما يلقاه عندك واصف

و شايع نـــور صَاغها هـــامـــر الحيَا ∴ علي حافيتها عبقر و رفارف
و لها تناها الحُسن فيها تقابلت ∴ عليها بانواع الملاهي الوصَايف
كمثل الظبآ المستكنة كنّسًا ∴ تظللها بالياسمين السقايف
و اعجبُ منها انهنّ نواظر ∴ الي بركة ضمت اليها الطرايف
حصَاها اللالي سَايح في عُبابها ∴ من الرقش مسموم اللعابين زاحف
تري ماتراهُ العين في جنباتها ∴ من الوحش حتي بينهن السلاحف

15 و اعجبُ منها غادَة في سفينة ∴ مكللة *قصبوا اليها الهاتف
اذا راعها موج من المآء تتقي ∴ بسكانها ما انذرته العَواصف
متي كانت الحسنآ ربان مركب ∴ تصرف في يمني يديه المجاذف
و لم تر عيني في البلاد حديقة ∴ تنقلها في الراحتين الوصَايف
و لا غرو ان ساقت مَعاليك رَوضة ∴ و شتها ازاهير الربي و الزخارف
فانت امر لو رُمت نقل متالع ∴ و رضوي ذوتها من سطاك نواسف
اذا قلت قولا او بدهت بديهة ∴ فكلني لـه اني لمجدك واصف

16 لقد عقدت محبتها بقلبي ∴ كما عقد الحليب بخنبشار

Some copies read خنبشار as printed; others, and among them that of Gotha, have حنبُشَار *hanboshár*.

17 يا حرز كل مخوف ∴ و امَان كل مشرد ∴ و معز كل مذلل
يا سلك كل فضيلة ∴ و نظام كل جزيلة ∴ و ثرآ كل معيل
عبد جذبت بضبعه ∴ و رفعت من مقداره ∴ اهدي اليك بايّل
سميته غرسية و بعثته ∴ ليصح فيه تمالي و تفاولي

* The Gotha MS. and my own copy afford a different reading: in the second hemistich of the first verse نضبوا اليها الهاتف "the voices of praise reach her like so many currents," and in the second hemistich of the sixth فانت امرو لو نقل متوالع

18 قميصاً المرقعة — a *kamiss* (Sp. camisa, Fr. chemise) made of patch-work.

19 بردعة — *bard'ah*, in Spanish 'albarda.'

20 I have carefully collated this passage with a copy of the *Seráju-l-molúk*, by Abú Bekr At-tortúshí, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, No. 105.

21 مقدم *mukaddam* means, properly speaking, 'a leader of the van.' It is the *almocaden* of the old Spanish chronicles. In more modern times *almocaden* was translated into 'adelantado,' which has a similar meaning. See Conde, vol. i. p. 501, where this anecdote is very differently related.

22 جلس للعرض والتميز والميدان — These three words have been preserved in Spanish. *Al-ardh* (the act of passing review) is now *alarde; tamíz* (distinction, separation) is the Spanish *tamiz*, 'a sieve;' *al-meydán* (a hipprodome or circus for exercising cavalry) is also used in old Spanish works under the corrupt termination of *almidana*.

23 واترمار البرزالي — Some copies read وانزمار 'Wanzemár.'

24 The speech delivered by the Berber is full of puns, which no translation can well express.

25 No doubt on account of their being Christian slaves.

26 اوّاه اوّاه و كم ذا اري ∴ اكثر من تذكار اواه
ما لامري حول و لا قوة ∴ الحول و القوة لله

27 امَا تري عفو ابي عامرٍ ∴ لا بدّ ان تتبعه منّه
كذلك الله اذا ما عفي ∴ عن عبْد ادخلهُ الجنّة

28 No traces whatever are left of the castle and city of Az-záhirah, which Al-mansúr is said to have built in imitation of the city of Az-zahrá, the favourite country-seat of the Cordovan Khalifs. Idrísi makes no mention of it, which is not to be wondered at, since at the time he wrote his geography the city had ceased to exist. The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* says that Az-záhirah stood at about twelve miles from the capital in an eastern direction, and was kept with a splendour and magnificence unparalleled even in the annals of the East. Ibnu Khaldún, Al-homaydí, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other writers I have consulted, add nothing to the above statement. An-nuwayrí is the only historian who, in a passage which I will afterwards give, affords us a few details. Through him we know that the city was also called بالس Bális (Velez?), and that it was so close to Cordova that the rebellion of Al-muhdi and the dethronement of Hishám, which happened about the hour of noon, were known there the same day. The city and its palaces were afterwards entirely destroyed by the Berbers, and the building

materials gradually removed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. No wonder then that no vestige or tradition should mark the site of Al-mansúr's palace!

[29] Al-mansúr is said to have granted privileges and immunities to all those who built or planted in the neighbourhood of his palace.

CHAPTER II.

[1] An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 474) relates that when the news of Al-mansúr's death reached Cordova, the people assembled in great numbers about the palace of Az-zahrá, where Hishám was residing at the time, asked to see their sovereign, and expressed the wish that he should take the reins of government into his hands; that Hishám dispatched to them one of his chief eunuchs, named Fáyiz, saying that he had already appointed 'Abdu-l-malek to the post of Hájib, and to induce them to go home; but that upon their refusal to disperse, 'Abdu-l-malek in person went out at the head of his guards and charged the mob, making great slaughter among them.

[2] Elsewhere written ليونس Liúnis, which is also meant for León. 'Abdu-l-malek made two incursions into Galicia,—one in 394, shortly after his father's death,—the other in 398. One of them ended in the entire destruction of Leon. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxi.) places the expedition to Leon in 394, and says that 'Abdu-l-malek was defeated in the attempt.

The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* says that 'Abdu-l-malek died of poison which his brother, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, caused to be given to him in an apple.

[3] These events are differently related by An-nuwayrí, who gives many interesting details upon the rebellion of Al-muhdi and the assassination of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. After giving the deed of inauguration in nearly the same words as Al-makkarí, the author proceeds to say,—" And when 'Abdu-r-rahmán saw his " wishes fulfilled, he abandoned himself to all manner of excesses. After this, he bethought him of " making war [upon the Christians]. Hishám having expressed a wish that he and the soldiers under his " orders should put on turbans—a custom which was not in use then—they all did so, and having " unfurled their banners, they marched [through the streets of the city] in the most despicable plight, " being an object of ridicule and contempt to the assembled spectators who witnessed their departure. " This took place on the 12th day of Jumáda the first (Jan. 12, A. D. 1009), and the expedition was called " in derision *Ghazátu-t-tín* (the war of the mud). 'Abdu-r-rahmán had scarcely reached Toledo, when " the news was brought him at the same time of the rebellion of Mohammed, the deposition of Hishám, " and the destruction of Az-záhirah. The first act of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, on the receipt of this alarming " intelligence, was to make his men swear that they would remain faithful to his cause; but, although " they all took the oath, they shortly after deserted him and went over to his enemy. The affair happened " thus: Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, the father of Mohammed, had some time before, under the adminis- " tration of 'Abdu-l-malek, made an attempt to seize the throne and to depose Hishám; but " intelligence of his plans having been conveyed to that Hájib, he was arrested and put to death in the " year 397 (Sept. 26, A. D. 1006). His son Mohammed, a daring man, who was in the secret, would " readily have followed up his father's ambitious views, but the fear of 'Abdu-l-malek prevented his

" carrying his design into execution, and he lived in concealment. When, as above related, 'Abdu-r-" rahmán succeeded his brother 'Abdu-l-malek, and prevailed upon his sovereign, Hishám, to appoint him " heir to the empire, Mohammed seized the opportunity which the unpopularity of that measure afforded " him, and, profiting by the absence of the Hájib, and the want of troops in Cordova, set on foot " a conspiracy which proved eventually successful. Mohammed was greatly assisted and encouraged in " his plans by two influential men, Hasan, son of Yahya, the theologian, and Mutref Ibn Tha'lebah. " During his concealment, Mohammed had associated with a number of criminals and adventurers, men " ready for any undertaking, however great or dangerous; he had communicated his plans to them, and " by giving each five, ten, or more *mithkáls* of gold, he had united under his banners nearly four hundred " men. He was, moreover, assisted in his project by a portion of the Bení Merwán, who had seen with " indignation the royal power pass from the hands of their own family into those of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, " and who were ready to join in any desperate attempt against the latter. On his departure from Cor-" dova, 'Abdu-r-rahmán had provided for the administration of affairs; he had inspected the treasury, and " issued the requisite orders, and he had appointed Ahmed Ibn Hazm and 'Abdullah Ibn عمرة 'Amrah, " better known by the surname of Ibn 'Askalájah, who was one of the Bení 'A'mír, to govern the city during " his absence. Shanshúl ['Abdu-r-rahmán] thought, no doubt, that things would go on as prosperously " as ever for him, and that the power of his family was solidly established. He was mistaken; " Mohammed was all the while trying to overthrow it. About this time a rumour was prevalent in " Cordova that a rebel would shortly rise against the Bení Abí 'A'mir and overthrow their power. The " report having reached the ears of Ibn 'Askalájah, he ordered a most scrupulous search to be made " in the capital; but, although the houses of several citizens were strictly searched, and other measures " were put into practice to detect the criminals, the authorities could not discover any clue to the " conspiracy. At length, on Tuesday, the 15th of Jumáda the second (Feb. 14, A. D. 1009), Mohammed " Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, having chosen thirty of the most resolute among his followers, directed them to arm " themselves and to enter Cordova by the gate of the bridge (Bábu-l-kantarah). They were to enter one " by one, and post themselves on the rampart السترة overlooking the road and the river, as if they were " so many idlers; the spot being one much frequented by the inhabitants of Cordova, who repaired thither " in the evening for the sake of recreation and pastime. They were to remain there until they should hear " the word of command, which Al-muhdi promised to give them about sunset. The men did as they " were bidden; they entered Cordova by the gate of the bridge, and placed themselves in the spot which " had been pointed out to them. Mohammed, in the mean time, mounted on a mule, crossed the bridge " alone, and presented himself at the gate of Ash-shakkál. The gate happened to be locked; but " Mohammed, assisted by another party of his friends, who were standing close to the gate of Al-" kantarah, threw it open and entered under the gateway. The guards within attempted in vain to stop " their passage; at a signal from their chief the rest of the conspirators ran to the spot, and having killed " all those who opposed them, rushed through the gate into the city. The next thing done was to " attack the house of the governor, Ibn 'Askalájah, who was found in his harem, drinking wine with two " of his women. Mohammed rushed into the apartment, slew him with his own hand, and, having cut " off the head of his victim, triumphantly showed it to his followers. At the news of this success the " partisans of Mohammed flocked round their chief from all quarters of the city.

" The rebels went next to the royal palace, but finding all the doors locked and strongly barricaded, " they began to break through the walls in two places, near the gate of the lions (*Bábu-s-sabá'*), and near " the gate of the gardens (*Bábu-l-jenán*). The guards within made some resistance; they were, however, " overpowered, and Mohammed penetrated into the palace by the *Bábu-s-suddah*. They say that the " people and the garrison of Az-záhirah received the tidings of Al-muhdi's rising the same day at

" the hour of *'asr;* but thinking it a stratagem of the governor [to try their fidelity], they refused to " give credit to the news: at last, when messengers came to them in succession, and they heard that " Mohammed had actually taken possession of the royal palace, they fortified themselves and passed the " night [under arms].

" Soon after Mohammed had entered the royal palace, he received a message from Hishám, saying that " if he spared his life, he would abdicate the empire in his favour. Mohammed's answer was thus " conceived: 'God be praised! my object is not to put to death the people of my family, but merely to " revenge the injury done to myself and to my cousin. Let Hishám resign the empire to me, and " he shall be treated as he ought to be.' Having then sent for the theologians and chief citizens of " Cordova, Mohammed told them to prepare a deed, which Hishám signed in their presence, abdicating " the empire in favour of Mohammed, who passed that night in the palace.

" Meanwhile not a soul stirred at بالس Bális or Az-záhirah, and, notwithstanding the inhabitants of " that place were in great number, and all addicted to the party of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, nothing was done " by them towards checking the insurrection. Among the functionaries and grandees residing there at " the time, were Abú 'Amru Ibn Hazm, 'Abdullah Ibn Salmah, Ibn Abí 'Obeyd, Ibn Jehwar, and a " multitude of theologians, Wizírs, Sclavonian pages and eunuchs, officers and men of the various " divisions of the army, store-keepers, civil officers, &c.

" On Wednesday morning, Mohammed I. appointed his cousin, Mohammed, the son of Al-mugheyrah, " to be his Hájib, and another cousin of his, whose name was Umeyyah Ibn Is'hák, to be governor " of the city (Sáhibu-l-medínah). One of the first acts of his government was to authorize the above " two functionaries to enter on the rolls of the army all those who chose to enlist, whatever their rank or " profession might be. Accordingly, individuals of all classes, and of the most peaceful pursuits, " as men given up to devotion, faquirs, theologians, lawyers, the Imáms and muezzins of the mosques, " merchants, and rich people, presented themselves to take up arms and to receive the gratuity distributed " on such occasions to those who enlisted; their example being soon followed by the country people and " the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. This done, Mohammed dispatched his Hájib, Mohammed " Ibnu-l-mugheyrah, with a portion of the newly-formed militia, to attack the people of Bális. At his " approach, the Wizírs, the Sclavonian eunuchs, and officers devoted to the cause of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, " applied for a safe conduct, and having obtained it, repaired to the camp of the Hájib Mohammed, who, " after upbraiding them for adhering to the party of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, granted them pardon and " dismissed them. Only one remained with him; his name was ابن الشرس Ibnu-sh-sharas, and " Mohammed purposely kept him near his person, that he might point out to him the spot where the " money, jewels, stores, and other valuable objects, were kept at Bális. The inhabitants made no " resistance, and Mohammed and his men entered the town on Wednesday night. The spoil made " on this occasion was incalculable. In addition to what was taken by the troops at Az-záhirah, all the " houses occupied by the *maulis* or partisans of the Bení Abí 'A'mir, as well as the splendid country " residences of the Wizírs and other rich people round Bális, were gutted of all their contents, the doors " even were torn from their hinges, and the buildings pulled down for the sake of the wood. At length, " after the sack had lasted four consecutive days, Mohammed commanded his men to abstain. It is " asserted that the sums which entered Mohammed's coffers, as his share of the spoil, amounted to one " million five hundred thousand dinárs and two millions and one hundred thousand dirhems of Andalus, " without counting about two hundred thousand dinárs more which were afterwards found secreted under- " ground. On the 19th of Jumáda the second (Feb. 18, A. D. 1009), Az-záhirah was set on fire and " reduced to ashes. On the same day Mohammed was proclaimed Khalif in Cordova, and the *khotbah* " was recited in his name in the mosque, instead of being recited, as before, in the name of Hishám and

" Shanshúl; a proclamation, moreover, was afterwards read, in which the latter was cursed and his " misdeeds were enumerated: after which another proclamation was read, in which Mohammed ordered " the cessation of the existing forms of government and substituted new ones. On Friday, the 25th of " the same month (Feb. 24, A. D. 1009), Mohammed repaired to the mosque and said prayers with the " people; he then proclaimed himself, and took the title of *Al-muhdi-billah*. After Mohammed had " descended from the pulpit, one of the Imáms ascended it and read a proclamation calling upon the " people to put to death Shanshúl and his followers: people then came to Cordova from the provinces " and from the most remote parts of Andalus, exhibiting a very martial aspect. Mohammed appointed to " the command of this army doctors, butchers, saddlers, and weavers, and he went out with them to the " Fahssu-s-sorádik (the field of the tents), close to Cordova, where he encamped, ordering the people " from the provinces to encamp round his tent."

4 The same historian, An-nuwayrí, gives the following details upon the assassination of Shanshúl. " Shanshúl had just arrived at Toledo when the intelligence of these events was conveyed to him. He " immediately returned to Kal'at Rabáh (Calatrava), where he bethought him of swearing in his men a " second time. The soldiers, however, showed no inclination to do so, and, when applied to, refused, " saying, 'We have been sworn in once, we will not take a second oath.' This made Shanshúl suspect " that all was not right, and he sent for Mohammed Ibn Ya'la Az-zenátí, who was one of the disaffected, " and asked him what he thought of their respective positions. Mohammed answered him, 'I can only tell " thee that neither myself nor any of those who form part of this army will draw a sword in thy " defence.'—'And how am I to know this, what proof hast thou of the army's disaffection?'—'Only " order thy cooks and scullions with all their utensils on the road to Toledo, and set out afterwards " towards them, and thou wilt then see who follows thee and who does not.'—'Thou art right,' retorted " Shanshúl, 'I shall do as thou advisest.' There was at that time with Shanshúl a Christian count " named ابن عومس [ابن قومس ?] Ibn 'Aumas, who accompanied him to Cordova in the hope " of obtaining his aid against other Christian counts who were his enemies. Perceiving the bad plight of " 'Abdu-r-rahmán's affairs, the count advised him to retire with him to his dominions, and to wait there " until the storm should have passed over, whence they might both return at the head of an army, " and humble their enemies. But Shanshúl refused, saying, 'No, I cannot do that, I must needs show " myself in the neighbourhood of Cordova; for, if I ever reach that capital, I am in hopes that the people " will rise in my favour and against the usurper.'—'Listen to my advice,' replied the count, 'and do not " throw away a certainty for what is doubtful. By Allah! thy present position is one of imminent " danger, and fortune has declared against thee; the army is in favour of the usurper and against thee.' " —'No,' said Shanshúl impatiently, 'I will go to Cordova.'—'Do as thou pleasest,' said the count, " 'I shall not abandon thee, though it be against my advice, and with the conviction that we go to certain " death.' They accordingly set out from Calatrava on the road to Cordova. As they were proceeding " towards that capital, messenger after messenger came to inform Shanshúl of the state of affairs in that " city, and how the people had declared for Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár [Mohammed], and were making common " cause with him. Still Shanshúl persevered and would go on. At last, on the 29th of Jumáda the " second (Feb. 28), the army halted at a place called Manzal Háni, where the whole of the Berbers " deserted during the night. The ensuing day, the rest of the troops followed the example of the Berbers, " with the exception of a few of his own private servants and Count Ibn 'Aumas, who, with his Christian " followers, remained faithful to him. Again did the Christian count advise Shanshúl to consider his " dangerous situation, saying, 'It is time yet; let us fly at once, before we are utterly prevented from " doing so.'—'No,' said Shanshúl, 'I will go on to Cordova; but, before I present myself there, I will

"send my Kádí to obtain a safe conduct for me.' Even this Shanshúl neglected to do, and he marched "until he arrived at a monastery called دير شوس Deyr Shús, where he halted on Wednesday, the 3rd "of Rejeb (March 3). Meanwhile Mohammed, having heard of the approach of Shanshúl and the "desertion of his troops, dispatched against him his Hájib with two hundred horse. At some distance "from Deyr Shús the new Hájib detached a body of cavalry under the command of an officer named "ابن ذري Ibn Dhari, who had formerly been a *mauli* of [the Khalif] Al-hakem. Ibn Dhari used all "possible diligence, and arrived before Deyr Shús on Friday morning at break of day. On the approach "of Ibn Dhari, Shanshúl showed himself at one of the loop-holes of the monastery, and said, 'What dost "thou want? I am ready to obey Al-muhdi.' After which he ordered the gates to be opened, and he "surrendered himself, together with Ibn 'Aumas and the Christians of his suite. In the afternoon of the "same day, the Hájib himself came up with the rest of the forces, and having previously sent under "an escort to Cordova the harem of Shanshúl, which consisted of no less than seventy women, took the "road to that capital with all his prisoners. They relate that, on the Hájib's arrival at Deyr Shús, "Shanshúl went towards him and kissed the earth before him several times. One of those present "having told him to kiss the hoofs of the Hájib's horse, Shanshúl did so, and kissed besides the fore and "hind legs of the animal. All the while, Ibn 'Aumas uttered not a word, and had his eyes fixed on the "earth. Before setting out the Hájib made sign to one of his men to take off Shanshúl's cap قلنسوة— "which was done. In this manner they marched until sunset, when they halted. On the morning "of the ensuing day, before starting, the Hájib ordered his men to pinion Shanshúl, which was done, "both his hands being tied with great force behind his back. In this way, Shanshúl marched some "distance, until, unable to bear the pain any longer, he exclaimed, 'Have pity on me, and untie my "hands, that I may rest awhile.' Being moved to compassion, the Hájib ordered his men to untie his "hands; but he was no sooner free, then he drew, as quick as lightning, a knife which he kept concealed "in his sleeve, and aimed a blow at the soldier who stood nearest to him: before, however, he could wound "any one, he was overpowered, and the Hájib, coming up to him, dispatched him with his own hand. "The same was done with the Christian count, and the heads of both were conveyed to Cordova. The "body of Shanshúl, moreover, was by Mohammed's order taken to the capital, where it was subjected to "the following operation. The belly was opened and emptied of its contents, and stuffed with scented "roots to preserve it. His head was fixed on a spear, and planted at the gate of As-suddah. The body "was then dressed in a shirt and trowsers, and nailed to a stake at the same gate. In addition "to this, an officer named الرسان Ar-rasán, who had been *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*, or captain of the guards of "Shanshúl, was directed to stand beside the body of his master, and to cry out within hearing of "the spectators, 'This is Shanshúl Al-mámún; may the curse of God fall on his head and on mine!' "This happened on Saturday, the 4th of Rejeb (March 4).

"The administration of Shanshúl had lasted four months and some days. He was a man of vicious "habits and depraved morals, indulging in all manner of debauchery and excesses. He was, moreover, "an impious man, and things were said of him ill becoming a Moslem. For instance, hearing once "the *muezzin* summon the people [of Cordova] to the mosque in the well-known words, 'Come, come to "prayer!' Shanshúl observed to those who were about him, 'That man had better say, come to deny "God.' Other similar impious expressions are attributed to him. Shanshúl left no posterity, and in him "ended the dynasty of the Bení Abí 'A'mir.

The word Shanjúl, or, as An-nuwayrí writes it, شنشول Shanshúl, is written *Sanciolus* by Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxi.), and *Sanchuelo* by Conde (vol. i. p. 562). *Sanciolus* or *Sanctiolus* is the diminutive of Sanctius (Sancho), *i. e.* the little Sancho or *el Sanchuelo*, and it is not improbable that

the word *Shanshúl* was intended by the Arabs for *Sanchuelo,* notwithstanding the explanation given of it by Al-khazrejí. See Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xxiv.

[5] By "the son of Alfonso," the author means, no doubt, Sancho Garcés, Count of Castile, who, according to Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxiii.), and the *Annales Complutenses* (sub Æra MXLVII.), lent his assistance to Suleymán. But the events here recorded will be better understood with the aid of the following passage. "After appointing a man named Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd to be his Wizír, "Suleymán and his men marched to Wáda-l-hajárah (Guadalaxara), which they took. This done, "Suleymán wrote to Wádheh Al-'ámirí, then governor of Medínah-Sélim (Medinaceli), persuading him "to embrace his cause and to forsake that of the usurper; but Wádheh, who, shortly after the execution "of Shanshúl, had sent in his allegiance to Cordova and had declared for Al-muhdi, remained faithful to "his oath; and, having declined the advantageous offers made to him by Suleymán, prepared to defend "himself. Meanwhile Al-muhdi, hearing of Wádheh's danger, sent a body of cavalry to his aid, under "the command of a eunuch named Kaysar; but after several sanguinary encounters with the Berbers, "the troops of the Khalif were defeated, Kaysar killed, and Wádheh was obliged to shut himself up in "Medinaceli. From this place, however, Wádheh was enabled so to molest the Berbers and to intercept "their supplies, that for fifteen consecutive days the troops of Suleymán were compelled to feed on the "roots and plants of the earth. At last, unable to bear privation and hunger any longer, the Berbers "determined upon sending an embassy to ابن مادوية Ibn Máduyah, the Christian, asking him for "provisions, and to become a mediator between them and Al-muhdi. Suleymán accordingly dispatched "into the Christian country two ambassadors, who, being admitted to the presence of the infidel [chief], "said to him, 'Come to our camp and accompany us to Medinaceli; we want thee to negotiate for us a "peace with Wádheh, the governor, and his master, Al-muhdi; if he consent, well and good; if he "refuse, we will march to Cordova and fight the usurper.' It appears that when the messengers "reached the castle of Ibn Máduyah, they found already there ambassadors both from Wádheh and from "Al-muhdi, who were endeavouring to gain the Christian [chief] over to their cause by the most "enticing offers. They proposed, if he would only refuse his aid to Suleymán, to surrender to him "several fortresses on that frontier, and give him besides a number of horses, mules, and money, "together with jewels, dresses, perfumes, and a variety of other presents; but the Berber ambassadors "having promised in their master's name, that if Suleymán was victorious over his enemy, he would also "give up, without the least hesitation, as much as Wádheh and Al-muhdi had offered, Ibn Máduyah "rejected the offers of the latter, and promised his aid to Suleymán. Shortly after this, the Christian sent "the Berbers one thousand waggons laden with flour of wheat and barley, and other provisions, besides "one thousand head of cattle, fifteen thousand sheep, and every article of dress which they might want. "Greatly comforted by the arrival of these supplies, the Berbers marched to Medinaceli and made "propositions of peace to Wádheh; but, upon the refusal of that governor to enter into any sort of "accommodation with Suleymán, the Berbers set out for Cordova in Moharram of the year 400 "(Aug. or Sept. A. D. 1009). Wádheh started after them with a view to molest them on their march; "but having imprudently engaged in battle with the Berbers, he was defeated with great loss, his camp "was plundered, and he himself had to escape to Cordova with a few followers."

[6] Compare the account of Al-homaydí, as translated in the Appendix to this volume, p. viii., *et seq.*, and Conde, vol. i. cap. cv. The account of An-nuwayrí is as follows:—"Meanwhile, although the "danger was imminent, Al-muhdi was living in the midst of pleasures and dissipation, without taking "any measures for the defence of his capital. At last, the arrival of Wádheh and the fugitives from

" Medinaceli, in number about four hundred horse, roused him from his apathy. Having pitched his " tents in a plain outside of Cordova, called Fahssu-s-sorádik (the field of the tents), he had trenches " dug all round his camp, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. Shortly after, one of his eunuchs, " named بليق Buleyk, made his appearance in Cordova, at the head of about two hundred horse, being " hotly pursued by the vanguard of Suleymán's army, which was soon after observed to encamp in " sight of Cordova. Al-muhdi then issued an order, which was announced to the people by means " of the public crier, enjoining all grown-up men, without distinction of classes, to take up arms " and join him at Fahssu-s-sorádik. On Saturday, the 13th of Rabi' the first (Nov. 3, A. D. 1009), " the two hosts met. The Berbers commenced the battle by a charge of three thousand of their " best cavalry. So spirited was the attack, that the undisciplined militia of Cordova were unable to " sustain it, and they fled towards the capital in the utmost confusion, the Berbers pursuing them " sword in hand, and dealing death among them. Great numbers died also in attempting to cross " the river, or were taken prisoners. Wádheh fled towards the *Thagher* (the province of Toledo). " As to Al-muhdi, he returned to his palace, and, having gone to the place where Hishám Al-muyyed " lay concealed, took him out and made him sit on a raised throne under the gate of An-nakkál " (*Bábú-l-nakkál*), leading to the bridge, that those passing by might see him. He then sent his Kádí, " Ibn Dhakwán, with a message to the Berbers, to say, 'I am Hishám's inferior; he is the Commander " of the Faithful, and I am only his lieutenant and his Hájib; the empire is his.' The Berbers answered " him,—'Go along, thou liar! Only yesterday thy master had the death of Hishám announced to the " people of this city, and thou didst say the funeral service for him. Thou now tellest us that Hishám " is alive and that the Khalifate is his. Whom are we to believe?' The Kádí excused himself as " well as he could, and returned to Cordova. The inhabitants of that capital, in the mean time, went " out in crowds to meet Suleymán, who honoured and welcomed them. After which, seeing the " inhabitants favourably disposed towards him, he entered Cordova without opposition, and proceeded " immediately to the royal palace: Al-muhdi, however, could not be found; he had taken flight.

[7] The author is mistaken. Although Al-muhdi might have implored once before the assistance of the Christians, he did not obtain it, until he had been expelled from Cordova by his rival Suleymán; and then, it was not the Count of Castile—who had espoused the cause of his rival Suleymán—but two Catalonian counts, Bermond or Veremundus, of Barcelona, and Armengaud, of Urgel, who joined him with their forces. The following passage from An-nuwayrí will throw some light upon these events.

" Suleymán had no sooner gained possession of Cordova, than Ibn Máduyah applied to him for the " fulfilment of the stipulated conditions and the surrender of the fortresses on the frontier; but Suleymán " said to him, 'It is not time yet, the castles are not yet in our power; as soon as they are, I will " surrender them to thee, according to our agreement.' Satisfied with this answer, Ibn Máduyah left " Cordova on Monday, the 23rd of Rabi' the first (Nov. 13, A. D. 1009).

" After this, Suleymán distributed the government of the provinces [among his partisans]; he quartered " the Berbers at Az-zahrá, sent Hishám back to his prison, ordered the body of Shanshúl down from the " post to which it was nailed, had it washed, and decently buried in the palace of his ancestors.

" As to Al-muhdi, after remaining some days in Cordova, concealed in the house of a friend, he fled to " Toledo, where he arrived on the 1st of Jumáda the first (Dec. 20, A. D. 1009). Al-muhdi was very well " received by the people of Toledo; but he was soon after disturbed by Hishám, the son of Suleymán, " who set out [from Cordova] to attack him on Monday, the 18th of Jumáda the second (Jan. 6, " A. D. 1010). Before he reached Toledo, Hishám sent to that city some of his theologians, to induce " the inhabitants to forsake the cause of Al-muhdi; but they refused, and remained faithful to the latter.

" About this time a man named Al-korashí Al-harrání, having collected a considerable party, raised the " standard of rebellion,[b] and had himself proclaimed king [by his followers]. Suleymán sent against him " an officer named 'Alí Ibn واعة Wá'ah, at the head of considerable forces. 'Alí defeated the rebel, " took him prisoner, and sent him under escort to Cordova, where he was put to death immediately upon " his arrival. Some time after this, Suleymán in person set out for Toledo, in the hope that the " inhabitants of that city would return to his obedience. Having entered the [lower] *Thagher*, he " encamped before Medínah-Sélim (Medinaceli), where he was soon after joined by a body of his own " armed slaves, as well as by Ibn Moslemah, his *Sáhibu-sh-shortah,* or captain of his body-guard. On the " arrival of Suleymán before Medinaceli, Wádheh evacuated that fortress and fled to Tortosa, whence he " wrote a letter asking that Sultán's forgiveness for any act of hostility committed whilst in the service of " Al-muhdi, and promising, if he would pardon his offence, to desert the cause of Al-muhdi and devote " himself entirely to his service. Wádheh, however, was not in earnest when he made such an offer; all " he wished was, to gain time and to strengthen the party of his master. Deceived by his promises, " Suleymán gave Wádheh the command of all the forces in the upper *Thagher* (Aragon), and intrusted to " him the prosecution of the war against the infidels. By these means Wádheh was enabled more " effectually to serve the cause of his sovereign. He entered into negotiations with the Christians " on that frontier, and obtained their aid against Suleymán by granting them, in his master's name, such " conditions as they chose to ask for. Al-muhdi, therefore, was soon joined in Toledo by large bodies of " Christians, with whom he set out for Cordova. On the other hand, Suleymán, having been apprised " of his enemy's plans, made every preparation for the approaching contest, and issued an order that all " the citizens of Cordova should take up arms; but upon their representing to him their inability to cope " with a warlike enemy, he exempted them from military service, at the intercession of the Berbers, and " left Cordova at the head of the regular troops only. Not far from Cordova, at a place called " *'Akbatu-l-bakar* (the defile of the cows), Suleymán encountered the forces of his rival, on one of " the last ten days of the month of Shawwál. The Berbers had placed Suleymán in the rear with a body " of African cavalry, directing him not to move from the spot, even if he were to be ridden over by the " enemy's cavalry. This arrangement being made, the Berbers advanced to the attack and charged with " great fury. Al-muhdi's Frank auxiliaries not only withstood the shock, but succeeded even in repulsing " their assailants: Suleymán, perceiving that the ranks of the Berbers were partially broken, thought the " day was lost, and, ordering the retreat, fled with his men to Cordova. Meanwhile the Berbers were " sustaining with great courage the attacks of the enemy, killing the King of the Franks, named ارمنغيد " Armanghíd (Armangaud, Count of Urgel), and sixty of their principal officers. Perceiving, however, " that Suleymán had left the field of battle, they retired in good order to Az-zahrá, which they evacuated " the same night. Suleymán fled to Shátibah (Xativa). His rule had lasted seven months.

" The day after the battle, Al-muhdi entered Cordova accompanied by the Franks, who began to " commit every excess, plundering the houses, and subjecting the inhabitants to all sorts of cruelty " and ill treatment. Al-muhdi and Wádheh having requested them to march in pursuit of the Berbers, " the Christians left Cordova, and, headed by those two commanders, started after the fugitives. Having " overtaken them close to وادي لكة Wáda Lekeh, a battle ensued which ended in the complete defeat " of Al-muhdi, Wádheh, and his Frank auxiliaries, about three thousand of whom lay stretched on " the field of battle, without including in that number those who were drowned in the sea. Buleyk

[b] This passage is very obscure, and evidently corrupted; but it is not in my power to restore the true reading, having no other copy than that of Leyden, which is by no means correctly written.

" (*sic* يليق) the Sclavonian, a slave of Wádheh, was among the dead, as well as تخلف بن زرزور
" Takhlaf Ibn Zorzúr, the *mauli* of the Khalif Al-hakem, and other chief officers of Al-muhdi's army.
" The Berbers, moreover, took possession of the enemy's camp.

" This battle was fought on the 6th of Dhí-l-ka'dah (June 21, A. D. 1010). The ensuing day, the relics " of Al-muhdi's army reached Cordova, the inhabitants of which were thrown into the utmost consternation " by the news. Mad at their defeat, the Franks went about the streets of the capital, sword in hand, " slaughtering all those whom they suspected of being Berbers; and when requested by Al-muhdi and " Wádheh to march against the enemy, peremptorily refused, saying, 'Our king and our best and bravest " men are all slain; we will no longer fight for you.' They accordingly left Cordova, and returned " to their country on Friday, the 23rd of Dhí-l-ka'dah (July 8). Some authors say that the departure " of the Christians from Cordova was at the request of the inhabitants themselves, who were terribly " afraid of the Berbers returning and taking revenge on them. So great was their fear of that unruly " militia that, whenever a citizen of Cordova happened to meet another in the street, they generally " addressed each other [by anticipation] as men who were about to lose their property, or whose " children and relatives were about to be executed. After this, Al-muhdi, having obtained a supply " of money from the inhabitants, made every preparation to meet his rival, and left Cordova with " Wádheh, the slaves, and a certain number of citizens; but they had scarcely marched thirty miles, " when they all returned, fearing an encounter with the Berbers. Al-muhdi then ordered deep trenches " to be dug round Cordova, and, for further security, a thick and massive wall to be erected behind the " trenches. Meanwhile the Berbers were plundering with impunity and infesting the neighbourhood of " the capital. Having taken possession of the mountain of جبل ابن حفصون Ibn Hafssún, a district " abounding in springs, fruit trees, and grain of all sorts, they were greatly refreshed and strengthened " through it. Meantime, Al-muhdi was indulging in pleasure and repose; his soldiers were committing " all manner of cruelties and excesses, breaking into the houses of the peaceable inhabitants, taking away " their property, ravishing their wives and daughters, and murdering all those who offered any resistance. " This state of things met with the disapprobation of Wádheh, who remonstrated strongly; but Al-muhdi " took no notice whatever of his complaints, and things continued as before. Although Wádheh " followed the party of Al-muhdi, he secretly hated him, owing to his treatment of 'Abdu-r-rahmán " Shanshúl, of whose father, Al-mansúr, Wádheh had been a *mauli*. Accordingly, being offended at the " conduct of that Sultán, he resolved to rid himself of him at any risk, and to this end he began to " consult with the principal inhabitants of Cordova as to the best means of carrying his plans into " execution. Al-muhdi, in the mean time, hearing of the conspiracy entered into against him, collected " all the gold, jewels, and other valuables about the palace, and delivered them to Abú Ráfi' راسة Rásah, " a man from Toledo, with instructions to repair immediately to that city, whither he would endeavour " to follow him shortly. He was, however, prevented. 'On Sunday, the 21st of Dhí-l-hajjah (Aug. 5), " or, according to other authorities, on the 8th of the same month (July 23), Wádheh, mounted on " horseback, and being followed by the slaves and the border troops, directed his march towards the " royal palace, all crying as they went along, 'Obedience to our sovereign Hishám.' Wádheh next " entered the apartment where he knew that Khalif was concealed, and, bidding him come out, made him " sit down on the throne of his ancestors, and invested him with the royal insignia. Al-muhdi was " in the bath, when one of his officers, named ابن ودعاة Ibn Wada'h, rushed into the room and " announced to him what had just taken place. Dressing himself as quickly as he could, Al-muhdi " hastened to the presence of Hishám, and attempted to sit himself by his side; but عنبر 'Anbar, the " eunuch, took him by the hand, and, having thrown him down from the top of the throne, made him sit

" on the lowest step. Hishám then addressed Al-muhdi, and reproached him in bitter terms for his " rebellion, and the conduct he had observed towards him, keeping him so long in seclusion. This being " done, 'Anbar took Al-muhdi by the hand, made him stand up, and ascended with him to the platform " of the palace. Here 'Anbar drew his sabre and attacked Al-muhdi, who clung to him and embraced " him. In this position he was pierced by the swords of the Sclavonians, the slaves and eunuchs who " happened to be there. His head was next cut off, and his body was precipitated from the top of the " terrace [into the yard], falling exactly on the spot where the body of Ibn 'Askalájah lay after that " officer had been murdered by Al-muhdi. Thus perished Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, at the age of " thirty-five, and after a rule of ten months, counting his two reigns."

[8] قد قام مهدينا و لكن ∴ بسلة الفسق و المجون
و شارك الناس في حريم ∴ لولاه ما زال بالمصون
من كان من قبل اجما ∴ فاليوم قد صار ذا قرون

I may here observe that the word المهدي can be pronounced either *Al-mahdí* or *Al-muhdi*, both being surnames assumed by Mohammedan rulers. In favour of the first reading are the verses above quoted and the authority of Rodericus Toletanus, Lucas Tudensis, and the author or authors of the *Cronica de España* (Part III. fo. cclxix.), who call him "Al-mahadi" or "Al-mahadio." The deed of inauguration itself, by which Hishám transferred the empire to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the son of Al-mansúr, would lead to the belief that Mahdí, not Muhdi, is meant. Mention is made in that remarkable document of the *Mahdí* alluded to by the Mohammedan Prophet, who had already been personified by 'Obeydulláh, the founder of the dynasty of the Fátimites, and who was again to be represented by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, the leader of the Almohades; and it is not improbable that in order to give to his usurpation more solemnity, Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár should have assumed the title of *Al-mahdí*. Against such a mass of authority I can only adduce that of my copy of Al-makkarí, in which the word is distinctly written المُهْدي — as well as the work of Al-homaydí, who says و المهدي بالميم المضموم لا المفتوح " and the surname of Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár is to be written with a dhamma *mu*, not with a " fataha *ma*." Mr. Shakespear's copy reads likewise Al-muhdi.

[9] Instead of "Az-zahrá" the author ought to have said *Az-záhirah*. The former city did not suffer on this occasion. An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 479) gives also the passage after Ibnu Rakík.

[10] This is contradicted by An-nuwayrí, who says that Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár was put to death by 'Abdu-l-malek, the son of Al-mansúr. See above, p. 486, *note* 3.

[11] اهديت شبه قوامك المياس ∴ غصنا رطيبا ناعما من آس
و كانما يحكيك في حركاته ∴ و كانما تحكيه في الانفاس

[12] Bermudo III., son of Alfonso V., was then reigning in Asturias and Leon; but there is no evidence of Suleymán ever having applied to him for aid. Sancho Garcés, Count of Castile, whose dominions

bordered to the south on the province of Toledo, is, according to the Christian authorities, the chief who lent his help to Suleymán upon two different occasions. See Rodericus Toletanus, *Hist. Arab.* cap. xxxvii. It is doubtful, however, whether the Ibn Máduyah mentioned in the passage from An-nuwayrí can be identified with Sancho, or not.

[13] These events are thus related by An-nuwayrí. "Hishám was proclaimed for the second time on "Sunday, the 11th of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 400 (July 24, A. D. 1010). One of the first acts of his "reign was to send Al-muhdi's head to the Berbers, who were with Suleymán at Wáda Shúsh "(Guadajoz), hoping that, when they saw it, they would hasten to send him that of the usurper, and "that his own power would thereby be consolidated. He was mistaken; the Berbers threatened to "put to death the messengers, and refused to acknowledge the authority of Hishám. All hopes of "bringing the question to a satisfactory issue having vanished, Wádheh, who had now been invested "with the office of Hájib, gave all his attention to increasing the fortifications of Cordova, and prepared "for a stout defence. He ordered the digging of new trenches to impede the progress of the enemy's "cavalry, and repaired every where the walls and towers of the city.

"Mohammed Al-muhdi had left a son named 'Obeydullah, who was sixteen years old at the time of his "father's execution. Having numerous friends in Toledo, 'Obeydullah fled from Cordova, where he "habitually resided, and repaired to that city, where he was well received by the inhabitants. Thence he "made repeated excursions, and put to death all the friends of Wádheh who fell into his hands. At last, "a chief, named Mohárib At-tojibí, took him prisoner and sent him to Wádheh, who put him to death.

"After this, Suleymán and his Berbers approached Cordova; but being unable to reduce it, they "marched to Az-zahrá, which they entered on Saturday, the 24th of Rabi' the first of the year 401 "(Nov. 5, A. D. 1010), putting to the sword all those they found there. After remaining some months "at Az-zahrá, the Berbers left it on the 24th of Sha'bán (Feb. 2, A. D. 1011), and began to lay waste the "neighbouring country, burning the farm-houses, cutting down the fruit trees, and committing all "manner of depredations. From all parts of the province, the country people fled to Cordova with their "valuables, to escape the fury of the Berbers, and the population having doubled through immi-"gration, scarcity of provisions began to be felt in the capital, and great numbers died of hunger. It is "asserted, that food became so dear in Cordova that a *mudd* of barley (that is, two *kafíz* and a half) sold "for three hundred *dirhems* or one hundred *mithkáls* of pure gold. During this interval, the ambassadors "of Ibn Máduyah arrived in Cordova, demanding on behalf of their master the surrender of the "stipulated fortresses, and promising not to molest Hishám or his followers, and to make no attempt "whatever on the frontiers. The truce was accepted, and several large towns were immediately "surrendered to them, besides upwards of two hundred castles, which had been in the hands of the "Moslems ever since the reign of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the father of Hishám. This was not "all; ابن سيالس Ibn Siális (?), hearing the concessions just made to Ibn Máduyah, sent also his "messengers to Cordova, asking for the surrender of certain fortresses, which were likewise given up "to him.

"Meanwhile, the Berbers were traversing the country north of Cordova, and laying waste every thing "on their passage. No town, however great or strong, escaped their ravages, with the exception of "Toledo and Medinaceli; and the desolation was so great that a man on horseback might travel for two "consecutive months without meeting a single person on his road. The troops of Cordova, moreover, "began to murmur against Wádheh, who, being made aware of their discontent, bethought him of "entering into a negotiation with the Berbers. To this end he dispatched to the camp of Suleymán a "man named Ibn Bekr, who had an interview with that chief; but as he was returning to Cordova with

"the answer he was killed by the troops of the garrison, without Hishám or Wádheh being able to "restrain them. The assassins next cut off his head, and, placing it on a spear, paraded it through the "streets of the capital. Hearing the fate of his messenger, Wádheh attempted to fly to the Berber "camp; but an enemy of his, named Ibn Abí Wadá'h, having received intelligence of his intended flight, "went to his house with some soldiers, seized him by the collar, and brought him out [into the street]. "There, after reproaching him for the bad use he had made of the public money, and the peace he was "about to conclude with the enemy, Ibn Abí Wadá'h struck him with his dagger, after which all the "others fell upon him and put him to death. Having then cut off his head, they fixed it on a spear, and "paraded it through the streets of the capital, whilst his body was thrown on the paved road [before the "palace], in the same spot where those of Ibn 'Askalájah and Al-muhdi had been very recently exposed. "The house of Wádheh and those of his friends and secretaries were gutted of their contents, and Ibn "Abí Wadá'h was appointed Wáli-l-medínah. The death of Wádheh took place on Tuesday, the 15th "of Rabi' the first of the year 402 (Oct. 16, A. D. 1011).

"The siege of Cordova continued until Sunday, the 3rd of Shawwál of the year 403 (April 17, "A. D. 1013), when Suleymán took it by storm. Two days after, on the 5th of Shawwál (April 19), "Suleymán entered the royal palace, and, having summoned to his presence the wretched Hishám, "addressed him in these words,—'Thou didst once offer me the Khalifate, and pledge thy word to that "effect; what made thee break thy oath?' Hishám excused himself by saying that he was not the "master of his own acts, and had been compelled to do so."

14 كتاب الصلة—*Silah* means 'a gift' and 'a joint.' But the latter is the appropriate meaning in this case. The contents of the work are a biography of illustrious Moslems born in Spain, and it was so entitled because the author designed it as a continuation of the history of Spain by Abú-l-walid Ibnu-l-faradhí. The *Silah* itself was continued by a native of Granada, named Ahmed Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Zubeyr, in his *Silatu-s-silah*, or Appendix to the *Silah;* as well as by Ibnu-l-abbár in the *Mushkilu-s-silah* (the difficult passages of the *Silah*). Ibnu-l-khattíb wrote also a work entitled *Al-'áyidu-s-silah* (the new visitor of the *Silah*), which was intended as a supplement to Ibn Zubeyr.

15 Bádís Ibn Habús was not the first King of Granada. He succeeded his nephew, Záwi Ibn Zeyri. See the Chronological Table of the Bení Zeyri at the end of this volume.

16 حرزون—By others called ابن خزرون Ibn Khazerún. Ash-shátibí (*Kitábu-l-jumán*) says that he was a Berber of the tribe of Maghráwah. He was put to death by Al-mu'tadhed, King of Seville.

17 The death of Suleymán took place on Sunday, seven days (Al-homaydí says nine) before the end of Moharram of the year 407 (July, A. D. 1016). See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. x. An-nuwayrí relates that Suleymán, being asked, in the presence of the Kádís and theologians of Cordova, what he had done with Hishám, answered that Hishám was dead; upon which 'Alí ordered that his body should be disinterred and examined, in order to ascertain whether he told the truth or not. The body was found, and no signs of violence on it.

18 An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 488) says one year and ten months. He was assassinated in Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 408 (May, A. D. 1018). Compare the Appendix at the end of the volume, p. xi., and Conde, vol. i. cap. cx.

19 ابوكم علي كان بالشرق بدا مَا ∴ ورثتم وذا بالغرب ايضا سميه
فصلوا عليه اجميعهم و سلموا ∴ له الامر ان والاه فيكم وليه

20 للعلك يَا شمس عند الاصيل ∴ شجيت لشجو الغريب الذليل
فكوني شفيعي لابن الشفيع ∴ و كوني رسولي لابن الرسول

21 In the last days of Dhí-l-hajjah, (May, A. D. 1018,) says An-nuwayrí, *ubi supra*.

22 This "King of the Franks" was probably some Catalonian count, serving under Al-murtadhi. At that time the Christians of the north-eastern provinces of the Peninsula were frequently to be found fighting under the banners of the Moslems.

23 The 103rd *súrah* or chapter, entitled "the unbelievers." The verse given lower down is as follows:

ان كنت منا بشر بخير ∴ اولا فايقن بكل شر

24 Conde (vol. i. p. 606) says that 'Abdu-r-rahmán was killed in action; but Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the lives of Khayrán and Záwi, relates this in nearly the same terms as the text.

25 Guadix is not a sea-port. Ash-shátibí (*Kitábu-l-jumán*) says that he was taken on the sea coast not far from Almeria, which is more probable.

CHAPTER III.

1 لك الخيرُ خيران مضي لسبيله ∴ و اصبح امر الله في ابن رسوله

The point of this verse consists in the use of the words *khayr* and *Khayrán*; *khayr* means 'good, prosperity,' &c.

2 See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xi., where Al-kásim is said to have reigned undisturbed until the month of Rabi' the first, 412 (June or July, A. D. 1021). An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 488) confirms the statement.

3 Compare the Appendix, p. xii., and Conde, vol. i. cap. cxiii., who has strangely confounded some of the events of this reign.

4 Conde places the rebellion of the Cordovans against Al-kásim in 413; but Al-homaydí (App. p. xii.) and An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 489) agree with our author in referring it to the month of Sha'bán of the ensuing year. See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 7.

[5] غلق الباب في وجه is the Arabic saying which would seem to have given rise to that common Spanish expression, "le dió con la puerta en los hozicos."

An-nuwayrí gives differently the names of the two partners in power of Ibnu 'Abbád. He calls one Mohammed Ibn مريم Mariam Al-'ábí, and the other Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Az-zubeydí or Az-zubeyrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 489). See also App. p. xii.

[6] Conde (vol. i. p. 610) makes Yahya absent in Africa whilst the events here described were taking place.

[7] Al-homaydí (Appendix, p. xii.) and An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 489) place the death of Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd in A. H. 431. It was not Yahya, but Idrís I., King of Malaga, who ordered his execution.

[8] An-nuwayrí (*ubi supra*) says on the 13th (Nov. 29, A. D. 1023).

[9] The other candidate, whose name is not given here, was Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán. He was the great grandson of Suleymán Al-musta'ín-billah. See Al-homaydí's account, Appendix, p. xiv., and the Genealogical Table of the Beni Umeyyah at the end of this volume.

[10] Abú 'A'mir Ibn Shoheyd (Ahmed Al-ashja'í) was the son of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik, and the grandson of Dhí-l-wizárateyn Abú 'A'mir Ahmed Ibn Shoheyd, who was Wizír to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. See pp. 150-4. The life of the former Abú 'A'mir is in Ibn Khallekán; De Slane's English translation, vol. i. p. 98.

[11] An-nuwayrí gives two dates for this event, the 3rd of Dhí-l-ka'dah and the 26th of the same month; but, if Al-mustadh'her reigned forty-seven days, the former is the right one.

[12] The genealogy of Mohammed Ibn 'Obeydillah is thus given by Al-homaydí: "He was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of 'Obeydullah, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir." He adds, that he was deposed on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabi' the first, 416 (May, A. D. 1025), not in 415, as is erroneously stated by Al-homaydí (App. p. xiv.), after a reign of sixteen months.

[13] According to An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 490), Al-mustakfi was compelled to abdicate خلع و قيل بل خلع نفسه "on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabi' the first" (May 25, A. D. 1025). He was assassinated at the beginning of Rabi' the second (June).

[14] In the eighth book of the first part, which, as it contains only selections from the works of Andalusian poets, has not been translated.

[15] The governor appointed by Yahya was named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Ittáf. He was expelled from Cordova about the end of 417 (Feb. A. D. 1027). On Friday, the 29th of Rabi' the second, of the ensuing year (June 8, A. D. 1027), Al-mu'tadd was proclaimed by the inhabitants. Al-homaydí places this latter event one month before, in Rabi' the first (May). See Appendix, p. xv.

16 An-nuwayrí says that Hishám remained two years and ten months in the *Thoghúr* (the provinces of Toledo and Aragon), going from one place to another, and trying to put down the civil wars and dissensions which had broken out there among the inhabitants. Compare Al-homaydí, Appendix, p. xv., and Conde (vol. i. cap. cxvii.) Hishám's chief Wizír, named Abú-l-'assi Al-hakem Ibn Sa'íd, having rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious to the inhabitants, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was assassinated in A. H. 422. Hishám then fled to the [upper] *Thagher* (Aragon), which country he endeavoured to wrest from the hands of its lord, Al-mundhir Ibn Yahya Al-tojibí. He died at Lerida, in the dominions of Suleymán Ibn Húd, on Friday, the 25th of Safar, 428 (Dec. 17, A. D. 1036). In this latter statement An-nuwayrí differs from Al-homaydí, who places his death in 427. See Appendix, p. xvi.

17 An-nuwayrí gives the following details on the death of Yahya. " That Sultán was at Carmona, " waging war against [Abú-l-kásim Mohammed] the Lord of Seville, when, on Sunday, the 7th of Mo- " harram, 427, the intelligence was brought to him that a body of the enemy's cavalry had made a foray " to the very gates of Carmona. On the receipt of this news, Yahya mounted a horse, and, followed by " a scanty number of his own guards, rushed upon the enemy, who, retreating before him, led him " and his men into an ambush, where he was put to death." Conde (vol. i. p. 617) and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 208) have both placed the death of Yahya in 417, which is decidedly an error, since at that time 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Ittáf was still governing Cordova in his name. Ibnu Khaldún says that he was betrayed by Mohammed Al-birzálí, the Lord of Carmona.

CHAPTER IV.

1 According to Al-bekrí, Idrís had also assumed, whilst at Ceuta, the surname of *Al-'azíz-billah.* As that geographer has given in his *Mesálek wa-l-memálek* a whole chapter on the Bení Hamúd of Spain, which is not to be found in M. Quatremère's learned translation of that work (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi,* vol. xii.), I will occasionally refer to it in the notes to this chapter.

2 It was not Idrís who sent an army to attack the King of Seville; it was the latter, who, incensed at the assistance which the King of Malaga had afforded his enemy, 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Al-birzálí, Lord of Carmona, dispatched against him his eldest son Isma'íl.

3 البرق لايسح من انذرين ∴ زرفت عيناك بالدمع المعين
لعبت اسيافه عارية ∴ كمخاريق بايدي اللاعبين
و لصوت الرعد زجر وخين ∴ و لقلبي زفرات و انين

4 Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his biography of illustrious Granadians, in the life of Bádís Ibn Habús, places the death of Mohammed Ibn Idrís in A. H. 448; but Al-bekrí, who was a contemporary writer, says that he died in A. H. 446. *Mesálek wa-l-memálek,* fo. 89. See also the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xxii.

[5] This Mohammed was the son of Idrís III., surnamed *Al-muwaffek*. See the genealogical tree of the Beni Idrís at the end of this volume. Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 89, *verso*) says that he was not proclaimed Khalif from the pulpits, as had been the custom of his predecessors; and that shortly after his accession, that is to say, at the beginning of 447, he was dethroned by Bádís Ibn Habús. That 447, and not 449, is the true date for the dethronement of Mohammed, is proved by a passage of Ibnu-l-khattíb, in which it is said that in 447 Bádís appointed his own son Balkín to the government of the dominions conquered from Mohammed Ibn Idrís. The same writer gives at full length a deed signed by Balkín, and dated Malaga, the 1st of Ramadhán, A. H. 448, appointing the Kádí Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-hasan Al-jodhámí to be his Wizír.

[6] "In the year 447," says Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 89), "the dynasty of the Beni Hamúd was "overthrown. The last member of that family retired to Almeria, where he was living in obscurity "when a deputation from the people of Melilla landed in Andalus, and after much difficulty found him "out, and offered him the sovereignty of their country. Mohammed accordingly crossed over to Africa, "where he is now ruling as master over Melílah (Melilla) and قلوع جارة Kal'u Járah and the adjacent "territory; this present year being that of 460 (A. D. 1068)."

[7] Al-bekrí (*ubi supra*) makes a different statement. He says that Mohammed Ibn Idrís was still alive in 460; and Ibn Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 99) mentions some transactions in which Mohammed Ibn Idrís was concerned in 462. Ceuta and the surrounding territory remained in the hands of the Beni Idrís until Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, the Almoravide, deprived them of all their dominions.

[8] This statement is confirmed by Ibnu Khaldún (*Hist. of the Berbers*, fo. 70, *verso*), who places the arrival of Záwi in A. H. 391, at which time Al-mansúr was still living; but according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his biography of illustrious Granadians, Záwi Ibn Zeyri landed in Spain during the administration of Al-modhaffer, the son of Al-mansúr [A. H. 392-9], accompanied by *two* of his nephews, Habús and Habásah, who were the sons of his brother, Mákesen Ibn Zeyri. Neither historian states at what time Záwi declared himself independent in Granada, but it was probably soon after the execution of Suleymán, by whom he had been appointed to the government of that city. Upon his accession, Záwi assumed the title of *Al-hájib Al-mansúr*.

[9] Ibn Khallekán places the death of Zeyri (whom he calls Zírí) in Ramadhán, A. H. 360 (July, A. D. 971).

[10] Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 255) and Conde (vol. ii. p. 10) postpone the departure and resignation of Záwi ten years. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who assigns as a motive for that determination the discontent caused throughout Spain by the murder of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-murtadhi, in which Záwi had so great a share (see p. 235), gives two different dates for the departure of Záwi. In his introduction to his history of Granada he places it [in 410] after seven years' reign; but in the life of Záwi himself, he says that it happened in 416. Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 70, *verso*), whilst relating the occurrences of Eastern Africa during the rule of the Zeyrites, says as follows: "In the year 410, Záwi returned "to Africa, after he had been absent twenty years;" which statement agrees with the date fixed by that historian for the arrival of Záwi in Spain.

[11] Habús was the son of Mákesen, who, having revolted against his relative, Bádís Ibn Al-mansúr, the third of the Zeyrites of Africa, was taken prisoner and put to death in 391 (A. D. 1001), together with two of his sons, named Bádís and Mohassen. Záwi, who had assisted his brother Mákesen in his rebellion, was forgiven on condition of crossing over to Spain, which he did, taking with him his two nephews, Habús and Habásah.—Ibnu Khaldún, *ubi supra.*

Habús was residing at the castle of Asher or Ashed when his uncle Záwi summoned him to Granada to take charge of the government during his absence. He obeyed, but soon after his uncle's departure, at the beginning of the year 411 (May, A. D. 1020), he declared himself independent.

[12] Ibnu-l-khattíb gives two different dates for the death of Habús, 428 and 429; the former in the historical introduction, the latter in the biography.

[13] According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, Bádís died on Sunday, the 20th of Shawwál, 465 (July, A. D. 1073). His surname was Abú Mas'úd, and he took besides the titles of *Al-hájib Al-modhaffer-billah* and *An-násir lidín-illah.*

The author here called Ibnu-l-'askar is Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Al-khadhr Ibn Hárún Al-ghosání, who, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, wrote a history of Malaga entitled مطلع الانوار ونزهة الابصار فيما احتوت عليه مالقة من الاعلام و الروسا الاخيار و تقيد من المناقب و الاثر (the rising of the constellations, and the recreation of the eyes: [treating] of the eminent theologians and virtuous chiefs of Malaga, together with some account of the remarkable events in the history of that city). A nephew of Ibnu-l-'askar wrote a supplement to that history, which he entitled الاكمال و الاتمام في صلة الاعلام بمجالس الاعلام من اهل مالقة الكرام (perfection and complement, or the gift of the learned who frequent the literary assemblies of the people of Malaga).

[14] Balkín was the son of Bádís, who destined him for his successor, and had him recognised as such under the title of *Seyfu-d-daulah* (the sword of the state). He gave him the government of Malaga, which he held till his death in 454. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb (*ubi supra*), Balkín died of poison administered to him by a Jew, who was his father's Wizír.

Ibn Khallekán writes this name بُلُكِّين *Bolukkin;* but my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb, and that of Ibnu Khaldún preserved in the British Museum (No. 9575, fo. 70), read always بلكّين *Balkín,* as printed. This is, perhaps, a proper place to state, that Ibn Khallekán's orthography cannot always be adopted respecting proper names of African origin. The word Zeyri, which, in all the manuscripts I have consulted, is written زيري or زيري—he writes زِيرِي Zírí. He writes مَناد *Menád* instead of مُناد *Munád,* Sunhájah instead of Senhájah, &c.

According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, the dethronement of 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín took place on Saturday, the 12th of Rejeb, A. H. 483 (Sept. 9, A. D. 1090), or the following day; he was sent to Africa under a strong escort. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* attributes to him a history of his own family and dynasty, entitled *Táríkhu-z-zeyriin* (chronological history of the Zeyrites).

[15] The Beni Jehwar are generally counted in the number of the *Molúku-t-tawáyif,* or kings of

independent states. It is impossible, however, to determine at what time Jehwar, the founder of the dynasty, assumed the supreme command in Cordova, although it may naturally be supposed that it was soon after the dethronement of Hishám Al-mu'tadd in Dhí-l-hajjah, 420. An-nuwayrí, however, intimates that Jehwar did not take upon himself the government of Cordova till 429. His words are as follow: "On Thursday, the 2nd of Moharram of the year 427 (Nov. 6, A. D. 1035), it was publicly "announced to the people of Cordova that Hishám was still alive, and prayers were recited in his name. "Things remained in this state until it was said that Hishám was dead, and Abú-l-hazm Jehwar "assumed the supreme power." But is it probable that in the interval between the dethronement of Al-mu'tadd, in 420, and the pretended proclamation of Hishám, Cordova should have remained without a ruler?

[16] Ibnu-l-lebbánah is the surname of Abú Bekr 'Isa, a distinguished poet, who resided at Seville, but who was a native of Denia. See vol. i. p. 379, *note* 6, of this translation. See also M. Weyer's learned notes to the life of Ibn Zeydún by Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán, p. 133.

[17] Some copies read here قريس *Karís;* others قريش *Karísh* or *Koraysh.* The copies of Ibn Khallekán which I have consulted all have قريش

[18] Ibnu-l-khattíb, who gives the life of Al-mu'tamed among those of his illustrious Granadians, owing to that prince having visited Granada shortly after its reduction by Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, says that Karís was صاحب الشرطة الوسطي captain of the middle guard under Hishám, son of Al-hakem, Khalif of Cordova, and that he afterwards became Imám to the principal mosque of Seville.

[19] According to the author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb*, the individual who personified Hishám on this occasion was a peasant of the neighbourhood of Calatrava, who bore great resemblance to that Khalif. Ibn Bessám (*Adh-dhakhírah*, fo. 9) gives some interesting details copied from the work of Ibnu Hayyán. He says that Hishám was thrice killed and as many times resuscitated. He was put to death by Mohammed Al-muhdi, and publicly interred as if he had died a natural death. He was next restored to life by Wádheh, the Sclavonian, who declared that all had been a stratagem of that usurper, and that Hishám was still alive. Suleymán had him strangled when he took Cordova, and privately buried; but many years after the dethronement of Al-mu'tadd, in A. H. 420, the Wizír Jehwar pretended that he was still alive, and caused the *khotbah* to be recited in his name in all the mosques of Cordova. Perceiving, however, that the inhabitants of that city were not averse to his rule, Jehwar gave out that Hishám was dead, and ruled independently. Lastly, Abú-l-kásim, the Kádí of Seville, wishing to extend his sway to other provinces of Spain, announced that he had found Hishám in a dungeon of the castle of Calatrava.

[20] Ibn Bessám (*Adh-dhakhírah*, fo. 17) agrees with our author in placing the death of Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád about the end of Jumáda the first. He was born on Wednesday, the 21st of Jumáda the second, A. H. 361.

[21] It was not 'Abbád [Al-mu'tadhed], but his son Mohammed, who afterwards reigned under the title of Al-mu'tamed, who took Cordova and dethroned 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Jehwar.

[22] Ibn Bessám says that when the Almoravides under Seyr took possession of Seville, they found in a closet within the royal palace several sealed jars, which they at first thought contained money, but which, upon examination, were found to be full of the skulls of his murdered enemies, among which were those of Yahya Ibn 'Alí, Sultán of Cordova; Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-birzálí, Lord of Carmona; Al-hajjáj Ibn Khazrún, Lord of Ronda; Ibn Núh, a Berber chieftain, and others; and that Seyr ordered that they should be given up to the relatives of the deceased.

[23] لقد حُصِّنت يا زندة ∴ فصرتَ لملكنا عدّة
افادتنك ارماح ∴ و اسياف لها حدة

[24] مات عباد ولكن بقي الفرع الكريم
فكان الميت حيي غير ان الضاد الميم

[25] My copy has this differently — فقال اليهودي لا اخذت هذا العيار و لا اخذه منه الا [ذهبا] مشحرا و بعد هذا العام لا اخذ الا اجفان البلاد — "And the Jew said, 'Pieces of this [low] weight "cannot be received, and I will take none unless they be first tried and weighed. Next year I shall not "be satisfied, &c.'"

[26] ان يسلب القوم العدي

I am not sure of having seized the meaning of this hemistich, which, being by itself and detached, forms no sense whatever.

[27] See the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán, *note* 47, p. 440. Before the Bení Dhí-n-nún took possession of Toledo, a chief named Ibn Ya'ísh, who is mentioned in Abú-l-fedá (*Ann. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 38), had ruled some time over the place.

[28] The author alludes, no doubt, to the hospitality which Al-mansúr afforded to Alfonso, when his brother Sancho deprived him of his kingdom.

[29] حائز — According to the *Cronica de España* (fo. cccix., *verso*) and Rodericus Toletanus (*Rerum in Hisp. Gestarum Chronicon*, lib. vi. cap. xxi.), Al-mámún left a son, named Hishám, who succeeded him on the throne, but died shortly after his succession. Al-khazrejí (App. p. xxviii.) says positively that he left no male children, and was succeeded by his grandson Yahya. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 214) makes no mention of Hishám; and Conde calls Yahya, in two different places (vol. ii. pp. 57 and 63), the *son* of Al-mámún. No reliance, however, can be placed on the statement of the latter author, who, in this part of his narrative, is more inaccurate than usual, making of Yahya Al-kádir two persons, father and son, one named "Yahye," the other "Alcadir." See vol. ii. p. 175.

[30] The historian Ibnu Khaldún gives the genealogy of Al-mundhir as follows: "He was the son of "Mutref, son of Yahya, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mohammed, son of Háshim [Hishám?], the

" Tojibite." He was probably the great grandson of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed At-tojibí, one of the chiefs whom Al-mansúr employed as instruments of his usurpation (see above, p. 438): if so, he was descended from Abú Yahya Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán At-tojibí, whose rebellion at Saragossa during the reign of 'Abdullah has been related elsewhere after Ibnu Hayyán (*note* 47, p. 441). Al-mundhir, therefore, did not belong to the family of Húd, as Conde (vol. ii. p. 12) has erroneously stated. The Tojibites and Jodhámites were different tribes.

31 According to Al-morrékoshí, Al-mundhir died in A. H. 414 (March 25, A. D. 1023), and was succeeded by his son Yahya Al-modhaffer, who was assassinated at Granada in Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 430, namely, sixteen years after his accession; but how this account is to be reconciled with the words of Al-makkarí, " soon after," it is not easy to determine. Casiri (vol. ii. p. 95) translates a passage from Ibnu-l-khattíb, by which it would appear that it was Al-mundhir, not Yahya, who was murdered by his cousin 'Abdullah.

32 كتاب الاستكمال و المناظر—This work was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

33 There were two Sultáns of Saragossa surnamed *Al-musta'ín;* one Suleymán, the other Abú Ja'far Ahmed. It was the latter who, in November, A. D. 1096, was defeated at Alcoraza, near Huesca, by Pedro I. of Aragon. See Zurita, *Anales de Aragon,* vol. i. cap. xxxii., and Rodericus Toletanus, *De Rebus Hispanicis,* lib. iv. cap. i.

34 The castle of Rottah or Roda. See App. p. xlvi. In the *Cronica de España,* fo. cccviii., this place is called Rueda.

35 The author is mistaken. Shabúr was not succeeded by Mohammed Al-mudhaffer, but by (Abú Mohammed) 'Abdullah Ibn Moslemah Ibn Al-afttas, who was the father of Mohammed and the founder of the dynasty. Neither was Mohammed succeeded by 'Omar, but by his son Abú Bekr Yahya, also surnamed Al-mudhaffer and Al-mansúr, who reigned from A. H. 460 to 473.

36 The kingdom of Valencia, from the year 412,—in which it is said to have become independent of Cordova, to the year 495, when that city was taken by the Almoravides,—was subject to so many revolutions, the accounts preserved are so meagre, so obscure, and even so contradictory, that it is next to impossible to settle the chronology even of the most remarkable events. The founder of the dynasty was Abú-l-hasan 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán *Shanshúl,* and grandson of the celebrated Al-mansúr, who, after the assassination of his father 'Abdu-r-rahmán in 399, fled to Saragossa, where he was kindly received by the governor, Al-mundhir. How soon after his flight he took possession of Valencia it is difficult to say; for it cannot for a moment be supposed, as is asserted by Conde (vol. ii. p. 11), that his rising did not take place till 412. On the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, which, according to Casiri (vol. ii. p. 215) and Conde (vol. ii. p. 37), happened in 452, his son 'Abdu-l-malek Al-modhaffer succeeded him, who, in 457, was deprived of his dominions by his father-in-law, Al-mámún of Toledo. Conde mentions another son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who, by one of those strange contradictions of which that author is so often guilty, is said to have also been the son-in-law of Al-mámún, and to have succeeded his father. According to Casiri (*ubi supra*), 'Abdu-l-malek remained only a few days in exile; whereas Conde (vol. ii. p. 58) makes him remain upwards of thirteen years, placing his restoration

in 470, which is more probable, his enemy Al-mámún having died in Dhí-l-ka'dah, 469. 'Abdu-l-malek died shortly after his restoration, and was succeeded by his son Abú Bekr, who, according to the *Cronica de España*, fo. cccxiv., died in 478.

37 Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of Zohayr among those of his illustrious Granadians. He had been an eunuch in the household of Al-mansúr. After the assassination of 'Abdu-r-rahmán and the usurpation of Al-muhdi, he fled to Cordova with other Sclavonians, and shared the fortunes of Khayrán, who was his friend, and appointed him governor of Murcia. When the latter felt his death approach, he summoned Zohayr to Almeria, and appointed him his successor. This happened on Friday, the 3rd of Jumáda the second, A. H. 419. Zohayr governed his dominions with great equity and vigour for a period of ten years and a half. He was killed at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 429, in a battle fought with Záwi, the King of Granada, whose states he had invaded. Ibnu-l-khattíb adds, that on Sunday, the 24th of Sha'bán, A. H. 425, Zohayr took Cordova, where he reigned for a period of fifteen months.

38 According to Ibnu Khaldún, Mujáhid was the son of Yúsuf, son of 'Alí, a *mauli* of Al-mansúr. In the year 400 (A. D. 1010), after the assassination of Al-muhdi, Mujáhid left Cordova with other partisans of the family of Umeyyah, and joined the forces of Al-murtadhí. When the latter was defeated by Záwi and put to death, Mujáhid withdrew to Tortosa, and took possession of it. He then left that city and went to Denia, where he likewise assumed supreme authority.

39 This contradicts what has been said above, namely, that Mujáhid was governor of Denia when the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah was overthrown; but all is explained by a passage from An-nuwayrí, cited by M. Weyers in his excellent notes to Ibn Khákán (p. 114). According to that diligent historian, Mujáhid was governor of Denia when 'Abdullah Al-mu'aytti and other distinguished citizens of Cordova, who had escaped the massacre commanded by Suleymán, took refuge in his dominions. Mujáhid treated Al-mu'ayttí with much consideration and respect, gave him a share in the government, guided himself entirely by his advice, and went so far as to resign all his authority into his hands, and to have him proclaimed King of Denia in Jumáda the second of the year 405 (Dec. A. D. 1014). Three months after, in the month of Ramadhán (March, A. D. 1015), Al-mu'ayttí and Mujáhid sailed to the Eastern [or Balearic] islands, and took possession of them. In Rabi' the first of the ensuing year [A. H. 406] (Aug. or Sept. A. D. 1015), Al-mu'ayttí sent Mujáhid to Sardinia with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail. Mujáhid conquered that island, and remained in it until the end of the year, when a sudden and combined attack of the islanders compelled him to set sail and return to Denia, where, finding Al-mu'ayttí dead, he took possession of the government.

40 See Appendix, p. xlvii., where Mubashsher is said to have been a liberated slave of Al-murtadhí, King of Mallorca. This Al-murtadhí was probably a nephew of Mujáhid; for Ibnu Khaldún says, "that in the year 428 Mujáhid appointed a *mauli* of his, named Al-aghlab, to succeed his own nephew "in the government of the Balearic islands." Al-aghlab and Mubashsher are, no doubt, the same person. *Al-aghlab* means 'the conqueror.'

41 'Alí, who was further known by the surnames of *Ikbálu-d-daulah* (prosperity of the state) and *Al-muwaffek-billah*, was taken prisoner on his return from the Sardinian expedition. The ship in which he sailed went on shore, and himself and all the crew were taken by the enemy. 'Alí remained in the

hands of the islanders until his father Mujáhid paid a heavy sum of money for his ransom. He married the daughter of Al-muktadir Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, who, in 468 (beginning Aug. 15, A. D. 1075), deprived him of his states, and took him prisoner to his capital, where he died in 474. Whilst 'Alí was at Saragossa, a son of his, named Seráju-d-daulah [Abú 'A'mir], entered into an alliance with the Count of Barcelona, and succeeded, with his assistance, in recovering a portion of his dominions; but he died in 469 of poison, which Al-muktadir Ibn Húd caused to be given to him. Such is the account given by Ibnu Khaldún in a passage quoted by M. Weyers (*loco laudato*, p. 115).

[42] Of the small principality of As-sahlah, a word meaning the flat country, we only know that when, after the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, the governors of the provinces refused to acknowledge the authority of Cordova, a chief named Abú Mohammed Hudheyl or Hadhíl Ibn Merwán Ibn Razín, who was governor of a town called Santa Maria Ibn Razín (now Albarracin) after his name, proclaimed himself independent, and was obeyed in all the country extending from the above-mentioned town to the port of Alicante, on the coast of Valencia. Hudheyl was succeeded by his son 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed *Jesámu-d-daulah* (the body of the state), who held the supreme power until A. H. 476, (Casiri says 496,) when he was succeeded by his son Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek, and this latter by his brother Yahya, who was the last prince of the dynasty. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 43, 215. The life of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Razín, who was a distinguished poet, is in the *Mattmah*, by Ibn Khákán, fo. 38.

[43] Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-l-'azíz Al-bekrí, *i. e.* from the tribe of Wáyil Ibn Bekr, belonged to a powerful family established in Al-gharb or Western Spain since the conquest. On the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, he took possession of Huelba, Gibraleon, Onoba, and the island of Saltis, over which he reigned independent, until Al-mu'tadhed, King of Seville, deprived him of his dominions, as well as Ahmed Ibn Yahya Al-yahssobí, Lord of Liblah (Niebla), and Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd, Lord of Ossonoba. 'Abdu-l-'azíz was the father of the celebrated geographer, Abú 'Obeydah Al-bekrí. See vol. i. p. 312, *note* 7.

CHAPTER V.

[1] This account is substantially the same as that introduced at p. 34, after Ibnu Hayyán. The historian here quoted was the grandson of the celebrated Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa Ar-rází, who flourished about the beginning of the tenth century of our era. See vol. i. p. 314, *note* 10, where I have stated by mistake that "Ar-rází lived towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra and the beginning of "the fifth."

[2] و جد الفرنج في مدافعة المسلمين عمّا بقي بايديهم و قد كانوا لا يطمعون في ذلك
This passage is important, as showing that the Arabs themselves did not pretend to have subdued the whole of the Peninsula.

[3] Probably Alfonso V., son of Bermudo II., who reigned from A. D. 999 to 1027.

[4] طركونة—Tarragona had long before been taken by the Franks; perhaps طرسونة Tarazona is meant; but that city was not taken till nearly two centuries after.

5 اتبنني بنآ الخالدين و انما ∴ بقاوك فيها لو علمت قليل
لقد كان في ظل الاراك كفاية ∴ لمن كل يوم يعتريه رحيل

6 Mariana and other historians place this event in 1087, shortly after the taking of Toledo. *Hist. gen. de España*, lib. IX. cap. xvii.; *Cronica de España*, Part III.; Rodericus Toletanus, *De Rebus Hispanicis*, lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

7 See vol. i. p. 68, and *note* 16, p. 376. The name of the town, near which the Moslems were defeated, is here written بطرنة Paterna, not برطانة Partana, as in the passage above alluded to. By referring, moreover, to the biographical dictionary of Al-homaydí, at the article Abú Is'hák Ibn Ma'ali At-tarsúsí, I find the two verses altered as follows:

لبسوا الحديد الي الوغي و لبستم ∴ حلل الحرير عليكم الوانا
ما كان اقبحهم و احسنكم بها ∴ لو لم يكن ببطرنه ما كانا

"They put on steel [armour] for the approaching contest, whilst you were dressed in silken robes "of various colours.

"What might have been their shame and your glory, at Paterna, had the result been a "different one."

8 According to Ibnu Bashkúwál, the غفارة *ghifárah* was a sort of turban which soldiers wore over their helmets in time of war.

9 Birtanieh or Birtániyah was, according to Idrísí, a district of the *Thagher* bordering on Valencia.

10 الاردمليس—which is, no doubt, meant for الاردمير *Al-aradémir*, as Sancho I., son of Ramiro, is sometimes called by the historians of the time. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah*, who relates the taking of Barbastro in nearly the same terms as Ibnu Hayyán, calls the followers of Sancho الاردمريون *Al-arademiriún*.

11 My copy, and that belonging to the library of Gotha, read حتي ان الذي خص بعض مقدمي العدو لحصنه و هو قايد خيل رومة "the share which one of their chiefs only, who was general of the cavalry of Rome (the Knights of St. John), took to his castle," &c.

12 و من لم يعرض منهن ان يفعل ذلك في خادم او ذات مهنة او وخش اعطاهن خوله و غلمانه يعيثون فيهن عيثة—The Spanish historians assign as a reason for the atrocities committed at the storming of Barbastro, that Armengaud, of Urgel, Sancho's father-in-law, had been killed during the siege.

13 Al-muktadir Ibn Húd succeeded his father Suleymán in A. H. 438. His brother Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán, whom two out of the several copies of Al-makkarí which I have consulted call King of

Saragossa — و هو ملك سرقسطة يومئذٍ was probably a rebel only; for no author includes him in the series of the Bení Húd.

[14] The following sentence has been omitted in the translation for reasons which those who are versed in the Arabic language will duly appreciate — و عسَي الله ان يجعَل في عزيمته للمُسلمين فرجًا.

[15] Ibnu-l-khattíb's account is in substance the same as that of Ibnu-l-athír. He adds, however, that Alfonso dispatched an embassy to Al-mu'tamed, asking him to set his prisoners at liberty; but that the King of Seville refused to comply with his request unless he gave him possession of the castle of Almodovar.

[16] المُلك عقيم و السيفان لا يجتمعان في غمد واحد

[17] The word امَرَ 'commanded,' which is here used, would imply that both Al-mutawakkel Ibn Al-afttas and 'Abdullah [Ibn Balkín] Ibn Habús were tributaries of Al-mu'tamed.

[18] Telemsán was taken in A. H. 472 by Modhdelí, one of the generals of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. Soon after, a new city was built adjoining the old one, which was called Telemsánu-l-jedíd, or Telemsán the new.

[19] Ceuta was taken in Rabi' the first, A. H. 447, by Al-mu'izz, son of Yúsuf, who remained in command of the place.

CHAPTER VI.

[1] The life of Abú Bekr ابن القُصَيرة Ibnu-l-kossayrah is in the *Mattmah*, by Ibn Khákán, fo. 121, and in the *Dhakhírah*, by Ibn Bessám. His name in full was Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Suleymán Ibnu-l-kossayrah Al-kal'aí; he was a native of Seville, where he died in 508.

[2] الذي يكون ستَراهُ — The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* introduces a long letter which Yúsuf is said to have written to Alfonso on this occasion.

[3]
لا بد من فرج قريب ∴ ياتيك بالعجب العجيب
غزو عليك مبارك ∴ سيَعُود بالفتح القريب
لله سَعدك انه ∴ نكس على دين الصليب
لا بد من يوم يكون ∴ له اخا يوم القليب

Koleyb is the name of a battle fought between the Bení Sheybán and the Bení Taghleb. The war originated in the murder of Koleyb (Wáyil Ibn Rabi'ah) by the Bení Sheybán. Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, *'Ikd*, lib. xvii.

4 According to the author of the *Karttás*, Alfonso was besieging Saragossa when he received the news of Yúsuf's landing. See also the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xxxiii.

5 [المرابطين] مطيقا بمحلة—According to the author of the *Karttás*, the battle was fought at Zalákah, a place near Badajoz. Rodericus Toletanus (*Hist. Arab.* cap. xlvii.) says "in campo Zalla "prope Badalloz." The *Cronica de España* (fo. cccx.), "en un logar que dezian en Arabigo *Sellaque* e "en lenguage Castellano *Satalias*."

6 ابا هاشم هشمتني الشفار ∴ فلله صبري لذاك الاوار
ذكرت شخيصك تحت العجاج ∴ فلم يثنني ذكره الفرار

7 It would appear from this, that the camp was several times lost and recovered by the Christians.

8 Yúsuf and his descendants of the dynasty of the Almoravides never assumed any other title than that of *Amíru-l-moslemín* (commander of the Moslems). Conde, therefore, is wrong when he calls him *Amíru-l-múmenín.*

9 The word خنجر *khanjar*, which Conde (vol. ii. p. 141) translates by "hoz" (scythe), means 'a short cutlass,' Sp. *alfanje*. The author of the *Cronica de España* (fo. cccxxi.) says that Alfonso was wounded by a spear.

10 The word translated by "tents" is *madháríb*, the plural of *midhráb*, which means 'a large tent or booth.' See p. 452, *note* 47, where this word occurs, as used by Ibnu Hayyán.

11 Alfonso VI. lived nearly ten years after his defeat at Zalaca. He was succeeded by his daughter Urraca, who was some time after besieged in Toledo by 'Alí, the son and successor of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín.

Al-makkarí has neglected to give us the precise date of the battle of Zalaca, which, according to all accounts, was fought on Friday, the 22nd of Rejeb, A. H. 479 (Oct. A. D. 1086).

12 Thus in the Gotha MS. انما الغدر اخذ الحق من يد صاحبه لادفع الرجل عن نفسه المحذور اذا اضاق به—which, literally translated, means 'treason takes away the right from the hands of its owner for a man to defend himself [with it] when hard pressed by his enemy.'

13 Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-jelíl Ibn Wahbún, whose life is in the *Mattmah*, by Ibn Khákán, fo. 180. He was one of the most distinguished poets of his time.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

[1] It has not been said above that Al-mu'tamed crossed over to Africa; but Conde (vol. ii. p. 126) says positively that the King of Seville went over to Tangiers, where he had a conference with Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. See also the *Karttás,* translated by Moura, p. 157.

[2] These were Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, Lord of Murcia, and Al-mu'tamed himself. The two princes having quarrelled, the latter laid a formal complaint before Yúsuf. The Lord of Murcia was arrested, and delivered into the hands of his rival. The followers of Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz then withdrew in disgust to their own country, and, by stopping the supplies which they had been in the habit of sending to Yúsuf's camp, compelled him to raise the siege of Aledo. These events are differently related by Conde, vol. ii. cap. xix.

[3] For a description of this castle, which some writers call Rottah Al-yáhúd (Rodah of the Jews), see the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlvi. Al-makkarí, however, is mistaken when he says that Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd was the first Mohammedan ruler attacked by Seyr; there is, on the contrary, historical evidence to prove that he was the last assailed. The author of the *Holalu-l-maúshiyyah* gives a letter addressed by Al-musta'ín to Yúsuf, in which the former implores this Sultán's mercy, and begs to be left in possession of his family dominions, on the plea that he was as fit as any other man to defend them against the Christians, having been from his early youth trained to border warfare. The same historian adds, that in order to gain the favour of Yúsuf, Al-musta'ín sent him a splendid present, composed of jewels and costly merchandise, which had once belonged to Al-muwaffek, King of Denia, who was dethroned by Al-muktadir. Al-muwaffek had, it appears, amassed considerable treasures by sending corn to Egypt, whenever the crop failed in that country.

[4] The accounts of the dynasty of the Beni Táhir, given by Casiri in the second volume of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, are obscure and contradictory. In one place (p. 215) he mentions three kings of that family; one named Mohammed, another 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and a third Ahmed; whilst in another (p. 42) he translates an article from the biographical dictionary of Ibnu-l-abbár to show that Mohammed Ibn Ahmed was the only king of his family who reigned in Murcia. Conde's narrative, instead of removing the confusion, increases it, by giving different names to the two princes of that dynasty mentioned by him; so that, without a view of the manuscripts consulted by those two writers, it is next to impossible to decide in this matter. The following account, however, is the most probable.

After the death of Zohayr, who was killed near Granada, on Friday, the 29th of Shawwál, A. H. 429, Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibn Is'hák Ibn Zeyd Ibn Táhir, who was governor of Murcia at the time, remained master of that city and its immediate neighbourhood. Abú Bekr died in A. H. 457, and was succeeded by his son Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Mohammed, who, in 461, was deprived of his states by Al-mu'tamed, King of Seville, a chief named 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Rásih being appointed by that Sultán to govern the city in his name. In consequence, however, of a dispute with Al-mu'tamed at the siege of Aledo, 'Abdu-l-'azíz himself or a son of his, named Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, was deprived of his government in 483, at which time a son of Mohammed Ibn Táhir, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, was probably appointed by the inhabitants.

[5] See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xli., where these events are differently related. Conde's narrative (vol. ii. p. 173) agrees better with ours. Al-mu'tassem's son is there called 'Obeydullah Abú Merwán, and surnamed *Mu'izzu-d-daulah* (supporter of the state) instead of *Hosámu-d-daulah* (sword of the state), as our author calls him. Ibnu-l-khattíb, (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 214,) gives him the surname of *Jesámu-d-daulah* (body of the state): the translator, however, did not understand the meaning of the expression و فرّ الي عِدوة الشرقية (he fled to the opposite coast of Eastern Africa), which he translated by "ad Hispaniæ orientalis confinia."

[6] The deposition of Al-mu'tamed preceded that of the Kings of Almeria, Denia, Xativa, and other cities on the eastern coast of Spain. See the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, cap. xxxix., and Conde, vol. ii. cap. xxi.

[7] The officer dispatched against Cordova is called بطي Batti by the author of the *Karttás*. He is said to have taken first Jaen, afterwards Cordova, and lastly Baeza, Ubeda, Albalate, Almodovar, الصخيرة As-sokheyrah, and Segura. See also Conde, vol. ii. p. 167.

[8] جرور الحشمي — Conde calls him Carur and Casur, vol. ii. p. 164.

[9] The author of the *Karttás*, and Conde (vol. ii. p. 169), give the latter date. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Mohammed, says لعشر بقين من رجب "ten days remaining of the month of Rejeb."

[10] Ibnu-l-khattíb (*loco laudato*) says that Al-mu'tamed named his mistress اعتماد I'timád, owing to the grammatical affinity of that name to his own, Al-mu'tamed, both being derived from *i'tamada*, the eighth form of the verb *'amada*.

[11] This anecdote is to be found in the work entitled *El Conde de Lucanor*, by the Infante Don Juan Manuel, who lived in the fourteenth century. See edit. of Madrid, 1642, cap. xiv.

[12] و ظن الناس انه الراضي — Yezíd Ar-rádhí had been put to death by the Almoravides. See above, p. 297.

13 قيدي اما تعلمني مُسلما ∴ ابيت ان تشفق او ترحما
يبصر فيك ابو هاشم ∴ فينثني القلب و قد هشما

14 Ibn Khallekán, in the life of Al-mu'tamed, gives the latter date, besides that of the 11th of Shawwál.

15 The entire name of this poet was Abú-l-kásim 'Alí Ibn Ja'far As-sa'dí. He was a native of the island of Sicily, where he was born in Safar, A. H. 433. He wrote, among other works, one entitled الدرر الخطيرة من شُعراء الجزيرة (valuable pearls selected from the works of Andalusian poets). The life of Ibnu-l-kattá' is in Ibn Khallekán.

16 سقيط الدرر و لقيط الزهر في شعر بني عبّاد

17 سَايرتهُم و الليْل عقد ثوبه ∴ حتي تبذ للنواظر معْلما
فوقفتُ ثم مودعًا و تسلمت ∴ مني يد الاصباح تلك الانجما

These two verses are to be found in the *Dhakhírah* of Ibn Bessám, the second volume of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. The work is composed of three volumes: the first contains the lives of illustrious men and poets who lived in Cordova, Toledo, Saragossa, Jaen, Granada, and other cities; the second, those of the poets of Al-gharb or Western Provinces, beginning with a concise history of the Bení 'Abbád; the third and last, those of Valencia, Almeria, Murcia, and other cities of the East.

18 According to the author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah*, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín died on the first day of Moharram (Sept. 1, A. D. 1106). He was then in his hundreth year.

19 The name of this general is sometimes written سِيري Sírí. Ibnu Khaldún calls him سيْر Seyr, as printed.

20 According to the author of the *Karttás*, these conquests were achieved in the month of Ḍhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 504. Two years after, in A. H. 506, Seyr died at Seville, of which city he was governor.

21 This battle is elsewhere said to have been fought in sight of Saragossa; see p. 256. See also the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlv., and Conde, vol. ii. p. 203.

22 الرعدات 'thunderers.' This word is frequently used by Ibn Battúttah in his original travels to designate artillery, such as he saw it among the Chinese. In old Spanish "trueno" is synonymous with a gun, and the embrasures of a fortress are still called "troneras."

23 Saragossa was taken on the 18th of December, A. D. 1118, soon after the death of Al-musta'ín.

[24] The other places taken by Alfonso on this occasion were Tarazona, Epila, Ariza, and Daroca.

[25] Mariana (*Hist. gen. de España,* lib. x. cap. x.) places the battle of Cutanda before the taking of Saragossa; but all the Arabian writers I have consulted speak of it as having been fought after. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* says that the Moslems were commanded on this occasion by Temím, another of Yúsuf's sons.

[26] The Infante Don Sancho, who was killed at the battle of Uclés in A. H. 502 (beginning Aug. 10, A. D. 1108). Alfonso himself died on the 1st of July, A. D. 1109. If, as the author of the *Karttás* states, Alfonso survived the death of his son only twenty days, the battle of Uclés must have been fought in June, A. D. 1109.

[27] انوار الجلية في تاريخ دولة المرابطية — This work was the composition of Ibnu-s-seyrafí (Abú Bekr Yahya Ibn Mohammed). See vol. i. p. 472, *note* 17, of this translation.

[28] The word معاهدون *mu'áhidún,* and in the objective case *mu'áhidín,* is the plural of *mu'áhid,* which means 'a man bound to the observance of stipulated treaties;' and the Christians of Granada were so called because, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, Habús Ibn Bádis and his successors of the Zeyrite dynasty subjected them to certain rules. They are sometimes called معاهدة *mu'áhidah,* which is another plural form of *mu'áhid.*

[29] بن يدرسن — Conde (vol. ii. p. 235) calls this governor Abu Muhamad Yedar ben Birca.

[30] وادي ياجلة says the author of the history of Morocco, who adds that Alfonso stayed eight days in the place. Conde (*loco laudato*) reads "Nahr Taxila." Perhaps Tixola, a village in the district of Guadix, is meant.

[31] According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, who has preserved an account of this memorable incursion, Alfonso arrived before Guadix on Friday, the 1st of Dhi-l-ka'dah (Jan. 22, A. D. 1122), and attacked the city from the side of the cemetery من جهة المقابر although without success. He then pitched his tents on the summit of a mountain السند close to the city, and remained there until the following Monday, when he removed farther to a hamlet to the west of Guadix, called غياثة Ghiyáthah, from which he made a second attack upon the city. He is said to have spent two months in these operations.

[32] دجمة — now Diezma. The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* says "to جنة Jennah," from which he is said to have proceeded to a place called وادي فرديش Wáda Fardísh (now Rio Fardex); thence to المزرقة Al-mazrakah; and lastly to Granada, where he pitched his tents, at a place called قرية الليل Kariat Al-leyl.

[33] Inu-l-khattíb (*loco laudato*) writes يبش Yebesh; the author of the history of Morocco has بنش

Benish (Venix?); but it is impossible to say which is the true reading, as the names of most of the villages and towns in the immediate neighbourhood of Granada were changed after the conquest.

[34] بلل — Ibnu-l-khattíb writes بللي Belali; the author of the history of Morocco, جلل Jelal; Conde (vol. ii. p. 237), Nibel.

[35] دلر Dolar or Dilar. Ibnu-l-khattíb writes ذكر Dhikar; but the former is probably the best reading.

[36] Conde (vol. ii. p. 239) reads "Emidam;" but there can be no doubt that the town of Hamadán is here meant. See above, p. 403, *note* 22.

[37] عين اطسة — which reading is the same in all the MSS. Conde (vol. ii. p. 240) has "la fuente de la Teja." Instead of الفرج Al-faraj, the historian of Morocco writes المرج Al-merj. The manuscript consulted by Conde must have afforded the same reading, for he translates "la Vega de Granada."

[38] البُرَاجلات — I have often met with the words جبال البُرَاجلة Jebál Al-borájelah in Ibnu Hayyán and other writers, used to designate a portion of the "Sierra Nevada." Casiri (vol. ii. p. 247) says that the word *Al-borájelát* means 'the bulwarks of the allies' (*sociorum propugnacula*), and that it was once the name for the Alpuxarras; but that author was not aware that the Arabic name for that mountain chain was البشرات *Al-busherát, i. e.* mountains abounding in pastures. On the other hand, the word *borájelát* or *borájelah* (both plurals of برجل *borjal*) cannot have the meaning assigned to it by the Spanish translator; not being of Arabic origin, and not to be found in the dictionaries.

[39] اللغون or اللقون — which might be meant for Alagon.

[40] About eighty years after this event, the prisoners taken at the battle of Alarcos were likewise transported to Rabátt, and made to settle there. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who visited Salé in the year 1360, says that Rabátt was almost entirely inhabited by families originally from Granada. See also the *Specchio geografico è statistico del impero di Marocco*, by Gräberg di Hemsö, p. 52, and Torres, *Origen de los Xarifes.*

[41] In relating the events of this reign, Al-makkarí is more laconic than usual; thirty-seven years of almost uninterrupted warfare between the two nations inhabiting the Peninsula are by him dispatched in two strokes of the pen. His silence, however, is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the author left his library in Africa, and could only procure a few works on the history of Mohammedan Spain. The deficiency, however, may easily be supplied with the aid of the *Karttás*, a work lately translated into the Portuguese language by Padre Moura, and which, for the history of this period, is almost invaluable.

Since I have entered on the subject, I must here state my reasons for having so frequently referred in these notes to the original, instead of the Portuguese translation, and for having avoided giving the name of its author. It is by no means an ascertained fact, as Padre Moura asserts in his preface (p. vii.), that

the history of Africa, generally known as the *Karttás,* was the composition of 'Abdu-l-halím, of Granada; for, although the copy which he himself used, and that quoted by Conde, as preserved in the Royal Library at Madrid, may have borne the name of that individual, there are a greater number in which the author is said to have been Abú 'Abdillah ['Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Ahmed Ibn 'Omar] Ibn Abí زرع Zara' Al-fásí. My own copy, several preserved in the Bodleian Library, and one quoted by Gräberg di Hemsö (*Specchio di Marocco,* p. 284), all bear the name of the latter author; and Hájí Khalfah, who mentions the work (*Lex. Bibl.* voc. *Tárîkh Fás* and *Anís*), attributes it also to Ibn Abí Zara', who, he says, wrote it at the desire of Abú Sa'íd 'Othmán Ibn Al-modhaffer [the fifth Sultán of the Bení Merín] before the year 276, which statement is fully borne out by the last chapter of the work, which begins thus: الخبر عن دولة ملك الزمان وسراج الاوان الامام السعيد و الخليفة الرشيد امير المسلمين ابو سعيد هو الخليفة في وقتنا هذا و هي سنة عشر و سبعماية "An account of the reign of the king of the age, and the light "of the times, the fortunate Imám and straightforward Khalif, the Amír of the Moslems, Abú Sa'íd, "who is now reigning in this present year of 710."

In addition to the above facts, I may remark that Ibnu Khaldún invariably cites the work as being the composition of Ibn Abí Zara'; that the author, moreover, exhibits so complete an ignorance of Spanish history and topography, as to leave it beyond a doubt that he was a native of Africa, not of Spain; and, lastly, that Ibnu-l-khattíb, who wrote the lives of upwards of six hundred eminent authors born at, or who resided in, Granada, makes no mention whatever of 'Abdu-l-halím. The title itself goes far to prove that the work was the composition of an African, a native of Fez, not a Granadian—كتاب الانيس المطرب بروض القرطاس في اخبار ملوك المغرب و تاريخ مدينة فاس "The companion to the wanderer "through the gardens of Karttás, [treating] on the history of the kings of Western Africa, and the "history of the city of Fez." The word قرطاس *Karttás,* meaning 'paper' (*charta,* Sp. *alcartaz*), some writers, and among them De Sacy (*Magasin Encyclopédique,* l. d.), have translated *raudh al-karttás* by 'paper gardens' (*les jardins de papier*); but such is not the fact. *Karttás,* which I have also seen written قرطاس *Kirttás,* was the name for a garden or public walk in the outskirts of Fez, which was laid out by Zeyri or Zírí Ibn 'Atiyah, chief of the Maghráwah and Amír of Fez, who, according to Ibnu Khaldún (fo. 70, *verso*), was better known by the surname of *Al-karttás.*

It is probable that the history, in its present state, may be an abridgement of a greater work composed by Ibn Abí Zara', and which is probably lost. In one of the copies preserved in the Bodleian Library (Marshall, 582), there occurs at the beginning a species of preface, in which the bookseller states that, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he has been unable to find a copy of the original work composed by Ibn Abí Zara', and that should any of his readers bring him one, he is ready to bestow on him, in acknowledgment for so great a service, a complete suit of the stuff called *milaf,* besides other presents, which he names.

I ought to add that this copy, as well as the one I possess, belongs to an edition which is occasionally at variance with that translated by Moura; owing to which reason I have generally referred to the original, and not to the translation.

CHAPTER II.

[1] The author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah* calls him Abú-l-mu'izz and Abú 'Amru. His mother was a Christian slave called *Dhú-s-sobáh* (light of the morning).

[2] About this time [A. H. 541] a body of Christians, whom Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah had taken into his pay, assisted him in regaining possession of Cordova, where Ibn Hamdín had fortified himself. According to Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, in his history of the Almohades, "the infidels committed every profanation, "picketed their horses in the great mosque, and went so far as to pollute with their hands the sacred "Korán of the Khalif 'Othmán." See also vol. i. p. 497, *note* 27, of this translation.

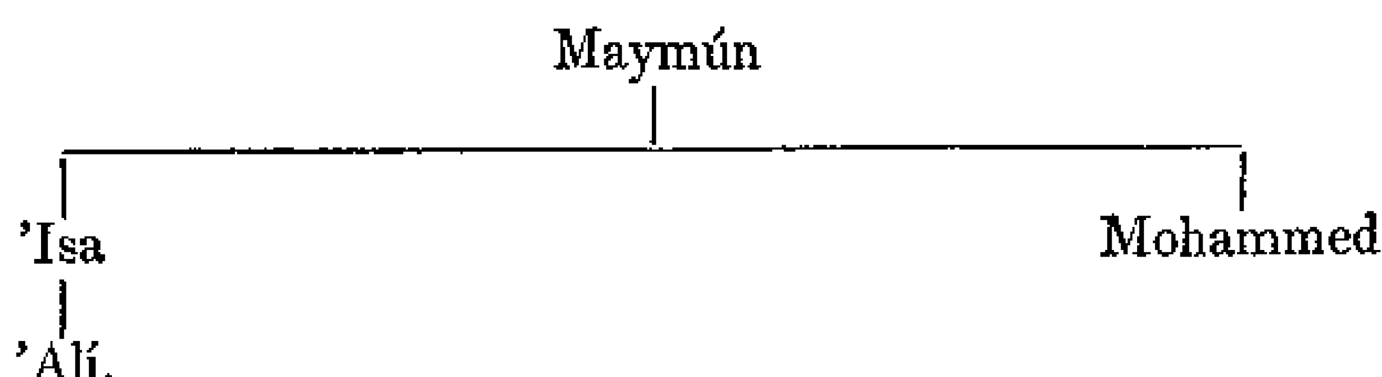
[3] Alfonso I. of Aragon was slain in a battle with Ibn Ghániyyah, the general of the Almoravides, near the city of Fraga, which he was besieging. Compare Conde, vol. ii. cap. xxxiii., and the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, cap. xl.

[4] Of the petty dynasties here mentioned, and several more which escaped the notice of Al-makkarí, very little is known with any certainty, inasmuch as the generality of the writers who have treated of them consider them only as rebels. However, the following facts may be gleaned from the valuable history of the Almohades by Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát.

Ibn Hamdín.—Abú Ja'far Hamdín Ibn Hamdín was the son of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Hamdín, a celebrated poet, and Kádí-l-kodá or supreme judge of Cordova, whose life is in the *Mattmah* of Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán, fo. 150. Profiting by the troubles which broke out in Spain when the news of 'Abdu-l-múmen's success and the death of Táshefín reached Spain, he contrived to have himself proclaimed king by the people of Cordova, over whom he possessed considerable influence; their example being soon followed by the inhabitants of Almeria and other cities. This happened on Saturday, the 7th of Ramadhán, A. H. 538. Scarcely, however, had Hamdín enjoyed his new dignity one year, when Seyfu-d-daulah Ibn Húd, who had just been deprived of his family dominions by the Christians, turned his arms against the new sovereign, and expelled him from Cordova. In Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 540 (May or June, A. D. 1146), Hamdín regained possession of that capital, and maintained himself in it until he was again dethroned, in 541, by Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, the Almoravide, who had taken into his pay a large body of Christians. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 53, 57, 116.

Maymún.—The Bení Maymún were two brothers, 'Isa *Ibn Maymún* and Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed *Ibn Maymún*. They were the sons of Maymún, the Lamtúnite, one of the chiefs of the Almoravides. The former, who was governor of Cadiz and Santa Maria, declared himself independent in his governments, and was succeeded by his son 'Alí, who, in 540, ordered the destruction of the tower of Hercules, at Cadiz, under the impression that it contained treasure of the time of the Romans. The latter, who commanded the naval forces of the Almoravides, was celebrated for his maritime conquests. In 516 he landed on the coast of Sicily, which he ravaged and plundered; he also took possession of Almeria, and, having fitted out a fleet in the celebrated arsenal of that port, ravaged the coasts of France and Italy. In 540 he made his submission to the Almohades, and was present at the taking of Mehediyyah by 'Abdu-l-múmen.

The following genealogy will better show the degrees of relationship in which the Bení Maymún stood to each other:



Ibn Kasí.—Of Abú-l-kásim Ahmed Ibn Huseyn Ibn Kasí, Lord of Silves and Mertola, we only know that he was of Christian origin, and that the revolution which he headed was at first a religious, not a political one, which statement is confirmed by Ibnu Khaldún. See the Appendix to this volume, p. xlix. His followers were called المرتدين *Al-murtadín,* that is to say, 'renegades, deserters;' but, although Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, as he himself informs us, wrote a history of that sect, I have been unable to find in the portion of his work preserved in the Bodleian Library what their tenets were. Ibnu Khaldún says that they were substantially the same as those of the Almohades. Ahmed took possession of Ebora, Silves, and Seville also. See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 51, and Conde, vol. ii. cap. xl.

As to Seddaray Ibn Wazír, whom Conde calls Sid-Ray, and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 59), Saied Rai, he was King of Badajoz. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlix., *et seq.*

[5] Compare the narrative of Ibnu Khaldún, App. p. lii., and Conde, vol. ii. cap. xl.

[6] *As-soleytán,* or 'the little Sultán,' is here intended as a translation of "Rex parvus," an appellation given to Alfonso VIII. of Leon, [II. of Castile], by all the chroniclers of the time, owing, no doubt, to his having been proclaimed king when still an infant. See Mondejar, *Memorias historicas del Rey Don Alonso,* p. 8, and the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xliv.

[7] الا ايّها المغرور ويحك لاتنم ∴ فلله في ذا الخلق امْر قد انبهم
فلا بدّ ان يزروا بامر يسوُهم ∴ فقد احدثوا جرمًا علي حاكم الامم

[8] اقتباس الانوار و التماس الازهار في نسب الصحابة وروات الاثار
See Hájí Khalfah, *Lexic. Bibl. Ency.* vol. i. p. 375, and Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.,* No. 359).

[9] Alfonso VIII. of Leon, [II. of Castile], was the grandson of Alfonso VI., the conqueror of Toledo, by Urraca, the wife of Alfonso of Aragon, whom some historians have erroneously counted among the kings of Castile.

[10] For a description of this work, of which I own a copy, written in Spain shortly after the death of its author, see Hamacker, *Specimen Catalogi Codicum MSS. Orient. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* p. 56.

[11] I have frequently quoted from one volume of this valuable work, preserved in the Bodleian Library (Marsh, No. 433), of which I will here give a short description. It is a large volume in folio, written in a clear Maghrebí hand about the middle of the sixteenth century; the title of it is المن بالامامة علي

المستضعفين بان جعلهم الله ايمة و جعلهم الوارثين و ظهور الامام المهدي الموحدين
—which, literally translated, means "The gift of the Imámate [granted] to those who considered "themselves the most unworthy of it; and their appointment by God to be the Imáms and chiefs "[of the people], and the heirs [of the empire]: or the appearance of the Imám and Mahdí of the "Almohades." In its original state, the work consisted of three *sefr* or books. The second begins with the revolt of Ibn Mardanísh at Murcia, in A. H. 554, and ends in the year 580, thus embracing a period of twenty-six years. It is written with great elegance, and contains many interesting details, being considered by the Arabs themselves one of the best histories of the Almohades. It is occasionally cited by the author of the *Karttás*, by Ibnu Khaldún, Ibnu-l-khattíb, and the anonymous author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah*, or history of Morocco, all of whom bestow much praise on the author. Al-makkarí (fo. 40, *verso*) mentions an abridgement of this history by Abú-l-motref Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Omayrah Al-makhzúmí, of Valencia.

As to the author himself, I find in the title-page, which is written in a different hand from the rest of the book, that his name was 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Mohammed Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát Al-bájí; but in the body of the work I see in two or three instances written قال المولف ابو عبد الله محمد بن صاحب الصلاة "thus saith the author of this work, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát." This would show the author's name to have been Mohammed, not 'Abdu-l-malek, unless the father of the author, who himself was a celebrated historian, be the person alluded to in the above quotation. This conjecture derives additional strength from the fact that Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Ibráhím Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, says that "the latter belonged to a family of historians." Indeed, the author, whose work I am now describing ('Abdu-l-malek), frequently mentions a writer, named 'Obeydullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, who must have been his own brother. Under the year 564, he says, that 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát [another brother of his] was that year taken prisoner by the troops of Fernando, near Badajoz; but that Yúsuf, the son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who was then reigning, paid the enormous sum of three hundred gold dinárs دينار حشمية for his ransom, and equipped him besides with a horse, arms, &c.

[12] Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of Ibn Mardanísh among those of the illustrious Granadians, which I here translate, as it contains many details not to be found in the work of Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát. "His full "name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mardanísh Al-jodhámí. "His father, Sa'd, an officer celebrated for his courage and experience, had been the principal instrument "in the defeat and death of Ibn Radmír (Alfonso I.), near Fraga, in A. H. 528; for, when the infidel "laid siege to that city, Sa'd, who was then the governor, made so stout a defence that he gave Ibn "Ghániyyah time to come to his assistance and engage the Christian king, whom he defeated and killed. "His son Mohammed was from early youth trained to arms. At the age of eighteen he was already "considered a very accomplished captain. He was a friend of Ibn 'Ayádh [or 'Iyádh], King of Murcia, "with whom he became connected by marriage, and who appointed him governor of Valencia. At the "death of Ibn 'Ayádh, Ibn Mardánish set out for Murcia, intending to have himself recognised by the "inhabitants; but having learned on the road to that city that the Christians had surprised one of his "castles, called حلال Halál, he retraced his steps, and recovered it. He then entered Valencia, where "he assumed the royal authority. Subsequently to this, Ibn Mardanísh added the city of Murcia to his "other dominions, and conquered the greater part of Eastern Andalus, having successively gained "possession of Jaen, Ubeda, Baeza, Baza, Guadix, and Carmona. He also besieged Cordova and Seville,

" both of which he was on the point of reducing: in short, he was at one time the ruler of the greater " part of Andalus. His alliance with his father-in-law, Ibn Humushk, and their subsequent quarrel, " have already been related. (See p. 316). Towards the end of his career, Ibn Mardanísh was deserted " by fortune, and sustained several defeats; the Almohades reduced one by one all his fortresses, and he " himself was besieged in Murcia. Indeed, it has been observed, that from the middle of the year 560 " to the time of his death he was never victorious. He died during the siege of Murcia, on the 10th of " Rejeb, 567 (March, A. D. 1172), at the age of forty-eight. He was succeeded by his son, Abú-l-kamar " Helál, who soon after made his submission to the Almohades." Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lix., and Conde, vol. ii. pp. 378-80.

13 I have observed elsewhere (App. p. lv., *note* 22) that the African historians do not agree as to the date of the taking of Mehediyyah (Mahdiyyah) by 'Abdu-l-múmen. The most common opinion is that it happened at the beginning of 555. Ibnu Khaldún gives some interesting details on the siege and taking of Mehediyyah by the Sicilians in A. D. 1148, as well as on their former expeditions to that coast. He says that Mohammed Ibn Maymún, the commander-in-chief of the naval forces of Spain, having made a descent on Sicily about the year 1122, Roger, who was then king of that country, thought that the ships belonged to Al-hasan Ibn 'Alí, Sultán of Eastern Africa, of the dynasty of the Zeyrites, and sent a large force to invade his dominions. According to the same historian, Mehediyyah had been taken once before by the Genoese, in A. H. 480 (beginning April 7, A. D. 1087).

14 The anonymous author of the history of Morocco says that 'Abdu-l-múmen embarked at Tangiers.

15 A similar statement is contained in the *Karttás*; but Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát says that 'Abdu-l-múmen passed شهورا some months at Seville. I am, however, inclined to believe that شهرين (two months) is to be read instead of شهورا (some months); for I read lower down in the same page that 'Abdu-l-múmen landed in Dhí-l-ka'dah, 555 (Nov. A. D. 1160), and returned to Africa at the commencement of the ensuing year (Jan. A. D. 1161).

16 According to the author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah*, 'Abdu-l-múmen is said to have ordered on this occasion the building of مدينة الكبري 'the greater city' on the rock.

17 The author of the *Karttás*, who places this expedition in 556, counts Badajoz in the number of the towns reduced by the Almohades on this occasion. The place here called Al-kasr might be the Al-kasar Abí Dánis mentioned in p. 194.

18 Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát accuses the Jews of Granada of having given Ibn Humushk admission into the city. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb, who treats at length of that chieftain, his name was Abú Is'hak Ibráhím. He was the son of Ahmed, son of Mufarraj Ibn Humushk, and was of Christian extraction, his grandfather, Mufarraj, having forsaken his faith and embraced Islám at the instigation of one of the Beni Húd, kings of Saragossa; but I quote the historian's words. " When Ibn Mufarraj deserted his " country and religion, and came over to us, he had but one ear, the other having been cut off. Owing to " this, whenever the Christians met him in battle, they used to say ها مشك *Há meshak* (here comes the " one-eared man). The word 'ear' among the Christians resembles greatly our word *adhen*, and

" *al-mushk* in their language means 'a man who has had his ears cut off;'—الاذن عندهم قربي بها
" هي في اللغة العربية و المشك المقطوع الاذنين في لغاتهم—From this circumstance he became " generally known under the surname of ابن همشك Ibn Humushk, which passed to his posterity. " His grandson, Ibráhím, continued in the service of the Bení Húd, until the last sovereign of that " dynasty was expelled from Saragossa, when he entered the household of one of the Almoravide " [princes], and served him in the capacity of chief huntsman. After spending some time in his service, " Ibn Humushk went over to the Christians, and resided for a while at the court of the King of Castile; " but, repenting what he had done, he returned to his duty, and betook himself to Granada, where an " Almoravide chieftain, named Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, was then commanding. When the civil war broke " out in 539, and Ibn Hamdín revolted at Cordova, assuming the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander " of the Faithful), Ibráhím, who was a shrewd man and spoke the language of the Christians well, was " dispatched by his master to Cordova, on a message to Ibn Hamdín, whose friendship and alliance " he sought. From Cordova Ibráhím went to Murcia, whose king, Ibn 'Iyádh, received him well, and " appointed him governor of a castle called حصن شقوبس Hisn-Shekúbis. Having subsequently " obtained possession of Segura, through which his power was greatly increased, Ibn Humushk made an " alliance with the rebel Mohammed Ibn Mardanísh, who then ruled over the greater part of Eastern " Spain, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. In union with Ibn Mardanísh, Ibráhím waged " war against the Almohades, and reduced several of their cities, until he quarrelled with his son-in-law, " embraced the party of his enemies, and made war against him. At last, he crossed over to Africa, and " settled at Meknásah (Mequinez), where he died in Rejeb, 572, or thereabouts." Compare the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lv., and Conde, who, in a few pages, designates this chieftain under five different names,—Aben Hamusec, Hamasek, Hamusek, Hamsec, and ben Hamusec.

19 The author ought to have said, " in the suburb, afterwards called the suburb of the people of Baeza," for it was not until the reduction of that city by Ferdinand III., in A. D. 1157, that the Albayzin or *Rabadhu-l-báyizin* took its name from the inhabitants of that city, who settled there in great numbers.

20 Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, the founder of the dynasty of the Almohades, who assumed the character of Mahdí, was not a religious innovator, as Conde and other writers after him have erroneously asserted. He merely preached reform and a closer adherence to the doctrines inculcated in the Korán, and to the principles of the unity of God, for which reason he and his followers called themselves الموحدون *Al-muwahhedún* or unitarians, in opposition to the Almoravides, whom they called المجسمون *Al-mujassemún* or corporalists, because they partook in some degree of the opinions of Mohammed Ibn Kerám, who described God as finite and circumscribed on all sides, and as being tangible to the hand and visible to the eye.

CHAPTER III.

[1] Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (*loco laudato*, fo. 75) gives the following details on the conquests of Alfonso Enriquez, whom he calls صاحب قلمرية the Lord of Kolimriah (now Coimbra). "Alfonso was one of "the most enterprising among the Christian kings of these calamitous times. Profiting by the troubles "and civil wars which divided the Moslems of Andalus after the overthrow of the Almoravide dynasty, "he pushed his conquests farther than any other chief of his nation, principally in the districts of "Al-gharb (Western Spain). He took Santarem and Beja on the 22nd of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 554, "which answers to the 1st of December دجنبر of the Christian year 1159.[a] After a stay of four "months and ten days in the latter city, Alfonso evacuated it, having previously demolished the "fortifications. In Jumáda the second of 560 (April or May, A. D. 1164), he surprised the city of "ترجالة Truxillo; and in Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year (Oct. A. D. 1165), did the same with يابورة "Yeburah (Ebora). He also took قاصرش Cazeres in Safar, 561 (Dec. A. D. 1165), and the castle "of منتاجش Muntajesh (Montanches) in Jumáda the first (March, A. D. 1166). شبيرنة (Severina?) or "شنتيرنة (Sant-Irene), and جلمانية Jelmániyyah (Germania), were the next to fall into his hands, the "former having surrendered to him on the last day of Jumáda the first of the same year (April, 1166).

"The manner in which this enemy of God took most of these places was this: when he had fixed upon "the object of the attack, he set out from one of his strongholds where he usually resided, leading a small "band of resolute followers, and choosing for that purpose a dark and tempestuous night. Arrived before "the fortress, he would himself plant the escaling ladder against the walls, and be the first to ascend. "When on the top of the wall, he would listen attentively in order to ascertain whether the sentries were "on the watch or not; and when he felt sure that our people were asleep, he would rush upon the "nearest sentry, and, putting a dagger to his throat, compel him to call out the usual watch-word, so as "to make the other sentries believe that all was right. This being done, he waited on the rampart until "a sufficient party of his own men were upon the walls, when, after uttering their usual war cry, they all "rushed together into the city, and put to the sword whomsoever they met on their passage.

"Alfonso took Badajoz in 564 (beginning Oct. 4, A. D. 1168); the Almohades, who composed the "garrison, retiring to the *kassábah*. Soon after, Fernando [King of Leon], whose tributary and vassal "the governor of Badajoz was, hastened to his relief, and besieged Alfonso within Badajoz. A party of "the assailants having obtained admission into the *kassábah*, Alfonso and his followers were attacked on "both sides in the streets, defeated with great loss, and compelled to leave the city. As Alfonso was "issuing at full speed from one of the gates, his right thigh came in contact with the iron bolt which "secured the gate, and was broken. He fell senseless from his horse, and was carried by his followers "to a place in the neighbourhood called بقاية Bekáyah. He was, however, pursued and taken prisoner "by the cavalry of his rival, Fernando, who did him no harm, but treated him kindly, and set him free. "After this mishap, Alfonso never mounted a horse. Fernando evacuated Badajoz in Sha'bán, 564 "(May, A. D. 1169), and returned to his dominions."

[2] Compare the Appendix, p. lxii., and the accounts given by the author of the *Karttás* (in Moura's translation, cap. xlvii.), and Conde (vol. ii. cap. lxiii.). The anonymous author of the history of Morocco

[a] According to our system of calculation, the 22nd of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 554, fell on the 2nd of January, A. D. 1160.

says that "Yúsuf died on the banks of the Tagus, as he was returning from his expedition to Shantareyn "(Santarem): "و كانت وفاته بنهر تاجة في قبوله من غزوة شنترين علي ظهر دابته"

[3] The building of the mosque of Seville was begun in Ramadhán, A.H. 567 (A.D. 1172), and the work was prosecuted with such ardour that in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the same year (July or August) enough of the building was completed to allow the preacher, Abú-l-kásim 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ghafír Al-liblí (from Niebla), to preach a sermon there. Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, from whom the above details are borrowed, adds, that the new mosque was built on the site of the old one called جامع العبدس Jámi' Al-'abdis, which, besides being very small, had long been in a ruinous state. The chief architect was Ahmed Ibn Básah, assisted by Abú Dáúd يلول بن جلداسن Yelúl Ibn Jeldásen, Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr, and Abú Bekr Al-yenakí. 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Merwán Ibn Sa'íd Al-'ansí was some time inspector-in-chief of the work; but, owing to some disagreement with his comrades, he was superseded and replaced by Abú Dáúd.

The same writer attributes to Yúsuf the building of a castle or tower called Buheyrah, out of the gate of Jehwar in Seville, on the spot anciently called لقم فرعون 'the mouthful of Pharaoh,' as well as the erection of a bridge of boats on the Guadalquivir. These two works were executed in 566. Yúsuf is likewise said to have been the first who مَصَّرَ made Seville a great metropolis; he supplied it with water brought from the neighbouring mountains by means of an aqueduct now called *Los Caños de Carmona*, and repaired the walls of the city, which had been destroyed by a sudden inundation of the Guadalquivir. The author of the *Karttás* adds, that he built two wharfs for the unlading of merchandise.

4 ازال حجابه عني و عيني ∴ تراهُ من المهابَة في حجاب
و قربني تفضله و لكن ∴ بعُدت مهابَة عند اقترابي

5 و لما تلاقينا الطعن بيننا ∴ فمنا و منهم طايحونَ عَديد
وَ جَال غرار الهند فينا و فيهم ∴ فمنا و منهم قايمٌ وَ حَصيد
فلا صَدر الّا فيه صَدر مثقف ∴ وَ حَول الوريد لحسَام ورود
صَبرنا و لا كهف سوي البيض ∴ كلانا عَلي حد الجلاد جليد
و لكن شددنا شدة فتبلَدوا ∴ و من يتبلد لا يزال يحيد
فولوا و للسّمر الطوَال بها مهم ∴ ركوع و للبيض الرقاق سجودُ

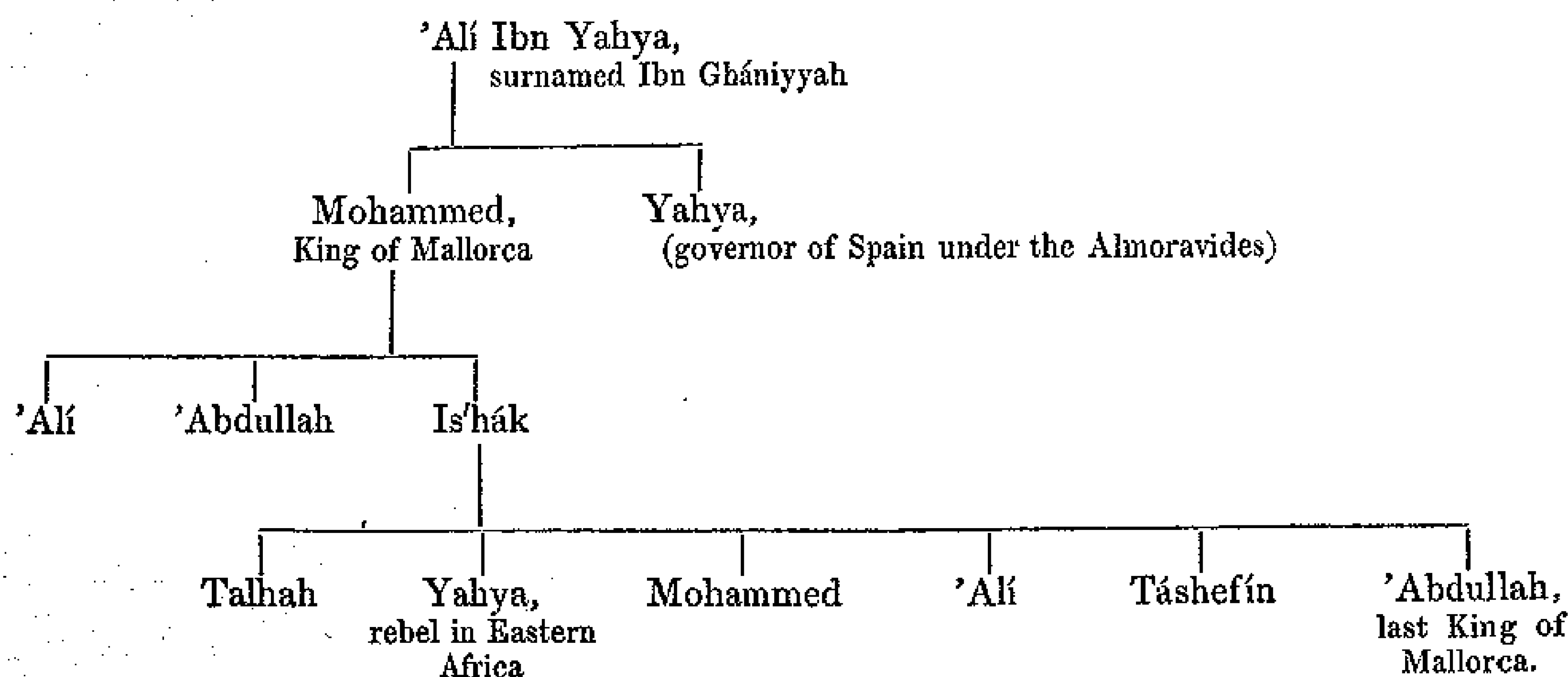
The "Lord of Toledo" mentioned in the above passage could not be Alfonso II., who died in 1157, and had been succeeded by his son Sancho III. The monarch alluded to was Alfonso III. of Castile, who reigned from 1158 to 1214.

[6] الارك *Alark*, which, in my copy of the *Karttás*, is written thus: الارَك *Alirak*. The place, however,

was not near Badajoz, as is stated by Al-makkarí; it was in the province of Toledo, not far from the town of Almagro, and it had been built by Alfonso III., on the site of the ancient Ilarcuris, in 1178.

[7] This fact is not recorded in any of the historical works to which I have had access. The author of the *Karttás* says, that immediately after the battle, Ya'kúb advanced upon Toledo, and arrived as far as Jebal Suleymán (La Cuesta de Zulema), near Alcalá de Henares; but, that after laying waste the country on his passage, he returned to Seville, whence he crossed over to Africa.

[8] This was Yahya Ibn Gháníyyah, the Almoravide, who, leaving the island of Mallorca, where his family had established themselves, sailed to Eastern Africa, and succeeded in rekindling the civil war against the Almohades. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lxiii. This Yahya, however, must not be confounded, as Conde has often done, with another Almoravide chieftain bearing the same name and belonging to the same family, who, after resisting for a long time the establishment of the Almohades in Spain, was at last compelled to yield to the victorious arms of 'Abdu-l-múmen, and died at Granada in 543. The former was the son of Is'hák Ibn Mohammed, and the latter the son of 'Alí Ibn Yahya, who, according to Ibnu Khaldún, was the first of the family who was surnamed Ibn Gháníyyah, after his mother. As the family of the Bení Gháníyyah, who belonged to the Berber tribe of Masúfah, played an important part in the affairs of the Peninsula during the empire of the Almoravides, and some of its members reigned in the Balearic islands, I here subjoin their genealogical tree.



[9] My copy reads نقعة Neká'h, by the simple alteration of one point; but there can be no doubt that Beká'h is the true reading.

[10] The mosque had been completed under the reign of his father; what Ya'kúb did, was to finish the tower صومعة which, according to Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, was begun on the 13th of Safar, A. H. 580 (May, A. D. 1184).

[11] Al-makkarí gives, in the third book of the first part, a specimen of this ode, which begins thus:

ساشكر بحرًا ذا عباب قطعته ∴ الي بحر جود ما لاخراه ساحلُ

"I will sing the praise of a stormy sea, which I crossed to another sea of generosity; both being "boundless oceans."

12 الذخيرة السنية في تاريخ دولة المرينية — This history of the dynasty of the Bení Merín, or Bení 'Abdi-l-hakk, as they are otherwise called, was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

13 Idrís Al-mámún took a body of Christians into his pay, who assisted him in his wars against Yahya An-násir. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. lxxv. According to the author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah*, Ar-rashíd and As-sa'íd, who were the successors of Al-mámún, had a numerous body-guard entirely composed of Christians.

14 The successor of Idrís was not As-sa'íd, but Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ar-rashíd, who died on Thursday, the 9th of Jumáda the second, A. H. 640 (Dec. A. D. 1242), and was succeeded by 'Alí *As-sa'íd*, the son [not the brother] of Idrís Al-mámún. See the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, cap. xlix.

CHAPTER IV.

1 القشي — which might also be pronounced 'Al-kishí' or 'Al-kosha.'

2 الصخيرة — Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Mohammed Ibn Húd, writes الصخيراب As-sokhayráb. The author of the *Karttás* places the rising of Ibn Húd at Orihuela, a town also belonging to the province of Murcia.

3 Upon the meaning of the word *al-jauf*, see vol. i. p. 322, *note* 43, of this translation.

4 Owing to the turbulent spirit of the inhabitants of Merida, whose repeated rebellions have been recorded elsewhere (pp. 127 and 439), that once flourishing city was destroyed by Mohammed, the fifth Sultán of the house of Umeyyah, in A. H. 254. It then ceased to be the seat of the government of the province, which was transferred to Badajoz, the ancient Pax Augusta.

5 تذكر المظفري — but I am inclined to think that تذكرة للمظفري is a preferable reading.

6 Conde (vol. iii. p. 9) places the taking of Merida in 629; the author of the *Karttás*, in 628; but the date given by Al-makkarí agrees better with the Christian accounts.

7 See the account of Ibnu Khaldún, Appendix, p. lxvii.

8 Al-makhzúmí is the surname of Abú-l-motref Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Omayrah, who, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, wrote a history of the island of Mallorca, where he resided for many years. He was

descended from Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-makhzúmí, who, in A. H. 566, delivered Valencia to the Almohades. (See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 58.) Al-makkarí treats of him in the first book of the first part, giving long extracts from his poems, as well as from several *risáleh* or elegant epistles which he addressed to the Sultáns of Morocco and Túnis, stimulating them to wage war against the Christians. He was born at Jezírah-Shukar, or the island on the Xucar (now Alcira), in A. H. 585. On the taking of Valencia by the Christians, in A. D. 1242, he crossed over to Africa, and entered the service of 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ar-rashíd, son of Abú-l-'ala Idrís Al-mámún, eleventh Sultán of the Almohades, who chose him for his Kátib or secretary in one of the civil departments. After filling for some time that situation, Al-makhzúmí was appointed Kádí of a town called هيلانة Heylenah; next of Salé; and lastly of Meknásah Az-zeytún. During the wars between the Almohades and the Bení Merín, as Al-makhzúmí was journeying from the latter place to Ceuta, the caravan of which he formed part was attacked and plundered by robbers, and he lost every thing he possessed, being thereby reduced to great poverty. Disgusted with his position, Al-makhzúmí resolved upon repairing to Eastern Africa. To this end he wrote to Abú Zakariyyá [Yahya] Al-hafssí, at that time governor of Bujéyah, a letter full of rhetorical beauties, in which he related his late misfortune and the poverty to which he had been reduced. So touched was the governor by the letter, that he not only invited Al-makhzúmí to Bujéyah, where he had him hospitably entertained, but recommended him to his relative, Al-mustanser Al-hafssí, the reigning Sultán of Túnis, who took Al-makhzúmí into his service, and conferred upon him a very lucrative appointment. Al-makhzúmí remained at Túnis until he died, on Friday, the 20th of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 648 (March, A. D. 1251). He wrote several works, among which the following are the most remarkable: sermons in imitation of those of Al-jauzí; a collection of epistles in prose and in verse, addressed to various princes of the Almohades, or Bení Abí Hafss; a history of Mallorca, describing the state of the island at the time he inhabited it, and its surrender to the Christians, written in imitation of the history which the Imám Al-isbahání wrote of the conquest of Jerusalem; and lastly, an abridgement of the history of the Almohades by Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát.

Here follow in the original MS., but not in the abridgement or in the improved edition, several *kassídas* in allusion to the taking of Valencia and other cities by the Christians. The first, rhyming in ها and addressed to Abú Zakariyyá Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed, Sultán of Eastern Africa, has no name of the author. Then follows another by Abú-l-baká Sáleh Ibn Sheríf Ar-rondí (from Ronda), describing the conquests made by the Christians in different parts of the Peninsula, after the expulsion of Al-mámún [Idrís] from Spain. Of this last poem, which consists of several hundred distichs, Al-makkarí informs us, that he saw in Africa a copy to which another poet, from Granada, had made a considerable addition in the same metre and rhyme, describing the taking of Baza, Granada, and other cities, by King Ferdeland (Fernando). Next follows a *risáleh* (epistle) written partly in rhymed prose and partly in verse, by the above-mentioned Abú-l-motref Ibn 'Omayrah Al-makhzúmí, and addressed to the historian Ibnu-l-abbár, as well as the reply of the latter, written in the same strained and highly figurative style after which Al-makkarí transcribes a poetical composition of Abú Is'hák Ibráhím Ibnu-d-dabbágh Al-ishbilií, on the battle of Al-'akáb or *Las Navas* lost by Mohammed An-násir. Numerous extracts are also given from poems by Ibn Khafájah, Abú-r-rabí' Al-kalá'í, Ibn Rashíd, and Abú Ja'far Al-wakshí, among which are numerous *azjál* and *muwashshahát*, two species of metrical composition then greatly in vogue among the Spanish Moslems, who pass as the inventors of them.

When, in vol. i. p. 408, I offered some conjectures on the *muwashshahát*, I was very far from imagining that I should find in the third book of the second part of Al-makkarí's work a full account of that metrical form and its inventors; much less that the diligent Von Hammer had just published the identical

passage, with a French translation, in the Journal Asiatique of Paris (Aug. 1839). I have since carefully compared the passage with a copy of Ibnu Khaldún, and found it correctly given. This renders it superfluous for me to enter more into the subject; I will only add that there seem to be more varieties of rhyme in the *muwashshahah* than those indicated by Ibnu Khaldún. As a proof of this, I will quote here a few verses of one by Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi (Ahmed Abú 'Amrú), who is by some believed to have been the inventor of them.

ثم غزا في عقب عام قابل ∴ فجال في شدونة و الساحل
و لم يدع رية و الجزيرة ∴ حتي كواكبها المهولة
ثم اناخ في ذري قرمونة ∴ بكلكل كمدرة الطاحونة
علي الذي خالف فيها وافتري ∴ يعزي الي سواده اذا اعتري

"About the end of the ensuing year, he set out in hostile array, to overrun Sidonia and the "adjoining coast.

"Nor did he forget [to invade] Rayyah and Algesiras, until their stars grew pale through fear.

"After this he marched to the neighbourhood of Carmona, his host [moving on] like the "revolutions of the mill-stone.

"Rebels and liars trembled at his approach, as if they were suddenly seized by violent fever."

The author alludes to the conquests of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

[9] Jayme I. of Aragon, surnamed "el Conquistador." The captured vessel is elsewhere said to have been a مسطح *mesteh,*—in the Catalonian dialect *mestech,*—whence the Castilians made *mistico.*

[10] فنزلوا منها علي الحربية الحزينة من جهة باب الكهل—thus in the Gotha MS. A. reads علي حربية الحزينة .B—علي الحربية الحرينة

[11] Muntaner, in his *Chronica del Rey Don Jaume Darago,* written in the Limosine dialect, and printed at Barcelona in 1562 (fo. vi.), says that the city was taken on the festival of St. Silvester and St. Coloma.

[12] King Jayme is said in Muntaner (*ubi supra*) to have seized the Moorish governor by the beard, in compliance with a vow which he had made before setting out on his expedition. *E lo senyor Rey conech lo Rey Sarrahi, e per força darmes acostas a ell, e pres lo per la barba.*

[13] هل امان من لحظك الفتان ∴ و قوام يميل كالخيزران
مهجتي منك في جحيم و لكن ∴ جفوني قد متعت في جنان
فتنتني لواحظ ساحرات ∴ لست اخشي من فتنة الشيطان

14 حمالة السَّيْف توهي جيد حَاملها ∴ لا سيما يوم اسرَاع و انجاز
و خير ما استعمل الانسَان يومئذٍ ∴ لحسام علتها لباس غنباز

15 The death of Al-kádir Ibn Dhí-n-nún is variously related by the Mohammedan writers. According to Al-khazrejí (App. p. xxxix.), he was murdered in A. H. 485 by Abú Nasr, the general of the Almoravides, whom Ibn Jeháf had brought to Valencia. Conde (vol. ii. p. 175) says, that Ibn 'A'yeshah, another Almoravide general, after the reduction of Denia, besieged Al-kádir in Valencia. The latter, assisted by Ibn Táhir [the dethroned King of Murcia], made a stout defence; but the Almoravides having gained possession of the city through the treason of the Kádí Ibn Jeháf, who opened one of the gates to them, the garrison were overpowered, and Al-kádir himself slain. In the *Cronica de España*, Alcadubirle (Al-kádir-billah) is said to have left his palace disguised in woman's clothes, and to have taken refuge at a house in the city, where he lay concealed until Ibn Jeháf found him out and had him put to death, to rob him of his treasures.

16 Ibnu-l-abbár, *apud* Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* p. 43), gives the latter date. Conde (vol. ii. p. 183) adds, in the month of Jumáda the first (April or May, A. D. 1094). See also the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xxxix. According to the author of the *Cronica de España* (fo. ccc.), the Cid had been some time in possession of Valencia during the lifetime of Al-kádir; but, on the approach of the Almoravides, he evacuated that city, and abandoned the king to his fate.

17 In the month of Rejeb (May, A. D. 1102), says Conde. The city, however, was not recovered by Abú Mohammed Modhzelí, as here stated, but by Yahya Ibn Abí Bekr, one of the sons of Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, p. xlii.

18 This Merwán [Ibn 'Abdilla] Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz is the same individual mentioned in vol. i. pp. 66 and 373, *note* 7, of this translation. He was descended from 'Abdu-l-'azíz, first King of Valencia of the dynasty of the Beni Abí 'A'mir. Abú Bekr, the last King of Valencia of the dynasty of the Beni Abí 'Amir, who was dethroned by Yahya Al-kádir, was probably his father.

19 See Appendix, p. lxxi.

20 I have already alluded to this historian in the notes to the first volume of this translation (p. 473); but, led into error by Casiri, I there called him Abú Bekr 'Abdullah Ibn Abí Bekr, &c. His real name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Bekr Ibnu-l-abbár Al-kodhá'í Al-balensí. The individual above named was his father. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 129.

An interesting account of Ibnu-l-abbár and his untimely death occurs in the *Ráyidu-l-faláh* (Ar. MS. in my possession), which, as it agrees with that given by Ibnu Khaldún (Part VI. fo. 139), I am inclined to think is borrowed from that historian. I here translate it: "Ibnu-l-abbár (Abú 'Abdillah "Mohammed) was at first Kátib (secretary) to Síd Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Hafss, grandson of 'Abdu-l-"múmen, when he was governor of Valencia. He afterwards filled that situation under his son Síd Abú "Zeyd, and accompanied him to the court [of Jayme I.], when that prince abjured the religion of "his fathers and embraced Christianity; but, before Abú Zeyd had accomplished his wicked purpose,

" Ibnu-l-abbár left his master and returned to Valencia. Upon his arrival in that city, Zeyyán Ibn " Mardanísh, who was ruling there at the time, appointed him his secretary; and, when the Christians " laid siege to Valencia, sent him to Africa for succour. Ibnu-l-abbár repaired to Túnis, then the court " of Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Hafss, solicited, and obtained the aid of his fleet. He then returned to " Valencia, where he remained until the city was taken [by Jayme]; when he embarked with all his " family for Túnis. Abú Zakariyyá received Ibnu-l-abbár kindly, and gave him an office at his court, the " duties of which consisted in writing the *'alemah* or countersign at the bottom of the royal letters " and dispatches. It happened, however, that Abú Zakariyyá, who preferred the Eastern hand to the " Western, thought of superseding Ibnu-l-abbár, and replacing him by Abú-l-'abbás Al-ghosání, who " could write the hand generally used in the East. Intelligence of the Sultán's determination having " reached Ibnu-l-abbár, he was exceedingly angry and piqued at the preference given to the Eastern hand, " and lost no opportunity of making his discontent known to the Sultán. Some time after, Ibnu-l-abbár " received orders to write a letter in the Sultán's name, but to leave a blank for the *'alemah*, which was " to have been filled by Al-ghosání; but instead of complying with the order, he not only did as before, " but wrote it in a larger hand than usual. Having been upbraided for his disobedience to his superior in " the office, he flew into a most violent passion, threw down the pen with which he was then writing, " and spoke in very indecorous terms of Abú Zakariyyá, which being reported to that Sultán, he gave " orders that Ibnu-l-abbár should be kept a prisoner in his own dwelling until he decided upon the kind " of punishment to be inflicted upon him for his disrespect. During his seclusion, Ibnu-l-abbár applied " for permission to write a paper on the Kátibs who had momentarily lost the favour of their masters, " but had been restored to it; and having obtained it, produced his celebrated tract entitled اعتاب " الكتّاب "the return to favour of the scribes," which was so much liked by Abú Zakariyyá that he " forgave his offence and restored him to his office. Abú Zakariyyá was succeeded on the throne by his " son Al-mustanser, who not only confirmed Ibnu-l-abbár in his office, but promoted him to the rank of " Wizír. Ibnu-l-abbár, however, had a bitter enemy in the person of Ibn Abí Huseyn, one of " Al-mustanser's courtiers, who, being on bad terms with him ever since his first visit to Túnis, never " lost an opportunity of doing him all the harm he could. Having one day accused Ibnu-l-abbár of " being implicated in a conspiracy to dethrone Al-mustanser, a search was made among his papers, and " they say that there was found one in verse which began thus:

طغي بتونس خلق سموه ظلما خليفة

'In Túnis rules a tyrant, whom wicked people call Khalif.'

" No sooner had Al-mustanser cast his eyes over the contents of the paper, than he sent some of his " guards to Ibnu-l-abbár's dwelling, with orders to put him to death; which was done, the soldiers " striking him with their spears. Others relate this differently; but there can be no doubt as to the " lamentable end of this celebrated writer. He was executed on the 15th of Moharram, A. H. 658 " (Jan. A. D. 1260), his head cut off, and fixed to a stake, after which his body was burned in one of the " squares of Túnis, together with all his works and a valuable library which he had brought over from " Andalus."

According to the explanation given by this author of the object of Ibnu-l-abbár's work, I am inclined to think that اعتاب is not, as I first thought, the plural of عتب *'atab*, meaning 'a step or degree,' but the noun of action of the fourth form, أعتب—and that the title of the work is to be translated by "the return to favour of the scribes or secretaries."

Besides his *Tekmílah*, or supplement to the biographical dictionary of Al-homaydí, Ibnu-l-abbár wrote,

1st, a biography of Spanish poets, entitled تحفة القادم "gift for the stranger or new comer," a copy of which is preserved in the library of the Escurial (No. 354), although the name of the author is there given differently; 2nd, another biographical dictionary of illustrious Spaniards, called *Hillatu-s-seyrá*, "variegated silken robe," of which there is also a copy in the Escurial Library, No. 1649.

21 In the Limousine Chronicle, attributed to Jayme I. of Aragon, which contains a detailed account of the taking of Valencia, the year 1239 is given by mistake.

Instead of "Ibn 'Iyádh," عِياض—some copies read عَياض 'Ayádh, but it is difficult to say which is the best reading; for both are Arabic names, and, strange to say, I have frequently met with the same word differently pointed, though applied to the same individual. Ibn Khallekán writes 'Iyádh; Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu-l-khattíb, 'Ayádh.

22 اينجة—My copy reads استجة Estajah (Ezija).

23 *'Isti'áb* is the title of a work on the *as'háb* or companions of the Prophet, by Abú 'Amru Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr. See above, pp. 2 and 396, *note* 8.

24 The Abú Sa'íd mentioned in this passage is the same prince alluded to in vol. i. pp. 164 and 441 of this translation. He had been governor of Granada at the beginning of his father's reign.

25 Conde (vol. ii. p. 347) places the taking of Almeria by Abú Sa'íd in 552, ten years after its occupation by the Castilians; but the author of the *Karttás*, Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, and Ibnu Khaldún, agree in giving the date of 546.

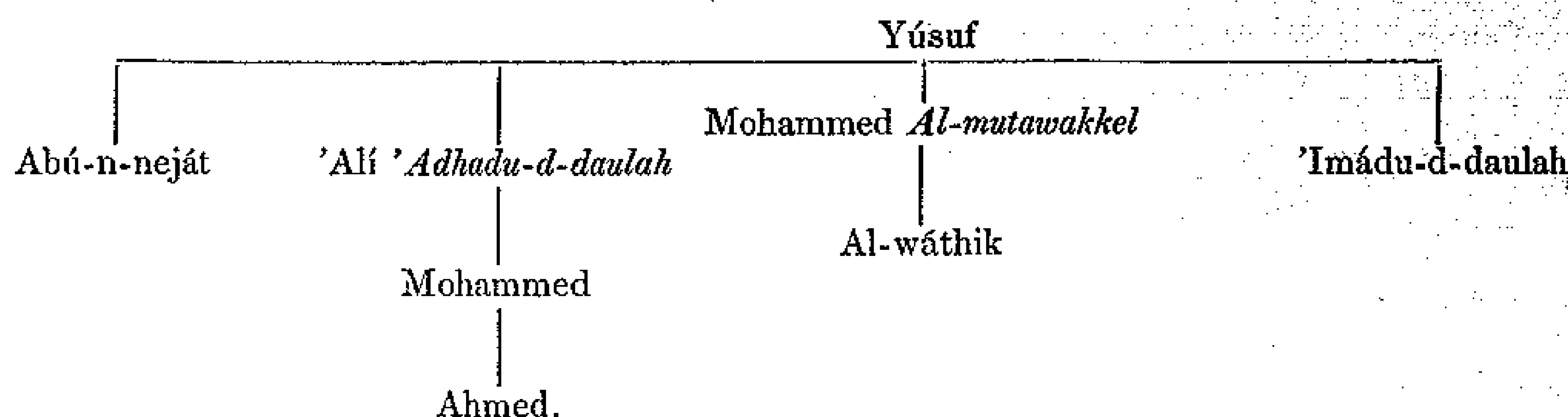
26 Al-mutawakkel Ibn Húd left a son named Abú Bekr Al-wáthik-billah, whom he had previously appointed to succeed him. He had besides three brothers: Abú-n-neját Sálim, surnamed *'Imádu-d-daulah* (column of the state), who was governor of Seville; Abú Is'hák *Sherfu-d-daulah* (ornament of the state); and Abú-l-hasan *'Adhadu-d-daulah* (arm of the state). The latter was taken prisoner by the Christians; but his brother Mohammed paid a considerable ransom for him, and he was set free. Nothing can be more obscure and contradictory than the few accounts we have of these princes respectively; the confusion being greatly increased by the fact that all four are generally designated in history by their family appellation, *Ibn Húd*, without their distinctive names or surnames. After the death of Mohammed, *i. e.* on the 4th of Moharram, A. H. 636 (Aug. 26, A. D. 1238), his brother, 'Adhadu-d-daulah ['Alí Ibn Yúsuf], who was governor of Murcia, caused himself to be proclaimed by the inhabitants; but scarcely had he reigned eight months, when Abú Jemíl Zeyyán, the dethroned King of Valencia, turned his arms against him, took his capital, and put him to death on Friday, the 15th of Ramadhán of the same year (Conde, vol. iii. p. 21). This account, however, is contradicted by Ibnu Khaldún (App. p. lxxviii.) and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 64), who say that the victim of Abú Jemíl was a noble chief named Abú Bekr 'Azíz Ibn Khattáb, who had reigned in Murcia ever since the death of Al-mutawakkel.

In A. H. 638, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, the son of 'Alí, regained possession of his capital; and in the ensuing year [A. H. 639] became a vassal of Ferdinand III. of Castile, and admitted a Christian garrison into the citadel of Murcia; but, either the Christian conqueror was not satisfied with this mark of

vassalage, or, what is more probable, Ibn Húd entered into some secret compact with Ibnu-l-ahmar, Sultán of Granada, to rid himself of his guests: the fact is, that in A. H. 640, Ferdinand sent against Murcia his son Alfonso, who took possession of the city and dethroned Ibn Húd. It must, however, be observed, that whilst Ibnu-l-khattíb and other Mohammedan writers place the taking of Murcia in 640, Cascales (*Discursos Historicos de Murcia,* fo. 18) says, that it took place at the end of 638; and he quotes even a grant of land by Ferdinand to the monastery of St. Mary of Valpuesta, made in Murcia, and bearing the date of July 2, 1241.

Meanwhile Al-wáthik, the son of Al-mutawakkel, lived in obscurity. Ibnu-r-remímí not only refused to acknowledge him as his father's successor, but gave up Almeria to Ibnu-l-ahmar, the Sultán of Granada. Deprived of the capital of his kingdom, Al-wáthik withdrew to a strong castle in the neighbourhood of Almeria, where he defended himself against the attacks of Ibnu-l-ahmar. When, in the year 1261, the Moslems of Andalusia resolved, in concert with Ibnu-l-ahmar, to shake off the Castilian yoke, the people of Murcia seem to have chosen Al-wáthik for their king; for we see him figure in the *Cronica de Don Alfonso el Sabio* under the corrupt name of *Alboaques*. Murcia, however, was speedily reduced by Alfonso X. and his auxiliary, Jayme of Aragon, and Al-wáthik deprived of his states; but the Castilian king, wishing, as his chronicler informs us (fo. viii.), "to have a king for a vassal," appointed to the vacant throne "un hermano de Abenhud," a brother of [Al-mutawakkel] Ibn Húd, probably the same Ahmed mentioned by Ibnu Khaldún (App. p. lxxviii.), unless he be the same Mohammed who had filled the throne of Cordova on a former occasion.

According to Cascales (*Discursos Historicos,* fo. 25), the second taking of Murcia happened on the 13th of January, 1265, a date which can nowise be reconciled with those here assigned for that event, much less with that given by Ibnu Khaldún. (See App. p. lxxviii.) In order to render the facts above recorded more conspicuous, I here subjoin the genealogical tree of the second dynasty of the Beni Húd.



CHAPTER V.

¹ Nasr Ibn Yúsuf was the name of Mohammed's brother. See the Genealogical Table of the Beni Nasr, at the end of this volume.

² Instead of the title "Amír," taken by the sons and brothers of the Sultáns of all the dynasties that ruled over Spain, the Almohades assumed that of Síd or Seyd (Lord), whence the Spaniards have taken the word "Cid."

³ Ibn Ashkilúlah or Ishkilúlah was the surname of Abú Is'hák Ibráhím At-tojibí. See Ibnu-l-khattíb,

apud Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 98. He seems to have been married to a daughter of Ibnu-l-ahmar; for in the inscription on the tombstone of his son [Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah] at Guadix, it is said that Mohammed II. of Granada (son of Ibnu-l-ahmar) was his *khál* or uncle on the mother's side.

4 بايع لبني هود—If true, this is a curious fact, not recorded by Ibnu-l-khattíb or any other of the Arabian writers to whose works I have had access. But I rather think that Ibnu Khaldún was mistaken. Ibnu-l-khattíb informs us that Ibnu-l-ahmar sent his allegiance to the 'Abbásside Khalif. His words are as follow: و لقبل ما افتتح امره بالدعا للمستنصر العباسي ببغداد حاذيا حزو سميه ابن هود للهج العامة في وقته بتقلد تلك الدعوة "At the beginning of his reign, Ibnu-l-ahmar caused Al-"mustanser Al-'abbásí, of Baghdád, to be proclaimed in his dominions, following in this the example of "his namesake Ibn Húd [Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf], in order by that means to gain popularity among his "subjects."

5 *Marhalah* means, properly speaking, 'one day's march,' or thirty miles; but there must be some error in the numbers, for the proportion of length and width of the kingdom of Granada could at no time be twenty to one.

6 Ibnu Khaldún resided some time at Granada, and was the pupil of Ibnu-l-khattíb, as well as of 'Isa Ibn Az-zeyyát and other celebrated literati of that city. He himself says so in his Historical Prolegomena, in the chapter treating of the literature of the Arabs, fo. 273, *verso et passim*. I quote from the Leyden copy (No. 1350[a]); for that belonging to the British Museum is incomplete, and wants the two last books.

7 In addition to his *Aháttah* (Granatensis Encyclica), extracts from which were given by Casiri (vol. ii. pp. 121-132), Ibnu-l-khattíb wrote several works on the history of Granada, the titles of which I subjoin: طرفة العصر في اخبار بني نصر "the novelty of the age: on the history of the Bení Nasr," which the author himself informs us was completed in Sha'bán, A. H. 700; عايد الصلة "the visitor of the *Silah*," being a supplement to the biographical dictionary by Ibn Zubeyr, entitled *Silah*; تاج المحلي "the ornamental diadem," or a history of Spain and Africa since the accession of Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar to the throne of Granada; الحلل المرقومة "embroidered robes,"—this was printed, with a Latin translation by Casiri, in the second volume of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* pp. 177-319;—قطع السلوك المنظوم في اخبار الملوك "pieces from threads of connected pearls: on the history of kings." This was a general history, in verse, of all the Mohammedan dynasties in the East and West, but dwelling more particularly on that of the Bení Nasr of Granada.

8 تاكرونا—Probably the same place called تاكرنا Tekerná in the extracts from Ibnu Hayyán. See p. 457, *note* 47.

9 Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of this individual in his biographical dictionary of illustrious Granadians. His entire name was Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-lúshí Al-yahsobí (Abú 'Abdillah). He was a native of Loxa, in the province of Granada, where he was born in 678. He died at Granada on the 20th of Rabí' the second of the year 752. He is said to have been a Kátib

(secretary) to Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar Al-ghálib-billah, whose friend he was, before he assumed the royal title.

10 See Appendix, p. lxxix., where the taking of Seville by Ibnu-l-ahmar is placed two years after, in 631. It was Al-bájí who took the city in 629.

11 ابن عزار—But I think that ابن عزاري Ibn Az-zárí ought to be substituted. A historian so named is frequently quoted by Ibnu-l-khattíb, who calls him Al-morrékoshi' (the native of, or resident at, Morocco). This history, entitled بيان المغرب *Biyánu-l-maghreb,* was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

12 شاية *sháyah,* Sp. "saya:" both are no doubt derived from the Latin *sagus.*

13 حصن بليلش—as in Casiri (vol. ii. p. 264); but my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb reads حصن بلول Hisn-Belúl.

14 Alfonso did not visit Ya'kúb in Africa, but met him in Spain. Ibnu-l-khattíb says that the interview took place in a town called Hadhrát 'Abbád, near Ronda, and that he pledged the crown jewels as a security for the sums he had agreed to pay to Abú Yúsuf for the service. He then adds, on the authority of a man who was present at the interview, "On this occasion Abú Yúsuf gave a remarkable "proof of the contempt in which he held the Christian king; for when Alfonso had submissively kissed "his hand, he, after the usual compliments, asked in his very presence for water wherewith to wash the "stain of the infidel off his hands.

"This brings to my recollection a curious incident which happened once to me, and which I will now "relate, vouching for its truth.—A Jewish doctor, named Ibn رزار Razar, came once to Granada, under "the reign of the grandson of this same Alfonso [Pedro], and visited me upon business. On his entering "the room, where I was sitting with the Kádí-l-kodá of Granada and other government functionaries, he "presented to me a paper signed by the Sultán of Western Africa, Mohammed, the son of 'Abdu-r-"rahmán, son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan. This Mohammed, having been dethroned by a kinsman "of his, fled to the court of the King of Castile, whose assistance he implored against the usurper of his "throne. This was readily granted, and Mohammed, having subscribed to such conditions as were "imposed upon him, obtained the aid of King Pedro, and recovered his throne. It appears, however, "that a dispute arose between the two as to the manner in which one of the conditions of the treaty was "to be fulfilled, and the Jew was accordingly dispatched to me to know my opinion on the disputed "clause. Upon his entering the room, the Jew said to me, 'My master the Sultán Don Pedro salutes "thee, and requests thee to look over the contents of this paper and the offers made to him by a man "who was only yesterday the most abject *dog* at his court, but who now boasts of his perfidy and "treason.' I took the letter from the Jew, and, having perused its contents, returned it to him, saying, "'Take it away, I will not see it, nor will I give my opinion upon it, and decide between thee and "the man whom thou callest a *dog.* Is thy master's court so free from old men who know you as *the* "*dogs,* that you bestow such an opprobrious epithet upon a Moslem of royal birth? You, not he, are the "unclean animals, whose touch must needs be purified by water. Have you so soon forgotten that when "the grandfather of thy present master kissed the hand of the commander of the Moslems [Abú Yúsuf],

"the latter asked immediately for water to wash out the stain, in the presence of both Christians and "Moslems. That Mohammed has fled to your country, and taken refuge at the court of your king, "is no fault of his; for you yourselves instigated him to take that step. Let this be a lesson to you "never to insult those who are better men than thee.' No sooner had I done speaking, than Abú-l-"hasan, the same who afterwards became Kádí of Granada, began to shed tears and to kiss my hand, "calling me saint and friend of God, and all those present imitated his example."

15 سبكة—which is also to be found written سبيكة *sabikah* and سبخة *sibkhah:* the latter word means 'salt-hill.'

16 See vol. i. p. 141, of this translation, where it is said that the title of Faquih was considered a very honourable one among the Moslems of Andalus. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who gives the life of Mohammed II., does not mention this circumstance.

17 المنظر—which Casiri (vol. ii. p. 273) translates by "aspectu pulchrum." No town of this name exists now in Andalusia.

18 العزافي—but Ibnu-l-khattíb, from whom this account appears to have been borrowed, writes الغرافي Al-ghoráfí.

19 Ibnu-l-khattíb gives the life of this individual among those of his illustrious Granadians. His name was Mohammed, and he was the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Ibráhím, son of Yahya, son of Mohammed, son of Sa'íd, son of Mohammed, son of Fotúh, son of Mohammed, son of Ayúb, son of Al-hakím Al-lakhmí. He was a native of Ronda, but originally from Seville. At the age of three-and-twenty he left his native city, and made a pilgrimage to Mekka, visiting on his way thither the principal cities of Syria and 'Irák, where he failed not to profit by the lessons of the most distinguished authors of the time. On his return to Ronda, at the end of 685, he devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of literature, and the lectures which he gave were attended by numerous disciples. Having composed a poem in praise of Mohammed II. of Granada, he presented it to that Sultán, who was so pleased with it that he summoned the author to Granada, and appointed him his *Kátibu-l-anshá*, or secretary for the foreign correspondence. On the death of Mohammed II., his son and successor, Mohammed III., being pleased with his services, promoted Ibnu-l-hakím to the Wizírate, allowing him to retain his former appointment; so that he became *Dhú-l-wizárateyn*, or holder of the two Wizírates.

Al-makkarí does not inform us how Ibnu-l-hakím worked his own ruin and that of his master; but Ibnu-l-khattíb says, at the time that he does justice to his wisdom and talents, that he was a man of overbearing temper, very proud, and exceedingly avaricious. Although he was absent from home when the mob broke into his house, he was afterwards discovered in one of the rooms of the palace and put to death. Ibnu-l-khattíb laments the loss of a valuable library which he had collected at great expense, and in which were some works composed by Ibnu-l-hakím, such as a history of Mohammedan Spain from the conquest to his own times. Ibnu-l-hakím left a son, also named Mohammed Ibnu-l-hakím, who wrote, among other works, one entitled الفوايد المنتخبة و الموارد المستعذبة "selection of useful things and profitable allegations," and a supplement to the ميزان العمل "balance of administration," by Ibn Rashik.

[20] Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed, surnamed Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-háj, was born at Seville in A. H. 670, where he exercised the trade of engineer and carpenter. While young he crossed over to Africa, and entered Fez, at that time the court of Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, the Merínite, for whom he executed different works in that part of the city called New Fez, as well as within the precincts of his palace, &c. It was he who constructed the arsenal of Salé. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who gives the life of Ibnu-l-háj among those of his illustrious Granadians, says that he was "a profound "geometrician, and had much experience in making the hollow tubes," a species of cannon then in use among the Spanish Moslems: كان بصيرا باتخاذ الالات الحربية الجافية و العمل فيها—This recommended him to the notice of Mohammed II. of Granada, who invited him to his court, and gave him employment. Abú-l-jiyúsh Nasr, the fourth of the Bení Nasr, appointed him to be his Wizír; but, being accused of corresponding with the Christians, of affecting to speak their language, and dress like them, he made numerous enemies. When the revolution broke out, which deprived Nasr of his throne, Ibnu-l-háj fled from Granada and crossed over to Africa, where he died in 714.

[21] السبيكة — See above, p. 534, *note* 15.

[22] قرية العطشاء "the hamlet of the thirsty men." Casiri (vol. ii. p. 286) calls it Athocha.

[23] An-nuwayrí, in his history of Egypt, forming part of his Cyclopædia, gives two different accounts of this battle, which, he says, reached Cairo at the beginning of A. H. 720. The first of them is in substance the same as that given by Al-makkarí, who, no doubt, borrowed it from the work of that historian. The second, which reached Egypt in the form of a letter from the Sheikh Huseyn Ibn 'Abdi-s-sellám, differs in some material points; and I here translate it from a transcript sent me by my esteemed friend Dr. Reinhart Dozy, of Leyden.

"Don Pedro and Don Juan [el Tuerto], two Infantes of Castile, came here lately at the head of a for-"midable army, such as the Moslems never saw before, with the determination of taking possession of "Granada. Their first halt was near a castle called طشكر Tiscar, which they besieged. The governor, "whose name was Ibn Hamdún, offered to capitulate on condition that his life and those of the Moslems "with him should be spared. The Christian Infantes having agreed to these conditions, it was resolved "that the Christians should occupy the castle, together with the Moslems. Ibn Hamdún promised, if they "sent him a body of five hundred men, to admit them into the fortress. When night came on, the Infantes, "according to their promise, sent to the castle a body of five hundred horsemen, under the command of a "captain named ارفند Arfand; but they had no sooner gained admittance into the castle than they were "scattered about the various rooms of the fortress and massacred, without their being able to assist each "other. When the King of Castile heard of the treason practised upon his men, he took a most solemn "oath not to return to his dominions until he had taken possession of Granada by force of arms. He "accordingly encamped about four miles from the city, but as no one went out against him, he struck "his tents and advanced two miles further. When the Moslems saw this formidable host approach the "city, fear lodged in their hearts, and they began to address the most fervent prayers to God for their "deliverance. The Sultán of Granada, seeing the fear and consternation of his subjects, sent a message "to the Christian, saying, 'Return to thy dominions without doing harm to the fields, and I will give "thee twenty loads of money.' But the Christian refused the offer, saying, 'Nothing will deter me from "besieging thy capital until I take it.' The Sultán then sent him a second message, offering twenty-five

" loads of gold, besides one hundred dinárs daily, and one thousand every Friday; but the Christian king " returned the same answer, and, moreover, put the Moslem ambassador in irons. This convinced the " Moslems that nothing could save them except their own fortitude and the Almighty's help, and they " accordingly made every preparation to meet the impending danger. Having sent to implore the aid of " an Amír named Abú-l-jiyúsh, he hastened to their assistance with a body of one thousand horse. Mean- " while Abú Sa'íd 'Othmán Ibn Al-'ala, who commanded the troops of Granada, was preparing to march " against the enemy. After directing the Amír Abú-l-jiyúsh to lay in ambush with his men in a spot " which he pointed out to them, he himself left Granada at the head of his forces. 'Othmán was shortly " after followed by the Sultán, after whom came an Amír named Al-maghráwí, with three hundred horse " of the Bení Merín. Each of these divisions went along, trumpet sounding and cymbals beating, until " they came in sight of the Christians, whom they deliberately charged. Soon after, however,—as pre- " concerted between them,—the Moslems gave way and fled towards the city, being closely pursued " by the Franks; but they had no sooner arrived at the spot where their friends were concealed, than " they turned round and fought, when, those in ambush coming out, they gave their war-cry, and rushed " upon the enemy, who, being taken by surprise, was completely routed," &c.

[24] By *Bábá* the author means, no doubt, the Archbishop of Toledo, through whose interference the Pope is said to have granted to the Infante Don Pedro the tithes of all the churches of Spain, to cover the expenses of the war against the Moors.

[25] *Sheykhu-l-ghozát*, or "Sheikh of the warriors," was the title given to the general of the African troops in the service of the kings of Granada. It was one of the highest dignities at court, and was never conferred except upon members of the royal family of the Bení 'Abdi-l-hakk or Bení Merín, who were then reigning over Fez and Morocco.

[26] An-nuwayrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 112) also says that Don Pedro came accompanied by twenty-five princes, among whom were, his uncle Don Juan, the Lord of اشونة Ossuna (or لشبونة Lisbon), the Lord of Castile, the Lord of القرنترة Ilkirinterrah (England), the Lord of Aragon, and the Lord of طلبيرة Talavera, and others, all of whom remained on the field of battle.

[27] The date given by Ibnu-l-khattíb agrees with the Christian accounts, which place the battle two days after the festival of St. John. The Spanish chroniclers will not allow that the body of the Infante Don Pedro was so indignantly treated. They say that it was carried off by his own men, and interred in the monastery of Las Huelgas en Burgos. See Nuñez de Villasan, *Cronica de Don Alonso XI.*, cap. xviii. As to that of Don Juan, it was afterwards given up on the payment of a large ransom, owing, it is said, to his having once befriended the Moslems — لان يخدم المسلمين

[28] ورمي بالالات العظمي المتخذة بالنفط كرة حديد

CHAPTER VI.

[1] According to Marmol (*Hist. de Africa,* lib. ii. fo. 210, *verso*), the name of this son was 'Abdu-l-málik. Mariana calls him Abomilique (Abú Málik). He crossed over to Spain before his father, and took Gibraltar. Having subsequently made an incursion into Andalusia, he was killed in battle with the Christians. See Villasan, *Cronica de Alfonso el Onceno,* cap. cxiii., and Mariana, *Hist. Gen. de España,* lib. XVI. cap. ii.

[2] The buildings erected by order of Abú-l-hasan at Gibraltar are very minutely described by Ibn Battúttah in his original travels. That author, who visited Spain in A. H. 750, under the reign of Abú 'Inán Fáris, the son of Abú-l-hasan, enters into many interesting details upon the campaigns of the Merínite Sultáns against the Christians of Spain. Compare the *Karttás,* translated by Moura, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. iii. cap. xli.

[3] According to the author of the *Holalu-l-maushiyyah,* this villa was erected by Idrís Al-mámún, Sultán of the Almohades, during his residence in Malaga, before he took possession of the throne. Síd or Seyd being the title generally given to the princes of the Almohades, the villa was called Mun'yat As-seyd. There was another villa of the same name in the outskirts of Granada, a city which, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, owed its principal buildings to its Almohade governors. The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb wa rey'ánu-sh-shebáb* says that 'Abdu-l-wáhed I., seventh Sultán of the Almohades, whilst he was governor of Granada, and before he succeeded his father on the throne, built a magnificent palace known as *Kasr 'Abdi-l-wáhed,* or the palace of 'Abdu-l-wáhed, as well as a delightful villa called *Dáru-l-beydhá,* or the white house.

[4] وادي سفاين—now called "Rio de la miel."

[5] Mariana, on the authority of a register-book kept in the archives of the cathedral of Toledo, places this battle on the 30th of October.

[6] Abú-l-kásim Ibn Sherif is the same individual mentioned in vol. i. p. 404, *note* 6, of this translation. He was one of the masters of Ibnu-l-khattíb, who devotes to him a long article in his biographical dictionary of illustrious Granadians. His full name was Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-hasaní As-sebtí; but he was better known by the surname of Ash-sherif or Ibn Sherif (the son of the Sherif), because he was descended in a straight line from Al-hasan, one of the sons of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. He was born at Ceuta in Rabi' the first, A. H. 697 (Jan. A. D. 1298), but went to Granada, where he obtained office under the government, and, in A. H. 737, was appointed Kádí-l-kodá or supreme judge. In Sha'bán, 747, he was superseded, but soon after, upon the accession to the throne of Mohammed V., the eighth of the Bení Nasr, he was restored to his office, which he filled till his death. According to my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb, this happened in Sha'bán, 760 (July, A. D. 1359); which must be a mistake, since the revolution at Granada happened one month after, in Ramadhán, and Abú-l-kásim himself is said to have gone to Granada as an ambassador of Abú Sálim. Al-makkarí, who treats at length of Abú-l-kásim in the third book of the second part, where he gives the lives of the masters

of Ibnu-l-khattíb, makes the same statement as to the year of his death; but he quotes a passage from the وفيات "obituary," by Al-kasmítaní, in which the death of Abú-l-kásim is referred to the year 761.

Among other works on various branches of literature, Abú-l-kásim wrote an excellent commentary upon the *Makssúrah* of Ibn Házem, entitled فتح الحجب المستورة في محاسن المقصورة "the drawing of "the veil which conceals the beauties of the *Makssúrah*." See vol. i. p. 405, of this translation.

7 Ibn Marzúk. This is, no doubt, the same individual as Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdillah Mohammed *Ibn Marzúk*, a native of Telemsán, who, during his stay at Granada, was one of Ibnu-l-khattíb's preceptors, and became in time the Wizír of Abú Sálim. He was the author of a history of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, Sultán of the dynasty of the Bení Merín, entitled المسند الصحيح الحسن من اخبار السلطان ابي الحسن "true allegations [drawn] from the history of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan," from which, as well as from another historical work, entitled نزهة العنان "the pleasure of direction," Al-makkarí gives large extracts in the eighth book of the first part, respecting the Sultán Abú-l-hasan. These are principally relating to a magnificent present which that prince is said to have sent to Al-malek An-násir Mohammed Ibn Kaláun, tenth Sultán of Egypt of the dynasty of the Baharites, when his aunt Mariam started on a pilgrimage to Mekka. That princess was the bearer of three of the copies of the Korán which Abú-l-hasan himself had written, and which he destined as a present to the three mosques of Mekka, Medína, and Al-kods or Jerusalem. See vol. i. p. 437, *note* 90, of this translation.

8 خليفة الله ساعد القدر ∴ علاك ما لاح في الدجي قمر
و دافعت عنك كف قدرته ∴ ما ليس يسطيع دفعت البشر

9 In that part of his work treating of the Bení Merín; but the passage is wanting in the copy of the *Turjimánu-l-'ibar* preserved in the British Museum.

10 That is to say, of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, son of Abú Sa'íd Faraj, who was proclaimed king at Andarax, in A. H. 627, by the general of the African troops, 'Othmán Ibn Abí-l-'ola. See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 294, and the genealogical tree of the Bení Nasr at the end of the volume. The word *reys*, whence the Spanish word "arraez" is derived, means 'a captain or chief.'

11 The following account of Redwán is given in the biographical dictionary of Ibnu-l-khattíb. "Redwán, the Hájib, the ornament of the Nasrí dynasty, was originally a Christian. I once heard "him say that he was born at a town called قلصارة Kalsérah, and that his family on the father's side "were originally from Castile, and, on the uncle's, from Barcelona, both being principal families in their "respective countries. Redwán's father, having killed a man, was obliged to fly the country and take "refuge in Kalsérah, fearing the vengeance of the relatives of the deceased. Redwán himself, having "been taken prisoner when young, was brought to this capital, where he was bought by the Sultán "Abú-l-walíd Isma'íl, before he ascended the throne. That prince became so attached to him, that soon "after his accession he gave Redwán the command of his armies, and appointed him besides his Hájib or

" chamberlain. Redwán made war upon the Christians with the utmost success, returning victorious " from every expedition. Upon the death of Abú-l-walíd, Redwán was confirmed in his office by his " successor, Mohammed," &c.

12 جنة العريف—*Al-'aríf*, in Spanish "Alarífe," means 'an inspector of public works;' and, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, the palace belonged to a person of that profession before it passed into the hands of one of the Sultáns of Granada, who bought it for a large price, and made considerable additions to it. This palace, which is no other than the famous Generalife at Granada, is still existing, though much dilapidated.

13 Casiri (vol. ii. p. 317), and Conde (vol. iii. p. 152) after him, call this Sultán Abú Sa'íd. In the extract from Ibnu Khaldún given at p. 357, Isma'íl's relative and supporter is also named Abú Sa'íd; yet in no part of his work does Ibnu-l-khattíb call him so. His name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ibn Mohammed Ibn Faraj Ibn Isma'íl Ibn Nasr. My copy of the *Aháttah* contains a long biography of him.

14 Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of Mohammed V., gives the details of this journey. The party started on the 11th of Dhí-l-hajjah, and halted at Fahss Al-font, Loxa, Antequera, ذكوان Dhekuwán, and Marbella, where they embarked on the 24th. On the same day the vessel cast anchor at Ceuta. They entered Fez on Thursday, the 6th of Moharram, 761.

15 Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf الصريحي As-sarihí Abú 'Abdillah, better known by the surname of ابن زمرق Ibn Zomrok, was born in the quarter of Granada called Albayzin, on the 14th of Shawwál, A. H. 733. He was one of the pupils of Ibnu-l-khattíb, who doted upon him, owing to his great imagination and talent; he succeeded him in the office of Wizír. (Ibnu-l-khattíb, *loco laudato*.) Al-makkarí, Part II. book iv., treats at length of Ibn Zomrok, whom he charges with having hastened, by his false reports, the execution of his master, Ibnu-l-khattíb. Some of the poems engraved on the walls of the Alhambra are there said to have been composed by him.

16 See vol. i. p. 301, of this translation, where I have given the life of this individual, translated from my copy of the *Aháttah*. In the third book of the second part, Al-makkarí gives the lives of all the Sheikhs (masters) of Ibnu-l-khattíb, as well as of all the learned men whom he met in his travels, or from whom he gathered information in any of the various departments of Arabian literature. The most celebrated of these were, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Jábir Al-wádi-ashí (from Guadix), the author of the well-known book of travels entitled رحالة ابن جابر "the peregrinations of Ibn Jábir," who died at Túnis in A. H. 779 (beginning May 9, A. D. 1377); Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibn 'Amru At-temímí; Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-n-núr, who died of the plague at Túnis in A. H. 750 (beginning March 21, 1349); Abú 'Imrán Músa Al-masmúdí, better known by the surname of An-najárí; Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn Marzúk Al-'ajísí, and his brother Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Marzúk; Abú-l-barakát Ibnu-l-háj Al-balkíní; Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Hudheyl; Abú-l-huseyn 'Alí Al-kijáttí; Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, the editor of the travels of Ibn Battúttah, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

[1] Mohammed the seventh,—supposing the name of the usurper, who was put to death by Don Pedro, to have been Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, not Abú Sa'íd, as it is stated by the Christian writers. See above, *note* 13.

Mohammed was succeeded by his son Yúsuf III., between whom and Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, the next sovereign mentioned by Al-makkarí, several princes occupied the throne of Granada. This gap in the history of the last Mohammedan kingdom in the Peninsula is the more to be regretted, as it can only be supplied by the writings of the Arabs, the Spanish chroniclers of the time not being either accurate or explicit enough to allow us to establish the chronology with any certainty. The work of Conde, it is true, affords greater materials; but as this portion of his history, though studiously shaped so as to give it an Arabic appearance, is evidently founded on Christian authorities,—there not being in the Escurial any work on the history of Mohammedan Spain later than that of Ibnu-l-khattíb,—great precaution is to be used in adopting his statements. For this reason I have avoided giving in the Chronological Table (No. XX.), at the end of the volume, the dates of the reigns of the seven Sultáns who, according to Conde, occupied the throne of Granada in the interval between the death of Yúsuf II. and the accession of Abú-l-hasan, or Alboacen, as the Spanish chroniclers of the time write his name. I have also excluded from the genealogical tree of the family all those whose existence rests only on the testimony of the Christian writers.

[2] ديك الروح—There are still extant at Granada the ruins of a palace, which in the days of Marmol was still called "las Casas del Gallo" (the house of the weather-cock), but is now called "la Casa del Carbon," or the house of the charcoal, from its having been appropriated to the sale of that article. The same writer records a tradition still current at Granada in his time, purporting that the palace had been erected by Bádís Ibn Habús, Sultán of Granada, by whose directions a vane was made in the shape of a warrior mounted on a steed, with a spear in his hand, and the following inscription underneath in Arabic characters:

قال البادسي ابن حبوس
كذا تذهب الاندلس

"Ibn Habús Al-bádisí says, 'Thus shall Andalus vanish one day.'" *Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos* (Malaga, 1600), lib. i. cap. v.

[3] ايوان غرناطة الغرآ معتبر ∴ طلسمه بولاة الحال دوار
و فارس روحه ريح يد به ∴ من الجماد و لكن فيه اسرار
فسوف يبقي قليلا ثم يطرقه ∴ دهيآ يخرب منها الملك و الدار

[4] The Gotha MS. and my copy read here "Sa'd" instead of "Sa'íd." This Sa'd is not included in the list of the kings of Granada given by Conde, and yet he appears to have been one of them; for in the genealogical account of Abú 'Abdillah or Boabdil given at p. 390, he is called the Sultán Sa'd.

I ought to observe that a descendant from Sa'd, named Isma'íl, son of Yúsuf, son of Al-káyim

biamr-illah Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar, Sultán of Granada, wrote in the fifteenth century of our æra a work entitled فرايد الجمان فمن نظمني اياه الزمان "unique pearls [selected] from the necklace of time, or a biography of illustrious men;" and that from this work, which he frequently quotes, Al-makkarí seems to have derived most of his information on the history of Granada.

[5] *Zaghal*, thus written زغل—is not an Arabic word, and belongs, perhaps, to one of the African dialects. It would seem to be the origin of the Spanish word *zagal*, meaning 'a sprightly or comely youth.'

[6] All this is very differently related in Conde, who makes the war last several years, and calls the governor of Malaga Abdolah instead of Mohammed Abú 'Abdillah. See vol. iii. cap. xxxiii.

[7] معاصر *ma'ássir*, the plural of معصرة *ma'ssarah*, 'a mill,' principally for grinding olives. In Spain they are called *almazaras*. Ibn Battúttah calls the "sugar-mills" معاصر سكر

The word translated by "inns" is *fanádik*, the plural of فندان *fondák*, whence the Italian "fondaco" and the Spanish "fonda, alfondiga, alhondiga," are derived.

[8] The author alludes, no doubt, to the troubles which distracted Castile during the reign of Henry IV., and which Mr. Prescott has so graphically and so truly portrayed in his admirable work on the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, vol. i. pp. 93-216.

[9] No doubt the execution of the Bení Serráj or Abencerrages, which must have happened about this time. Their enemies, the Theghriún, or Zegrís, as they were called by the Spanish writers, were certain Moors, originally from the Thagher or Thegher (Aragon), who, upon the occupation of the country by the Christians, took refuge in Granada. The river, now called Segre, is the وادي ثغر Wáda Thegher of the Arabs, who denominated it so, because it watered the country called by them Thagheru-l-'álí. On the meaning of these words, see vol. i. p. 315, *note* 11, of this translation.

[10] This must be understood as applying to Ferdinand, the husband of Isabella, who, after almost insurmountable difficulties, succeeded in uniting on his brow the crowns of Aragon and Castile.

[11] Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz. Alhama was taken on the 28th of February. See Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, chap. ix.

[12] Henrique de Guzman, Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who, notwithstanding his being at the time offended with the Marquis of Cadiz, generously stifled his resentment, and afforded him his assistance. See Prescott, *ubi supra*.

[13] The word translated by "heavy artillery" is مدافع *madáfi'*, the plural of مدفع *madfa'*, a word meaning 'a propelling machine,' still used in Africa in the same sense.

[14] The 27th of Jumáda the first, A. H. 887, answers to the 14th of July, 1482; but the engagement is said to have taken place on the 3rd. See Pulgar, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos*, pp. 189-91.

[15] The Arabic text says خال — that is, an uncle by the mother's side. The author means, no doubt, Don Pedro Henriquez, Adelantado of Andalusia, who was a relative of Ferdinand, although, according to the Christian authorities, he was not taken prisoner in the action. See Pulgar, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos*, p. 206.

[16] Pulgar, Bernaldez, and other Castilian chroniclers, say that Abú-l-hasan was in Malaga at the time; the account given by Al-makkarí is, however, the most probable. Unable to bear arms himself, Abú-l-hasan sent against the enemy his own brother, Az-zaghal, and retired shortly after to Almuñecar, where he died. Mariana, on what authority it would be in vain to inquire, says that Abú-l-hasan (whom he calls Alboacen) was assassinated at Almuñecar by the command of his own brother, Az-zaghal; but little credit is to be given to the statements of a writer who invariably confounds Az-zaghal and Abú 'Abdillah, calling them indistinctly Albohardil and Boabdil. See Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, chap. x.

[17] This was, no doubt, the battle of Lopera, in which the Moslems were defeated by the Andalusian borderers; but what is here meant by the chiefs of "Western Andalus" it is not easy to say, the Moorish kingdom being then too circumscribed to admit of such division. The author perhaps means those districts to the west of Malaga which were then called *Algarbia* or western; as those to the east were called *Axarquia* or eastern.

[18] Probably the castle of Moclin, before which the Christians, commanded by the Count of Cabra, suffered a signal defeat. See Prescott, *loco citato*, chap. xi.

[19] The word here used is الآلات — which, added to the adjective الحربية means 'war engines.'

[20] البيرة — probably Vera, unless it be written اللرة — in which case it would be Illora, a town also taken about this time.

[21] مثلين — some copies read مكلين — This town, which was very well fortified, was called by the Moors *Darkah Gharnáttah*, or the shield of Granada.

[22] منت فريد *Mont-ferid*, a corruption from Monte frigido, is Montefrio, not far from Illora. The town, called above Columbera, is Colomera.

[23] صخرة — written صحرة Sahrah in some copies. Bernaldez, in his manuscript chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, mentions a town called *Sagra*, which was taken about this time. Marmol, *Rebelion, &c.*, fo. 15, *verso*, calls it *Zara*.

[24] Thus written حصن البنشات — but the name of the place has nowhere been preserved.

25 This was Abú 'Abdillah Az-zaghal, who, hearing of his cousin's proclamation in Granada, had retired to Guadix, where he assumed the title of *Sáhib* (prince or lord). His cousin's name being also Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, they have frequently been confounded by the Christian chroniclers. The latter, however, is more generally known as Boabdil, a corruption from Abú 'Abdillah, or *el Rey chico* (the little king), to distinguish him from his uncle Az-zaghal. Marmol (*Rebelion, &c.*, fo. 15) says that his people gave him the surname of Zogoybi, that is, the unfortunate. He appears also to have assumed, upon his accession to the throne, the title of Al-kádir-billah. See Mariana, *Hist. Gen. de España*, lib. xxv. cap. ii.

Here follows in the original manuscript, but not in the abridgement, a long *risáleh* or epistle, written partly in prose and partly in verse, by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-'arabí Al-'okaylí, the secretary of Boabdil (Abú 'Abdillah), the last King of Granada, and addressed, in his master's name, to the Sheikh [Sa'íd] Al-watásí, Sultán of Fez, and founder of the dynasty of the Bení Al-watás. The *risáleh*, entitled الروض العاطر الانفاس في التوسل الي المولي الامام سُلطان فاس (the gardens of odoriferous flowers, or the message to the Lord and Imám the Sultán of Fez), is written in that highly figurative style so much to the taste of the Arabs, and relates the last events of the war of Granada and the taking of that capital by Ferdinand; it begins thus:

مولي الملوك ملوك العرب و العجم ∴ رعيًا لمن مثله يرعي من الذمم
بك استجرنا و نعم الجار انت لمن ∴ جار الزمان عليه جور منتقم
حكم من الله حتم الامرّ له ∴ و هَل مرّد لحكم منه منحتم

"O Lord of kings! the kings of the Arabs and foreigners; thou art a talisman to thy equals, "whom thou preservest from injury and shame.

"To thee we run for assistance; for thou art the refuge of those whom Fortune assails with her "vindictive blows.

"In Allah's name thou pronouncest sentence, except on cases to him reserved; and who can "complain of thy justice?"

After the above poetical composition, which consists of several hundred verses intermixed with rhymed prose, begins the second part of the work, which, as I have stated in the Preface (p. xiv.), is also divided into eight books, and contains the biography of the celebrated Wizír Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ahmed As-salmání Al-lúshí, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-khattíb, and the honourable appellation of Lisánu-d-dín or "tongue of the faith."

Book the first treats of his birth and ancestors. Ibnu-l-khattíb was a native of Granada, but his ancestors were originally from Cordova, where they lived in considerable affluence. Having taken an active part in the rebellion of the southern suburb of Cordova against Al-hakem I. in A. H. 202 (A. D. 818), they were obliged, like thousands of other families, to seek shelter elsewhere, and retire to Toledo, where they resided until the occupation of that city by Alfonso VI. of Leon in A. H. 478 (A. D. 1085). From Toledo the ancestors of Ibnu-l-khattíb withdrew to the districts inhabited by Moslems, and fixed their residence in various parts of the kingdom of Granada and Jaen. One of them, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, became Kádí of a district called Beghah, in the province of Jaen; another, named Sa'íd, took up his abode in Lúshah (Loxa), and was appointed Khattíb or preacher to its mosque. From this Sa'íd are descended the Bení Al-khattíb of Loxa. Sa'íd had a son named 'Abdullah, who was killed at the battle of Tarifa, on Monday, the 7th of Jumáda I. of the year 741, and who was the father of Lisánu-d-dín.

Book the second treats of his education and political career, the offices he filled, &c.

Book the third, of his masters and the learned men whom he met in his travels, and from whom he derived his valuable and varied information in the several departments of science.

Book the fourth, of the perorations which he made on public occasions, and of the epistles which he addressed in the name of his master to the Kings of Eastern and Western Africa.

Book the fifth — extracts from his prose works as well as from his poems.

Book the sixth, of the works which he wrote on various subjects.

Book the seventh, of his disciples. These were, Ibn Zomrok, ابن المنها Ibnu-l-munhá, author of a commentary upon the الفية ابن سينا (Al-fiyyah of Ibn Síná or Avicenna); Abú Bekr Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, son of Abú-l-kásim Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, who had been one of Ibnu-l-khattíb's preceptors; Abú 'Abdillah Ash-sheríshí; Abú Mohammed Ibn 'Attiyah Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Talhah Al-moháribí; Ahmed Ibn Suleymán Ibn Farkún, a celebrated poet, and others.

Book the eighth, of his sons. Ibnu-l-khattíb left three sons: 'Abdullah, Mohammed, and Abú-l-hasan 'Alí. The eldest, 'Abdullah, filled some office of trust under his father, whom he followed to Africa; he was a good poet, and left several works in prose and verse: he was born at Granada, on Saturday the 17th of Safar of the year 743. Mohammed gave himself up to devotion, and retired to a *záwiyah* or cell, where he died.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

Extracts from the historical work entitled "Traditions of Commandment and Government," relating to the murder of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. See vol. i. App. E. p. l. *et seq.*

How 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, was put to death in Andalus by order of the Khalif Suleymán.

The historian says,—And they relate, on the authority of Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, that Músa remained at the court of Suleymán, imploring his forgiveness, until that Sultán granted him a complete pardon, which he also extended to his two sons, 'Abdullah and 'Abdu-l-'azíz; suffering the former to retain the government of Eastern Africa, Tangiers, and Sús, and the latter that of Andalus, as previously agreed between him and Músa. However, when 'Abdu-l-'azíz heard of Suleymán's treatment of his father, he began to speak slightingly of his sovereign, and showed on every occasion his resentment of the injuries inflicted on him. This being reported to Suleymán, that Sultán conceived fears that 'Abdu-l-'azíz might shake off his allegiance and revolt against him. He therefore wrote to Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah, Ibn Wa'lah At-temímí, Sa'íd Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Yásir, 'Amru Ibn Múmelah Al-yahssobí, 'Omar Ibn Kethír, and 'Omar Ibn Sharáhíb, all of whom were superior officers in the African army, telling them what he had heard respecting 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and how he had been told of his meditating a revolt. He likewise apprised them how he had written to 'Abdullah Ibn Músa, commanding him to send every one of them to 'Abdu-l-'azíz in Andalus, and telling him not to wonder if he thus deprived him of the best officers in his army, as they were very much wanted on the opposite land, where there were more enemies to encounter. At the same time, Suleymán issued to each of the above-mentioned individuals secret instructions commanding 'Abdu-l-'azíz to be put to death, and promising that whoever would execute the deed should be appointed his successor. To 'Abdullah he wrote in these terms: "The Commander of the Faithful perceives that thy brother, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, "has in front of him an enemy against whom all possible courage and energy must needs "be displayed. He has inquired, and he has been told that thou hast under thy orders "many men of that description, such as so and so, and so and so; send them all to thy "brother, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, in Andalus, that he may employ them against the common enemy."

To 'Abdu-l-'azíz, moreover, he wrote as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful has been "informed of the class of enemies thou hast to contend with, and the want in which thou art "of men of courage and experience: knowing, therefore, that there are now in Eastern "Africa, at the orders of thy brother 'Abdullah, some men of that description, he has "written to him to dispatch them to thee, that thou mayst give them command in thy "armies, and appoint them to posts of trust near thy person or on the frontiers." Another letter was then issued to the conspirators, saying, "I have sent you written orders "enjoining the people of Andalus to obey you in all cases, and absolving you from the "death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. These letters you are to read, wherever you may be, to all the "Moslems under your orders, that they may all know and understand what my wishes and "commands are; and when you have made yourselves a party sufficiently strong among the "soldiers, you shall rise and put to death 'Abdu-l-'azíz, if such be the will of God, and then "return."

When 'Abdullah, the governor of Eastern Africa, received the above letter from the Khalif, he hastened to comply with his orders, and immediately prepared for the departure for Andalus of the men named in the dispatch, who had no sooner arrived and presented their credentials to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, than they were most kindly received and hospitably entertained by that governor, who told them to choose the provinces of his government wherein they preferred to settle, or the frontiers whereon they wished to be employed. The conspirators then held counsel together, when one of them rose and said, "If the orders of the Commander of the "Faithful are to be fulfilled, you cannot accept of the proposition of 'Abdu-l-'azíz; for if each of "you go first to the station allotted to him, and then return here, I apprehend you will "never be able to accomplish what is required from you: the army is mostly in his favour; "he has plenty of money, great power, and numerous *maulis* and adherents attached to his "person. I think our best plan is to remain here, and get rid of him secretly: there are "many men in this place (Seville), who, were they to lend a hand to this enterprise, would "insure its success: one is Ayúb Ibn Habíb, the son of Músa's sister; I advise you to see "him, and communicate to him the Khalif's instructions." This plan being agreed upon as the most expedient, the delegates went to see Ayúb, and offered him, in the Khalif's name, the government of Andalus if he would assist them in their undertaking. Ayúb having consented to kill 'Abdu-l-'azíz on this condition, they promised him their allegiance in case of success. The delegates went next to 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-ghâfekí, who was the most eminent and most conspicuous person in the army, by his talents, his generosity, and his virtues: having read in his presence the letters of Suleymán, they discovered to him all their plans: 'Abdullah, however, would not be a party to the murder of 'Abdu-l-'azíz; on the contrary, he said to them, "You know that the hand of Músa has conferred benefits on every "one of you, great or small. If the Commander of the Faithful has been informed as you "represent, he has been told a lie. 'Abdu-l-'azíz has never raised his hand in disobedience "to his master, nor dreamt of revolting against him. The Khalif, at the distance he is, "cannot see whether 'Abdu-l-'azíz is guilty or innocent of the crime imputed to him; but you "can, and it is for you to decide whether he deserves death, or not. Follow my advice; give "up your purpose, and write to the Khalif that you cannot put his orders into execution."

The delegates, however, disregarded his words for the love of the Sultán, and went about their business. Some time afterwards, they again met together and decided upon his death, which they accomplished in the following manner. They stood at the gate of his palace, waiting till he should go to the mosque to attend morning prayers. 'Abdu-l-'azíz left his palace at dawn of day, bent his steps towards the mosque, entered the *kiblah,* and began to read the Korán. Scarcely had he finished reading the introductory chapter, when, lo! a great noise and confusion was suddenly heard, and one of the conspirators, Ibn Abí 'Obeydah (Habíb), rushed upon 'Abdu-l-'azíz and struck him a blow, which, however, took no effect. The service was interrupted; and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, leaving the *kiblah* where he was, took refuge in the body of the mosque: he was followed thither by Ibn Wa'lah At-temímí, who killed him. When the news of the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz spread through the city, the inhabitants were greatly astonished and displeased: the conspirators then produced the letters and the orders received from the Khalif Suleymán, but to no purpose; the people would not attend to them, and they chose 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí to be his successor. In the mean time Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah and his comrades marched to Damascus with the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa. But we have reached the end of our narrative. God be praised for it!

How the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz was brought to Suleymán.

The author of the tradition says,—When Suleymán thought that the messengers sent by him to Andalus had reached their destination, and executed his commands, he proceeded to remove 'Abdullah Ibn Músa from his government of Eastern Africa, Sús, and Tangiers. This took place towards the end of the year 98 of the Hijra, in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah (July or August, A.D. 717). Habíb and his companions then came to Damascus, and placed the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz before the Khalif Suleymán, who sent immediately for Músa. Having appeared in his presence, and being made to sit behind the people, Suleymán pointed to the head, and said to Músa, "Dost thou know whose head that is?"—"Yes," answered Músa, "I do; that is the head of my son 'Abdu-l-azíz." The messengers then rose and informed the Khalif of what they had done in Andalus for the execution of his orders. Hearing which, Músa got up, and, after praising God, said, "O Commander of the Faithful! "thou art revenged; the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Músa (may God show him mercy!) is "before thee, but by the life of God there never was a Moslem who less deserved such unjust "treatment; for he passed his days in fasting, and his nights in prayer; no man ever more "loved his God, or his messenger Mohammed; no man ever performed greater deeds to "serve the cause of the Almighty, or was more firm in his obedience to thee, or showed "a milder disposition towards the men under his orders. 'Abdu-l-'azíz is no more; (may "God forgive him his sins!) for, by Allah! he was neither avaricious of life, nor fearful "of death. None of thy predecessors,—neither 'Abdu-l-malek, nor 'Abdu-l-'azíz, nor even Al-"walíd,—would have treated him thus, or reduced him to this plight. Thou even wouldst "never have done what God saw thee do with him, had there been any justice in thee. They "were all exceedingly pleased and satisfied with him, well knowing his honesty and his "virtues; and were therefore incapable of behaving thus to him merely upon the strength of

" false reports." Suleymán then said, " Thou liest, O Músa! thy son, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, was " not as thou representest him; on the contrary, he was impious and forgetful of his religion; " he was the persecutor of the Moslems, and the sworn enemy of his sovereign, the Com- " mander of the Faithful. Such was thy son, O foolish and doting old man! not as " thou describest him." Músa then replied, " By Allah! I am no dotard, nor would I " knowingly deviate from truth, wert thou to answer every one of my words with the blows of " death. I speak as the honest slave ought to speak to his master, with submission and " respect, bearing the insult without retorting it; but I place my confidence in God, whose " help I implore, and beseech——. Grant me his head, O Commander of the Faithful! that " I may shut the lids of his eyes." And Suleymán said to him, " Thou mayst take it." Músa then rose from his seat, and, taking the head of his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz, placed it in a corner of the tunic he had on; he then folded it twice backwards, in doing which the other end of his vest came off his shoulders. Músa was going out of the room in this manner, without either noticing or trying to repair the disorder in his dress, when Khaled Ibnu-r-rayán, having noticed it, came up to him and said, " Take up that garment of thine, O son of Nosseyr!" but Músa, turning round towards him, replied (ironically) in these words,—" This is no doubt a proof of the great love thou bearest to me, O Khaled!" Suleymán then interfered, and said to the latter, " Let Músa alone; he has already been " sufficiently punished;" and when Músa left the room he added, " That old man's spirit is " still unbroken." They say, that as Músa was quitting the palace he met Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah, to whom he addressed abusive words before all present, disclosing at the same time some shameful circumstances respecting his family, unknown to all but himself, and which cast no small discredit upon the person of that officer.

Some time after these events, Suleymán having made inquiries respecting the case of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, found out that all the reports respecting him were unfounded, and that 'Abdu-l-'azíz had never swerved from his obedience, nor done any other reprehensible act; on the contrary, he had been throughout his life a model of virtue. When the Khalif saw this he repented of what he had done, and, being angry with Habíb and the other messengers, he caused them to be banished the capital, and entirely disregarded their petitions. He then remitted to Músa the payment of the remainder of the fine.

An account of the governors of Andalus after Músa and his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

The author says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Músa governed Andalus *one year* after the departure of his father, after which he was put to death, as before said, by the order of the Khalif Suleymán. He was succeeded by Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, who governed *six months;* then came Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí, for *three years.* After him, As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khauláni, who ruled for *three years and a half;* then 'Anbasah (Ibn Soháym Al-kelbí), *two years and nine months.* After him, Yahya Ibn Salmah, *one year and three months.* After him, Hodeyfah Ibnu-l-ahwass, *six months.* After him, 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-khath'amí, *six months.* After him, Al-haytham Ibn 'Obeyd, *one year and two months.* Then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ghâfekí, *four years.* Then 'Abdu-l-malek

Ibn Kattan Al-korashí, *four years*. Then 'Okbah Ibn Hejáj (As-selúlí), *five years and three months*. Then 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, for the second time, *one year*. After him, Balh (Balj) Ibn Beshr Al-kusheyrí, *six months*. Then Tha'lebah Ibn Selámah, *five months*. Then Abú-l-khattár Ibn Dherár Al-kelbí, *three years*. Then Thuábah Ibn Salmah, *one year and one month*. Then came the overthrow of the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah in the East, when the people of Andalus chose for their commander Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-korashí Al-fehrí, without any order or sealed letters from the Khalif to that effect. Yúsuf governed Andalus for *ten years*, until the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mua'wiyah, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of Merwán, son of Abú-l-'ássi, son of Umeyyah, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of 'Abdu-Menáf, who took the command of the country out of his hands.

How the massacre of the Bení Umeyyah came to pass.

The author says,—And they relate that after the death of Merwán, the last Khalif of the house of Umeyyah, As-seffáh gave orders to his lieutenants in Syria and Egypt to look for the surviving members of that family, and put them to death. Accordingly, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Alí, who was governor of Philistín (Palestine), began to give out that his intentions were good, and that he came to pardon the Bení Umeyyah in the Khalif's name, and to restore them to the possession of all their property and honours. On the faith of these promises, about eighty-three of the most illustrious and principal members of that unfortunate family, amongst whom were 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ibn Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, Yahya Ibn Mu'awiyah, Abán Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Hishám, surrendered themselves. It happened, however, that the latter, who became afterwards king of Andalus, met on his way to the governor's a man whom he had patronised and esteemed in former times, and who, stopping him, addressed him in the following words: "Obey "me to-day, and oppose me if thou wilt on the day of judgment." 'Abdu-r-rahmán replied, "In what am I to obey thee?"—"Away! away!" said the man; "fly to the "West, where a kingdom awaits thee; for all this is a treason prepared by As-seffáh, who "wishes to rid himself in one blow of all the Bení Umeyyah."—"How can that be?" replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "when the governor has received his letters commanding him to assemble "us, to restore us our property, and to grant us besides plentiful pensions and bounteous gifts?" —"Do not be led away by these signs of peace and pardon," said the man; "for, believe me, "never will the Bení 'Abbás consider themselves fully in possession of the throne, never will "they deem themselves secure, as long as the eyes of one of the Bení Umeyyah remain "open."—"And what shall I get," replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "by following thy advice?"— "Uncover thy back, that I may see thy shoulders; for, if I am not mistaken, thou art the "man for whom the kingdom of Andalus is destined." And on 'Abdu-r-rahmán uncovering his shoulders, as he was desired, the man saw on one of them the mark alluded to in the *Kitábu-l-hodthán* (the book of the future events), which was an immense black mole, rising on his back. "Away! away!" repeated the man; "go to the West, and I will accompany thee "part of the way: I have twenty thousand dinárs; I will bring them to this spot, and thou "shalt depart."—"Who gave thee that money?" inquired 'Abdu-r-rahmán. "Thy uncle,

"Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek," answered the man. Upon which the prince, starting, said, "By Allah! thou sayst the truth, man; for I recollect now, that when I was a child, "my uncle, Moslemah, who on my father's death took care of my infancy, one day unco-"vered my shoulders, and saw the mark thou speakest of, when he began to weep profusely. "We were then, my uncle and I, before my grandfather, the Khalif Hishám, who no sooner "saw my uncle's sudden affliction, than he inquired the cause of it." Moslemah then said, "O Commander of the Faithful! this orphan will live to be king of the West, "after the overthrow of our empire in the East."—"And why shouldst thou weep, "O Abú Sa'íd!" replied my grandfather. "I do not weep on account of that; but, "by Allah! I weep because of the women and children of the Bení Umeyyah, whose gold "and silver necklaces shall be converted into so many iron collars, whose sweet perfumes, "aromatic woods, and odoriferous ointments, shall make room for nauseous smells and the "coarsest brush-wood. But God is over all things: after prosperity and glory, humiliation "and misfortune generally succeed." . . . .

[The author goes on to relate the massacre of the Bení Umeyyah, ninety of whom were barbarously butchered after a banquet to which they had been invited by the governor.]

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from the Jadh'watu-l-muktabis fí Táríkhi rejáli-l-andalus (a sparkle of fire from the steel on the history of the illustrious men of Andalus), by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Fatúh Ibn 'Abdillah Al-azdí Al-homaydí, of Cordova.[1] (Bibl. Bodl. Hunt. 464.)

Reign of Mohammed, son of Hishám, surnamed Al-muhdi.

This Mohammed, who was the son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-jabbár, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, rose against Hishám, son of Al-hakem, and deposed him in the month of Jumáda II. of the year 399 (Feb. A. D. 1009), assuming the title of *Al-muhdi* (the directed). He continued thus in undisturbed possession of the empire till Thursday the fifth of Shawwál of the same year (June 2, A.D. 1009), when Hishám, son of Suleymán, son of ['Abdu-r-rahmán] An-násir, revolted against him in Cordova with the Berbers. After fighting in the streets of the city the remainder of that day, the whole of the night, and part of the next morning, the inhabitants took the part of Mohammed, and the Berbers were routed and

[1] For an account of this author and his various works, see Vol. i. Preface, p. xx. and pp. 193, 473. Deceived by the similarity of the title and the general appearance of the manuscript, I there hazarded the conjecture that Al-homaydí's work was an abridgment of a voluminous history of Mohammedan Spain, which Abú Merwán Ibn Hayyán wrote under the title of *Al-muktabis fí Táríkhi rejáli-l-andalus;* but, although the facts of this latter work having been composed at least thirty years before the former, and of Al-homaydí being a disciple of Ibnu Hayyán, seemed to favour the supposition, I have, upon closer investigation, discovered that the work of Al-homaydí, from which the following extracts are taken, has nothing in common with the more voluminous history written by the celebrated Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Huseyn Ibn Hayyán, of Cordova.

compelled to leave the city. Hishám was, moreover, made a prisoner, and brought to the presence of Mohammed, who beheaded him with his own hand.

After this defeat the Berbers, having united their council, appointed a nephew of the deceased, whose name was Suleymán, to command over them. Suleymán was the son of Al-hakem, son of Suleymán, son of ['Abdu-r-rahmán] An-násir. Immediately after his appointment he retired with the Berbers into the *Thagher*, whence, reinforced with Christian troops, he soon after returned to Cordova, and laid siege to it. On the appearance of the Berbers before the walls, part of the garrison and the inhabitants sallied out against the enemy; but they were unsuccessful, and repulsed with the loss of upwards of twenty thousand of their number. This disastrous battle, which was fought near a mountain there called Kantísh,[2] has become celebrated in history for the number of eminent men,—poets, historians, theologians, Imáms, Almuezzins, and others,—who perished in it. Mohammed Ibn Hishám Al-muhdi, however, escaped from the swords of the Berbers, and, after remaining a few days in concealment, succeeded in reaching Toledo, as the whole of the *Thaghers*,[3] from Tortosa down to Lisbon, had remained faithful to him and obeyed his sway. Having therefore collected an army in those provinces, and obtained the assistance of the Franks, Al-muhdi returned with them to Cordova. Suleymán sallied out against him with his Berbers; and the two hosts having met at a spot, some ten miles from Cordova, known as the *'Akbatu-l-bakar* (the defile of the cows), Suleymán and the Berbers were completely defeated and put to rout. Al-muhdi, moreover, marched upon Cordova, and took possession of it. He then went out in pursuit of the Berbers, who had marched in the direction of Algesiras. Having overtaken them close to the river Aro[4] (Guadiaro), Mohammed gave them battle. He was however defeated, and compelled to fall back upon Cordova; where, no sooner had he arrived, than some of his own slaves, with Wádeh the Sclavonian at their head, fell suddenly upon him and put him to death, appointing in his stead Hishám Al-muyyed, whom they brought out (of his concealment), as elsewhere related. The reign of Mohammed Ibn Hishám had lasted ten months, counting from the day of his usurpation till that of his death, and including also the six months that his rival Suleymán was in possession of Cordova, whilst he himself was in the *Thagher*. His appellative surname was Abú-l-walíd. His mother's name was Muznah. He left one son named 'Obeydullah, who died without posterity. Al-muhdi was born in the year 366 (beginning Aug. 29, A. D. 976).

Reign of Suleymán Ibn Al-hakem Al-musta'ín.

Suleymán Ibn Al-hakem rose, as related, on Friday the 6th of Shawwál of the year 399 (September 4, A.D. 1008), when he assumed the appellation of *Al-musta'ín-billah* (he who beseeches the help of God). After this he entered Cordova, as above related, in the month of Rabi' II. of the year 400 (November or December, A. D. 1009), when, in addition to that of Al-musta'ín, he took the surname of *Adh-dháfir bihaul-illah* (the victorious by

[2] جبل قَنْطِيش

[3] Namely, the upper, the lower, and the central. See vol. i. p. 315.

[4] وادي أَرُهْ

the will of God). He then left Cordova in Shawwál of the year 400 (May or June, A.D. 1010), and lost, as before stated, the battle of Jebal-kantísh. From that time, however, Suleymán and his Berbers never ceased marching through the provinces of Andalus, laying waste the fields, destroying and plundering the cities and the villages, insulting the women, putting the men to the sword, and committing all sorts of atrocities, until they gained possession of Cordova a second time, at the beginning of Shawwál of the year 403 (April, A.D. 1013).

There were among the officers of Suleymán's army two men of the posterity of Al-hasan Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib; their names were Al-kásim and 'Alí, and both were the sons of Hamúd, son of Maymún, son of Ahmed, son of 'Alí, son of 'Obeydullah, son of 'Omar, son of Idrís, son of 'Abdullah, son of Al-hasan (son of Al-hasan), son of 'Alí, son of Abí Tálib: (may God be propitious to them all!). On his first accession to power, Suleymán had given them the command of the African troops. He had afterwards appointed Al-kásim, the eldest, to the government of *Jezíratu-l-khadhrá* (Algesiras), and had given to 'Alí that of Ceuta and Tangiers. Algesiras is a sea-port in the strait, known as the *Bahru-z-zokák* (the narrow sea), where the distance from one shore to another is no more than twelve miles. But to return.

When Suleymán, with his Berbers, made his second entry into Cordova, the slaves[5] spread over the country and gained possession of some principal cities, where they fortified themselves. In order to reduce them, Suleymán sent an army at the orders of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, before mentioned, who, being an ambitious man, and thinking the opportunity a favourable one, conceived the project of making himself the master of Andalus. He accordingly entered into a secret correspondence with the very slaves against whom he was sent, and made them believe that whilst Hishám Ibn Al-hakem was besieged in Cordova, that Khalif had written to him, appointing him his successor to the throne in case he should be put to death by Suleymán. Deceived by these declarations, the slaves answered his call, and proclaimed him as sovereign of Andalus. 'Alí then sailed from Ceuta and landed at Malaga, the governor of which, 'A'mir Ibn Fatúh Al-fáyikí, who was a freed slave of Fáyik, a freed man of Al-hakem Al-mustanser, acknowledged his right to the empire, and gave him entrance into the city, where 'Alí Ibn Hamúd was immediately proclaimed by the troops and the inhabitants. Some time afterwards, however, 'Alí expelled 'A'mir Ibn Fatúh, and remained sole master of Malaga. 'Alí then marched to Cordova with the Berbers who followed his banners, and the whole of the slaves. He was met by Mohammed, the son of Suleymán, who, by his father's orders, sallied out of Cordova at the head of the Berber troops: Mohammed, however, was defeated; and 'Alí having gained possession of Cordova, Suleymán was seized and put to death by the usurper, who beheaded him with his own hand, on a Sunday, nine days before the end of Moharram of the year 407 (June 30, A.D. 1016). 'Alí put also to death on the same day Al-hakem [Ibn Suleymán] Ibn An-násir, Suleymán's father, an old man of seventy-two years of age. Suleymán had reigned three years, three months, and a few days, counting from the day he entered Cordova to the time of his death. He had, however, been previously

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[5] عبيد. The author no doubt means Khayrán, Mujáhid, Zohayr, and others who had been slaves of the Bení Umeyyah, and once formed part of the Sclavonian guard.

in possession of that capital for six months; so that if we calculate the duration of his reign since the day he rose with the Berbers until he was killed, we shall find it seven years, three months, and some days. By the death of Suleymán the rule of the Beni Umeyyah was momentarily suspended, as well as the mention of their names from the pulpits of the mosques, in the whole of Andalus, until it was afterwards restored to its primitive state, as we shall hereafter relate. Suleymán's mother was called Dhab'yah.[6] He was born in the year 354 (beginning January 6, A.D. 965). He left three sons; Mohammed, who afterwards filled the throne of Andalus, but died without issue; Al-walíd, and Moslemah. Suleymán was a friend to poets and literary men, and could write very fine verses himself.[7]

Reign of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, surnamed An-násir.

On his accession to the Khalifate, 'Alí assumed the surname of *An-násir* (the defender). Soon after this, however, the slaves who had proclaimed him resisted his authority, and appointed in his room 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir, to whom they gave the honorary surname of *Al-murtadhi* (the accepted), marching with him to Granada, one of the cities which, as above stated, had fallen into the hands of the Berbers. 'Abdu-r-rahmán's elevation did not last long; for the same people who had raised him to power, perceiving his determination to punish all infractions of the law and to re-establish discipline, and fearing his vigour and justice, repented of what they had done, and decided upon deserting his cause. They accordingly abandoned him, and soon after hired some assassins, who put him to death. In the mean while 'Alí Ibn Hamúd remained in Cordova, in full possession of the empire, which he held for two years all but two months, until he was suffocated in the bath by some of his Sclavonian eunuchs. This happened in the year 408 (beginning May 29, A.D. 1017). 'Alí left two sons, Yahya and Idrís.

Reign of Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, surnamed Al-mámún.

'Alí was succeeded by his brother, Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, who was his elder by ten years. On his accession to power, Al-kásim took the surname of *Al-mámún:* he was of mild disposition, and the people enjoyed security under his rule. It has been said of him that he was a Shiite; but this report is unfounded, since he never showed it in any of his acts; nor did he or any of the other members of his family, who held empire in Andalus, ever countenance by their practice any other sect but the orthodox one. In this way Al-kásim retained possession of the empire until the month of Rabi' I. of the year 412 (June or July, A.D. 1021), when his nephew, Yahya Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, rose against him in Malaga. When the news of this rising reached him, Al-kásim abandoned his capital without a battle, and took refuge in Seville. His nephew then left Malaga at the head of his army, and marched upon Cordova, of which city he took possession without resistance. Having assumed the

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6 ظبية

7 Here follow in the original some extracts from poems written by Suleymán, which I have not translated.

title of Khalif, Yahya took upon the occasion the surname of Al-mu'tali, and remained in possession of the empire, until Al-kásim, having re-established his influence, and regained the affections of the Berbers, marched with them to Cordova, and entered that capital in the year 413 (beginning April 5, A.D. 1022), his nephew, Yahya Ibn 'Alí, betaking himself to Malaga.

Al-kásim remained some months at Cordova, during which time his authority was weakened and his empire subverted by his enemies. First, his nephew, Yahya, took Algesiras, which was Al-kásim's strong-hold, and where he kept his women and his treasures. Then another nephew of his, named Idrís Ibn 'Alí, took possession of Ceuta, close to Tangiers, a city which Al-kásim always kept well garrisoned and provided with every warlike store, that he might retire to it in case he should be obliged to quit Andalus. Lastly, a portion of the inhabitants of Cordova having revolted against him, they shut the gates of the city, and prepared for the defence. Al-kásim, who was master of the suburbs, besieged them for upwards of fifty days in the mosque of Abú 'Othmán, where they had fortified themselves, until, having made a sally, the Berbers took to flight, and abandoned the suburbs in Sha'bán of the year 414 (Oct. or Nov. A.D. 1023), each tribe of the Berbers betaking themselves to those towns whereof their brethren were the masters. As for Al-kásim, he retired to Seville, where were his two sons, Mohammed and Al-hasan; but when the people of that place heard of his defeat, and of his quitting Cordova and coming to them, they shut the gates of their city, expelled his two sons as well as the Berbers who were with them, and appointed three of the principal and most illustrious inhabitants of the place to command over them, and administer the affairs of the community. These were the Kádí Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ibn 'Abbád Al-lakhmí, Mohammed Ibn Al-alehání, and Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Al-zubeydí, who held the government of Seville conjointly for some days, sharing among themselves the duties of the administration until the Kádí Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád made himself sole ruler, and caused his former partners in power to resume the rank of subjects.

In the mean time Al-kásim had taken refuge in Sherish (Xerez), a city which remained faithful to him. When his nephew, Yahya, heard of his being there, he marched in pursuit of him and arrived before Xerez, which he besieged. Al-kásim defended himself valiantly for some time; but at last the Berbers who composed the garrison, being tired of the siege, held a council together, and decided upon deserting his cause and delivering him into the hands of his nephew, which they did; Yahya becoming thereby the sole ruler of the empire, and the only chief of the Berbers. Al-kásim remained a prisoner in the hands of Yahya, and, after the death of Yahya, in those of his brother Idrís, until Idrís himself died, when Al-kásim was soon after strangled in prison in the year 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A.D. 1039). The body of Al-kásim was given up to his son Mohammed, who ruled in Algesiras, and who had him honourably buried there. His reign had lasted seven years, counting from the day in which he took possession of the Khalifate in Cordova, to that in which he fell a prisoner into the hands of his nephew Yahya. He remained in prison sixteen years during the reigns of his two nephews, until he was put to death, as above related, at the beginning of the year 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A.D. 1039), he being then eighty years

old. Al-kásim left two sons, whom he had by one of his wives named Amírah,[8] who was the daughter of Al-hasan Ibn Kanún Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim Ibn Idrís Ibn Idrís Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Al-hasan Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. One was named Mohammed, the other Al-hasan.

Reign of Yahya Ibn 'Alí, surnamed Al-mu'tali.

Historians are at variance respecting the appellative of this Sultán; some calling him Abú Is'hák, others Abú Mohammed. His mother's name was Lebúnah, and she was the daughter of Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Ibn Al-kásim, better known under the surname of Kanún,[9] who was the son of Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, &c. This Al-hasan Ibn Kanún was one of the greatest kings of the family of Hasan, and one of the bravest and most dreaded by his subjects.

Yahya assumed the title of Khalif at Cordova in the year 413 (beginning April 15, A. D. 1022), as above related. After this he fled to Malaga in the year 414 (beginning March 25, A. D. 1023). He continued there, until in the year 416 (beginning March 3, A. D. 1025) some ill-intentioned people attempted to re-establish his authority in Cordova, and succeeded in their undertaking. But Yahya, who had already experienced how little he could rely upon the fidelity of the Cordovans, would not then enter that capital, and appointed 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Ittáf Al-yaférení to govern in his name. Things remained in this state the rest of the year 416 and all 417 (beginning Feb. 21, A. D. 1026). After this the people of Cordova expelled Ibn 'Ittáf, and appointed a descendant of the house of Umeyyah to be their ruler. Yahya, however, continued going to and fro with his army, and laying waste the country, until the greater part of the Berbers agreed to acknowledge his authority, and gave him possession of the fortresses, castles, and cities which they held in their hands. By these means the power of Yahya increased, and he went to Carmona with the intention of making war against Ibnu 'Abbád, and laying siege to Seville, which city he was anxious to take. Having one day gone out of Carmona to a lofty mountain in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of reconnoitering, he fell into an ambush prepared by his enemy, and was put to death. This happened on a Sunday, the seventh day of Moharram of the year 427 (Nov. 11, A.D. 1035). Yahya left two sons, Al-hasan and Idrís, whom he had by one of his wives.

Reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Hishám Al-mustadh'her.

When, in the year 414, Al-kásim and the Berbers were defeated by the inhabitants of Cordova, and obliged to quit that capital, as above related, the people held counsel together, and decided upon restoring the empire to the Bení Umeyyah. There were three descendants of that family residing in that capital at the time, namely: 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir, who was the brother of Mohammed Al-muhdi, former Sultán of Cordova; Suleymán, son of the above-mentioned Al-murtadhi,

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[8] أمـيـرة

[9] قـنـون which Ibnu Khaldún (fo. 99, *verso*) writes كـبـون *Kabún.*

who was killed in the territory of Granada; and Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Hishám Ibn Suleymán, he who rose against Al-muhdi Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir. The empire devolved upon 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who numbered the most votes; and he was, accordingly, proclaimed Khalif on the thirteenth day of Ramadhán of the year 414 (28th November, A.D. 1023), at the age of two-and-twenty, having been born in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 392 (September or October, A.D. 1002). His mother's name was Gháyah. He used the appellative Abú-l-motref, and on his accession to power took the honorary surname of *Al-mustadh'her* (he who implores the assistance of God). His reign, however, was not of long duration; for he had been but a short time in power, when Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir revolted against him, with a party composed of the dregs of the population, and he was put to death three days before the end of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year 414 (10th February, A.D. 1024). 'Abdu-r-rahmán left no posterity. He was exceedingly fond of letters, very eloquent, and could write verses in a very tender strain. It is so stated by our master Abú Mohammed 'Alí Ibn Ahmed,[10] who lived in his time, and was well acquainted with him.[11]

Reign of Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, surnamed Al-mustakfi.

'Abdu-r-rahmán was succeeded, as above related, by Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, who was forty-eight years of age at the time he took possession of the throne, having been born in the year 366 (beginning Aug. 29, A.D. 976). His appellative was Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán, and his mother's name Haurá. His father, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, had been put to death by Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, at the beginning of the reign of Hishám Al-muyyed, under the pretence that he was planning a revolt for the purpose of seizing on the empire. This Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán took the surname of *Al-mustakfi,* and governed for sixteen months and some days, until he was deposed in the year 415, the empire returning to the family of Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní. Al-mustakfi was compelled to leave his capital in disguise, and take refuge in the *Thagher*. They say that when he reached a town called Shamunt,[12] in the district of Medinaceli, he sat down to take some food. There happened to be with him at the time a man named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn As-selím, of the posterity of Sa'íd Ibn Al-mundhir, the celebrated rebel who rose during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir. This man, being tired of wandering about in Al-mustakfi's company, decided to get rid of him. He took some poisonous herbs, which are very plentiful in that part of the country, and dressed him a fowl with them. No sooner had Al-mustakfi partaken of it than he died; when the man dug a hole, and buried him on the spot. His reign was one of continued troubles and agitation. He left no posterity.

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[10] This is Abú Mohammed 'Alí Ibn Ahmed *Ibn Hazm,* the author of the epistle on the literature of the Spanish Arabs, translated in the first volume of this work, pp. 168-199. He was the master of Al-homaydí, who quotes him repeatedly.

[11] I have here omitted some uninteresting details.

[12] قرية شنت من اعامال مدينة سالم

Reign of Hishám Ibn Mohammed, surnamed Al-mu'tadd.

We have elsewhere related, that when, in the year 417 (beginning Feb. 21, A.D. 1026), Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní was deprived of his power by a rebellion in Cordova, the people of that city agreed to restore the empire to the Bení Umeyyah. Their chief counsellor and support on this occasion was the Wizír Abú-l-hazm Jehwar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jehwar Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-ghamr Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abdi-l-gháfir Ibn Abí 'Abdah. As all those who might have claimed a right to the empire, as descendants of that illustrious family, had either disappeared during the civil wars in Cordova, or were hid in the provinces, Jehwar and his friends wrote to the governors of the frontiers, and to all those who had usurped the royal authority in the provinces, acquainting them with their determination, and exhorting them to look out for the relics of the Bení Umeyyah, and to point out one who might fill the throne and restore it to its pristine glory and splendour. The people in the provinces agreed to this plan; and, after some time spent in searching for the princes of the house of Umeyyah, a great-grandson of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, named Abú Bekr Hishám Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán An-násir, was raised to the supreme power. They say that Hishám, who was a brother of Al-murtadhi, he who rose during the empire of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, as above related, was residing at Al-bount (Alpuente), under the protection of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Kásim, a noble chieftain, who had taken possession of that fortress. Immediately after his election, Hishám was proclaimed Khalif, and received the oath of allegiance of the people of Cordova in the month of Rabi' I. of the year 418 (April or May, A.D. 1027). He took on this occasion the surname of *Al-mu'tadd-billah* (he who is prepared in God). He was born in the year 364 (beginning Sept. 20, A.D. 974), and was Al-murtadhi's elder by four years. His mother's name was 'A'tita.[13] The new Sultán, however, did not then enter Cordova, but remained in the *Thaghers*, where serious disturbances had arisen, the different chiefs and governors there waging war with each other. At last, after going backwards and forwards for three years all but two months, Hishám succeeded in adjusting their differences and quelling their dissensions; and he was thereby enabled to repair to Cordova, the capital of the empire, which he entered on the day of *Mina*,[14] being the eighth day of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 420 (17th Dec., A.D. 1029). Soon after, however, part of the army rose against Hishám and deposed him; when, after many events, which it would take us too long to relate, the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah was for ever suppressed in Cordova. After the deposition of Hishám, Jehwar Ibn Mohammed, who had been the principal instrument of his elevation, gained possession of the supreme power. Jehwar had filled the charge of Wizír during the government of the Bení Abí 'A'mir. He had great expe-

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[13] عاتيت I think this name is badly written in the MS., but I have not the means of correcting it. Conde (vol. i. p. 618) calls her "Oneiza."

[14] So called because in this day the pilgrims who return from Mount 'Arafát to Mekka halt in the valley of Mina to perform their sacrifice.

rience in matters of government, and was besides endowed with much sagacity and a quick understanding. During the civil war he had taken no part whatever in public affairs, keeping aloof from all parties contending for power; but, when he saw the field open before him, and the occasion at hand, he dexterously seized it, and usurped the command. It must, however, be said of Jehwar, that though he administered the government and provided for the security of his capital; though he assumed in every respect all the authority of a supreme ruler, he took none of the insignia of the Khalifate, but ruled as none of his predecessors had done, declaring that he held the command until one more deserving of it, or having better titles to the empire, should make his appearance, when he would immediately resign all authority and power into his hands. He thus ordered that the palaces of the Bení Umeyyah should be kept in the same state as they had been under the regular government, and that the door-keepers, the servants and guards, should be stationed about the gates of them as in former times. He himself never inhabited them, but resided at his own private house in the city. The money arising from the collection of taxes, which formerly entered the royal coffers, he placed in the hands of public officers appointed for that purpose, and who were likewise charged with their distribution, he himself inspecting their accounts. He formed the tradespeople of Cordova into a sort of militia, and assigned to them a certain allowance, which was religiously paid out of the first sums collected in the treasury: he gave them arms, and formed them into various corps, which relieved each other in the guard of the city, going their rounds night and day about the shops, markets, and streets, so that, if any thing occurred, every man might be found at his post with his arms. He was in the habit of attending funerals and visiting the sick, imitating in every respect the conduct of the good Sultáns his predecessors: he, nevertheless, administered the affairs of the state as the other independent rulers of his day were in the habit of doing. So great was the confidence which the people placed in his justice, that Cordova was in his time like a sanctuary, and no man had any thing to fear from his enemies. This state of things lasted until Jehwar died, in Safar of the year 435 (Sept. or Oct., A.D. 1043). He was succeeded in command by his son, Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Jehwar, who followed his steps in the administration of the government until he died; when, after various changes and revolutions which happened in Cordova, and which it is not to our purpose to relate, Al-mámún, King of Toledo, took possession of it. Al-mámún ruled for a short period of time, and then died in that place. After this Cordova fell into the hands of the King of Seville, the Amír Adh-dháfir Ibn 'Abbád, under whose sway, if I am rightly informed, it still continues.[15]

In the mean while Hishám Al-mu'tadd, who had been in confinement, found means to escape, and took refuge with Ibn Húd at Lerida, where he remained until the time of his death, in the year 427 (beginning Nov. 4, A.D. 1035). Hishám having left no male children, the family of Merwán was entirely extinguished, and their empire abolished for ever. It is true that, whilst Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní was besieging Seville, the inhabitants of that place, and such as followed their party in the neighbouring districts, and dreaded the rule of

[15] Al-homaydí wrote towards the year 460, when Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád was still in possession of Cordova.

that prince, gave out that Hishám Al-muyyed-billah, the son of Al-hakem, was still alive and among them; and they accordingly went through the usual ceremonies of taking the oath of allegiance to him, and proclaiming him their sovereign, their example being followed by most of the people of Andalus. But all this was a stratagem devised by Ibnu 'Abbád, the ruler of Seville, as we have shown elsewhere. At last, when it was close upon the year 450 (beginning Feb. 27, A.D. 1058), the same people who had proclaimed Hishám gave out that he was dead; and thus did the *khotbah* for the Bení Umeyyah cease from the pulpits of the mosques in all the provinces of Andalus until the present moment, when it has not yet been re-established.

Sultáns of the family of Idrís.

But to return to the Sultáns of the posterity of Al-hasan. After the death of Yahya Ibn 'Alí, who, as before stated, was killed on the seventh day of Moharram of the year 427 (Nov. 11, A.D. 1035), Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn Abí Músa, better known under the surname of Ibn Bokennah,[16] and Najá, the Sclavonian eunuch, both of whom had once been ministers of the Bení Hasan, returned to Malaga, then the seat of the empire of that family, and caused the *khotbah* to be said in the name of Idrís Ibn 'Alí, Yahya's brother; for, although Yahya had left two sons, named Hasan and Idrís, those ministers were unwilling to trust them with the command, owing to their being very young when their father died. This being done, they dispatched messengers to Idrís, who was then in Ceuta, of which city he was governor, as well as of Tangiers and the surrounding districts, informing him of his elevation to power. Idrís immediately sailed for Malaga, where he was proclaimed Khalif, on condition that he should give possession of Ceuta to his nephew Hasan, one of the sons of Yahya. Idrís having agreed to accept of the empire on the above condition, Najá proceeded to Africa to put Hasan in possession of Ceuta and Tangiers. This Hasan was the youngest of Yahya's sons; he was, however, the strongest and the bravest.

On his accession to power, Idrís took the surname of *Al-mutáyyed.* He remained in possession of the throne until the year 330 (beginning Sept. 25, A.D. 931) or 331 (Sept. 14, A.D. 932), when a civil war broke out through the ambition of the Kádí Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ibn 'Abbád, Lord of Seville, who, wishing to possess himself of the territories close to his dominions, sent his son Isma'íl with his own troops, and such among the Berber tribes as obeyed his rule, against Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-birzálí, Lord of Carmona, which city he besieged. Thence Isma'íl marched to Oshúnah (Osuna), and then to Ezija, both of which he took. Mohammed having implored the assistance of Idrís, and of Bádís, chief of the tribe of Senhájah, who ruled in Granada, the former sent him an army at the command of his minister Ibn Bokennah, and the latter hastened to his assistance in person, both effecting their junction with Mohammed. It appears, however, that Mohammed's auxiliaries were seized with a panic at the sight of Isma'íl, who, as before mentioned, commanded the forces of his father Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád; for they retreated before him, each returning to his own dominions. When this intelligence was brought to Isma'íl his hopes increased, and

[16] This word is sometimes written ابن بَقَنَّة Ibn Baknah, at other times ابن بُقَنَّة Ibn Bokennah.

he decided upon following the Lord of Senhájah into his own dominions. He, accordingly, started off in pursuit of him with the utmost speed he could use; but when Bádís saw that he could not escape his pursuer, he sent a message to Ibn Bokennah, who had parted company with him only one hour before; and having joined their forces, they determined to make a halt, and wait for their enemy. Soon after, Isma'íl appeared in sight, and the two hosts met; but scarcely had a few blows been exchanged on each side, when the troops of Isma'íl suddenly gave way and left the field of battle in the utmost confusion. Isma'íl was in the number of the slain, having been one of the first killed. He was immediately beheaded, and his head carried to Malaga, to be presented to Idrís Ibn 'Alí. This monarch was then on his death-bed, and suffering under a disease of which he died. He had removed from Malaga to the mountain of Bobáshter,[17] where he had a castle. He lived only two days after the head of Isma'íl was brought to him. Idrís left three sons: Yahya, who was afterwards put to death; Mohammed, who took the surname of *Al-muhdi;* and Hasan, who assumed that of *As-sámi.* He had another son named 'Alí, who was the eldest, but he died in his father's lifetime, leaving behind him a son named Mohammed, whom his uncle exiled on his accession to the throne.

During these transactions another prince of the family of Hamúd established himself at Algesiras. Yahya Ibn 'Alí, above mentioned, had, during his reign, confined his two cousins, Mohammed and Al-hasan, the sons of Al-kásim Ibn Hamúd, in the castle of that city. The person intrusted with their custody was an African known by the name of Abú-l-hejáj, who, on the death of Yahya, took the two princes out of prison, and, having called together all the Africans and blacks who were in Algesiras, said to them, "These are your two rightful sovereigns;" upon which all the troops present hastened to take the oath of allegiance to them, owing to the great affection which their father, Al-kásim, had always shown towards the blacks, and the numerous benefits he had conferred upon them. Mohammed was then immediately proclaimed, and he ruled undisturbed over Algesiras and its districts, though he never assumed the title of Khalif. His brother Hasan remained some time with him, until, having been suddenly seized with a strong desire to take the woollen dress (to become a Súfí), he retired from the world. He afterwards went out as a pilgrim to Mekka, together with his sister Fátimah, the daughter of Al-kásim, and wife of Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-mu'tali. But to return to the principal branch of the family.

After the death of Idrís Ibn 'Alí, which happened in the manner above related, the minister Ibn Bokennah raised to power his son Yahya, better known under the surname of *Al-habbún,*[18] and administered the kingdom for him. Ibn Bokennah, however, did not show upon this occasion all the fortitude required for such an undertaking, but hesitated, and gave evident signs of weakness. When the news of the defeat of Isma'íl Ibn 'Abbád and the death of Idrís Ibn 'Alí reached Ceuta, Najá the Sclavonian, who ruled over that city, undertook to place upon the throne of Malaga Al-hasan, the son of Yahya. Having appointed a man of his own nation to command in his absence, he crossed over to Malaga, taking that prince with him. On their arrival in that port, the courage of Ibn Bokennah failed him, and

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17 ببَاشْتَر See Conde (vol. ii. p. 16), who read *Yebaster.*

18 حبّون

he fled to Hisn-Komáresh (Comares), eighteen miles from that city. Najá and Hasan then entered Malaga, where they were immediately joined by the Berbers, the former being soon after proclaimed Khalif by the people, who gave him on the occasion the surname of *Al-mustanser*. After this, Hasan sent a messenger to Ibn Bokennah, granting him his pardon if he would return to Malaga; but on his arrival there he had him seized and put to death, as well as his own cousin, Yahya Ibn Idrís. Najá then returned to Ceuta and Tangiers, leaving with Hasan a man known under the patronymic of Ash-shettífí,[19] who was a sailor, and in whom he had the most implicit reliance. Things remained in this state for nearly two years, until Hasan was poisoned by his own wife,[20] the daughter of his uncle, Idrís Ibn 'Alí. They say that she did it out of revenge for the death of her brother, Yahya Ibn Idrís, whom Hasan, as before related, caused to be put to death on his accession to power.

After the death of Hasan, Ash-shettífí assumed the command, and having confined to a dungeon Idrís Ibn Yahya, brother of the deceased, wrote to apprise Najá of what had occurred. Hasan had left in the hands of Najá a son of tender age, and they say that on hearing the news of the death of the father, that Sclavonian placed this son in confinement, and soon after had him put to death; but God only knows!

As there remained no prince of the posterity of Hasan Ibn Yahya, Najá conceived the project of usurping the royal power. Having appointed one of his own countrymen, in whom he could trust, to command over Ceuta and Tangiers in his absence, he put to sea, and landed at Malaga. On his arrival there he placed Idrís Ibn Yahya in still closer confinement, increased the number of his guards, and aimed at taking the power entirely out of the hands of the Bení Hasan, and seating himself on their throne. To this end, he sent for the chiefs of the Berbers, who were the troops of the country, and discovered his plans to them, promising them ample reward in case of success. Najá found them deaf to his propositions, and not one proferred him assistance: thinking, however, that the time was not yet come to rid themselves of Najá, the Berbers feigned to acquiesce in his plans, and lent him their assistance in public, though they were very differently disposed from the bottom of their hearts. After this, Najá called together his army, and marched upon Algesiras, with the intention of exterminating Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, who was ruling there. He besieged that city for some days, until, having received intelligence that some of his followers were meditating a revolt against him, he decided upon returning to his capital. As he was journeying thither, some of the chiefs of the conspiracy, fearing that if Najá came to inquire into the affair he would immediately dispatch them and pardon the rest, rode secretly forward, and waited for him in ambush in a mountain-pass, whereby he had to pass on his way to Malaga. Accordingly, when Najá, who rode in front of the host with a few horsemen, came to the pass, he was suddenly attacked by the Berbers. The Sclavonians who composed his guard being thrown into confusion by the suddenness of the attack, ran away, and deserted him; and Najá fell under the blows of his assassins, two of whom immediately galloped off to Malaga, which they entered, crying, at the top of their voices, "Good news!

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19 الشطيفي—that is, from Shettíf, or سطيف Settíf, the ancient Sitipha.

20 فقيل انها سمّتة اسفا على اخيها—which Conde (vol. ii. p. 19) translates by *era llamada Asafia* (her name was Asafia). Blunders of this sort abound in the work of that writer.

good news! Nají is killed." They then went to the dwelling of Ash-shettífí, ran him through with their swords, and put him to death; soon after, the rest of the army made their appearance, and, having taken Idrís Ibn Yahya out of his prison, they proclaimed him Khalif, and swore allegiance to him. On his accession to power, Idrís took the surname of *Al-'áli.*

The character of Idrís was a compound of excellent qualities with inclinations ill fitted to a monarch. He was the most kind-hearted and charitable of men: he would distribute every Friday among the poor five hundred dinárs; he allowed all those who had been exiled under the preceding reigns to return to their homes, and restored to them their lands, farms, and whatever property belonging to them had been confiscated by his predecessors in power. As long as his reign lasted, not a complaint was heard among his subjects; he was, besides, well informed, fond of science, and would frequently repeat fine poetical fragments; but, with all this, he was very fond of associating with low and vulgar people; he would receive them at all hours in his palace, and his own wives would even appear unveiled in the presence of his guests: his prodigality was so excessive, that if a man of the tribe of Senhájah, or of the Bení Yeféren, inhabiting the neighbouring kingdom of Granada, asked him for one of his castles, he would immediately give him possession of it. Upon one occasion the Amír of Senhájah wrote to him, asking him to deliver into his hands the person of his own Wizír and minister, Músa Ibn 'Affán, against whom he had conceived great enmity: Idrís, being greatly attached to Músa, who had been the friend and companion of his father and grandfather, both of whom he had served with fidelity and zeal, would not at first comply with his request; but when Músa heard that the Amír of Senhájah peremptorily asked for his delivery, and that Idrís would at last be compelled to execute his commands, he generously went up to his master, and said to him, "Do as thou art commanded, O Amír! and may the will of God be done." Músa was accordingly sent to him of Senhájah, who, immediately upon his arrival, put him to death.

This, and other evident proofs of unpardonable weakness, alienated from Idrís the affections of his subjects, and they decided to deprive him of the empire. Idrís had before this confined in the castle of Ayrosh[21] two youths, named Mohammed and Hasan, who were the sons of his uncle, Idrís Ibn 'Alí. The conspirators accordingly cast their eyes on Mohammed, the eldest, and, having caused the garrison of that fort to rise in his favour, proclaimed him their sovereign. When the news of this insurrection reached the black troops, who composed the garrison of the Kassábah of Malaga, they also joined in the movement, and, having proclaimed Mohammed, wrote to him to come to them. In the mean while they fortified themselves in the Kassábah: the people of Malaga, however, being partial to Idrís, collected round him, and advised him immediately to attack the Kassábah, and punish the rebels. Had he done so, the blacks could not have held out for an hour: but Idrís refused to follow their advice, and said to them, "Let every one of you go home, and leave me alone." The citizens having done as they were required, it was not long before his cousin made his appearance in Malaga, when he was proclaimed Khalif without opposition, and received the allegiance of the troops and the inhabitants.

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[21] ايرش

On his assuming the command, Mohammed Ibn Idrís took the surname of *Al-muhdi*, and appointed his brother Hasan *Wali-l-ahd*, or successor to the empire, giving him the surname of *As-sámi*. One of the first acts of Mohammed's government was to confine the late monarch in the very dungeon wherein he himself had been shut up. He also displayed much firmness and vigour in the administration; owing to which, the Berbers, who dreaded his justice, decided to deprive him of his power. Having sent their emissaries to the fortress where Idrís Ibn Yahya was confined, the governor entered into their plans, and rose with the garrison, again proclaiming Idrís Ibn Yahya.

On his first accession to power, after the murder of Najá, this monarch had appointed two of his father's slaves, named Rizkullah and Sokkát,[22] who belonged to the sect of the Baragh'wáttah, to be governors of Ceuta and Tangiers. When Idrís was deposed by Mohammed, these two governors remained faithful to their master, administering his African dominions in his name. Idrís, however, was proclaimed for the second time at the castle of Ayrosh, as above related; but Mohammed showed no fear whatever; on the contrary, he displayed much energy and courage. His mother, too, who was a very spirited woman, assisted him most efficaciously. By taking the field in person, and distributing rewards among those who most distinguished themselves by their courage, she kept the rebels in check and disconcerted their plans, until the Berbers, seeing no hope of success, abandoned the cause of Idrís, and decided upon sending him over to Africa, and intrusting him to the care of the two Baragh'wáttah governors above mentioned. When Idrís, who had previously placed his own son under their custody, arrived in Africa, the governors received him with every show of attention and respect, and had him proclaimed Khalif in their mosques, although in reality all power was vested in their hands. Things remained in this state until some of the principal Berbers came over to Idrís, and said to him, "These two slaves are masters of thy person, "and are interposed between thee and the empire; grant us permission to deliver thee from "them." Idrís, however, would not listen to their proposition, but acquainted the two governors with the plans of their enemies, upon which the Baragh'wáttah began by exiling the counsellors;[23] and some time after, mistrusting Idrís himself, they also expelled him, and sent him over to Andalus in a vessel, although they still acknowledged him as Khalif, and continued to have the *khotbah* said in his name. The Baragh'wáttah retained the son of Idrís on account of his extreme youth.

After this, Mohammed Ibn Idrís, having disagreed with his brother As-sámi, banished him to Africa, where he arrived, and took up his abode, establishing soon after his sovereignty in the mountains of Gomárah (Gomera), the country whence the Beni Hasan had first issued, and the inhabitants of which still entertained the greatest veneration and respect for that family. In the mean while the Berbers of Malaga, who could not tolerate the rule of Mohammed, decided

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[22] سُكّات This appears to be the same individual called سكوت Sakút by Ibnu Khaldún. See vol. i. p. 333. On the origin of the religious sect of the Baragh'wáttah, see *ibid.*

[23] Conde, who calls these governors *Razikaba* and *Sekan*, did not understand the meaning of this passage, which he found word for word in Adh-dhobí (Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14, fo. 17). He makes the two Baragh'wáttah fall by the hands of the populace, and says that Idrís sailed afterwards for Malaga, taking his son with him.

upon starting another competitor for the crown. Having entered into a secret correspondence with Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, King of Algesiras, they promised him their help, and assured him of the victory if he would dispute the empire. Mohammed's ambition being kindled, he marched out of Algesiras at the head of his army and joined the Berbers, who immediately invested him with the Khalifate, giving him the surname of *Al-muhdi*. The world then presented the ridiculous and highly objectionable picture of no less than four princes assuming at once the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín*, in a country the extent of which does not exceed thirty square farsangs. However, the Berbers stayed some days with Mohammed, after which they all left him and returned to their country; he also returning, ashamed and crest-fallen, to Algesiras, where he soon after died, they say, of sorrow and disappointment, leaving eight male children. Mohammed was succeeded in the kingdom of Algesiras by his son Al-kásim Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kásim, who, however, did not assume the title of Khalif. As to Mohammed Ibn Idrís, of Malaga, he remained in possession of the kingdom until the time of his death, which happened in 445 (beginning April 22, A.D. 1053). On the death of Mohammed, the Berbers sent for Idrís Ibn Yahya (Al-'áli), who was then living among the Bení Yeféren, and offered him the throne, which he accepted.

These are the Sultáns of the family of Idrís who held rule over Malaga and the neighbouring districts. We do not mention many others who reigned about the same time in other provinces in Andalus, because none of them assumed the title of Khalif.

APPENDIX C.

Extracts from the historical work entitled Kitábu-l-iktifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá (the book of sufficiency on the history of the Khalifs),[1] *containing a concise account of the history of Mohammedan Spain, from the death of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the ninth Sultán of Cordova, till the arrival of the Almohades.*

After the death of Al-hakem, his son Hishám, still of tender age, succeeded him. Soon after his accession, Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who had been Al-hakem's secretary, was appointed to the charge of Wizír, and his influence over the youthful monarch gradually increased. Being a shrewd and active man, he made himself completely master of the person of Hishám, and succeeded, by his liberality, his courage, and his secret intrigues, in securing to himself the attachment of the army. He, moreover, contrived to keep Hishám in a state of insensibility, by surrounding him with all manner of pleasures and dissipation; and having chosen the Kátibs or secretaries, as well as the governors of the provinces, from among his own relatives, or from those among his personal friends on whom he could most rely, he then took into

[1] See vol. i. App. D. p. xlii. et seq.

his hands the whole of the authority, leaving to his sovereign Hishám only the title of Khalif, the *khotbah* (or proclamation in the mosque), and the coinage of money in his name; for every decree emanated from him, while he made the people believe that it was his sovereign's will. Al-mansúr's next step was to build for himself a very strong castle, whither he removed all the treasures of the state. When his ambition had in a certain manner been satisfied, he began to give evident proofs of those military talents which he so highly displayed during his administration, and to direct against the infidels those numberless expeditions by which he acquired so great a celebrity. Indeed, God Almighty always gave victory to his arms, and wherever he met the Christians he destroyed and annihilated them. In this manner he marched against Barcelona, which city he besieged and took, after killing its king, Borel.[2] He then razed the fortifications and returned to Cordova, loaded with rich spoil, consisting of arms, dresses, money, horses, and beasts of burden; and bringing besides with him an immense number of male and female captives.

Various other incursions were subsequently made by Al-mansúr in the same districts, every where overturning and destroying the Christian armies that opposed him, and reducing to his obedience the farthest limits of the country of the infidels. The fame of his exploits became so great, that the Emperor of Constantinople sent him ambassadors, and sought his alliance and friendship, as did also the Lord of Rome,[3] and the King of Castile, all of whom sent him costly presents and all kinds of rarities, the produce of their respective countries, with a view to conciliate his favour, and to obtain security and peace.

Thus did Al-mansúr continue for twenty-eight years administering the affairs of the Moslems, and keeping his sovereign Hishám in the same state of seclusion and non-entity to which we have alluded. At last, death, against whose blows nobody stands secure, struck him on his return from an expedition to the country of the infidels. They relate, that a few moments before he died, Al-mansúr began to weep bitterly, which being observed by one of his favourite eunuchs named Kauthar, who was his Hájib, and was then standing by his bed-side, he addressed him thus:—"Why dost thou weep, O master?"—"I weep," answered Al-mansúr, "over my sins, and the evils I have entailed upon the Moslems of this country." "How can that be," replied Kauthar in amazement, "when it is evident that Islám never "was more flourishing, or the Mohammedan sway more widely extended, than under "thy administration? Hast thou not conquered the kingdoms of the infidels, and put down "their pride? hast thou not made the Christians of distant regions come like so many beasts "of burden to this capital, loaded with the earth of their native country, and lay it down at the "gate of thy palace, to serve afterwards for the construction of the great mosque?"—"Thou "sayest right," replied Al-mansúr; "but when I conquered the enemy's country, when "I seized on his castles and fortresses, I always took care to provide my new conquests "with the means of subsistence and defence, and to establish the means of a speedy commu-"nication between them and our own settlements on the frontiers, that they might be "instantly relieved in case of attack. I have thus made numerous settlements within "the enemy's country, and filled their towns and castles with Moslems. There lies my

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[2] The MS. reads بوبل which is a mistake for بريل

[3] صاحب رومة

" error. Now that I am on the verge of death, who will imitate my example when I " am gone? My sons, it is well known, spend their time in wanton dissipation, and " they are utterly unfit for the task of checking the progress of a daring enemy, who, " though now vanquished and humiliated, will soon recommence his attacks, will snatch " one by one from the Moslems all the conquests I have made; and, when he finds that " the provinces he traverses are well populated and provided with the necessaries of life, " will, without difficulty, push on his incursions to the very walls of this capital; nay, will " in time wrest from us all our dominions in this island. There lies my error! And yet God " Almighty inspired me more than once with the means of salvation; but I constantly " disregarded the admonition. Had I laid waste all the territories subdued by my arms, " had I by ruin and destruction made a desert of at least ten days' march between our " extreme frontier and that of the Christians, we might then have averted the approaching " tempest, as it would have been extremely difficult for our enemies to march through a " desolated and unproductive country. But, alas! as things now stand, there is no salvation " but in God."—" Do not be afflicted," said Kauthar; " if God Almighty be pleased, thou " shalt recover, and then thou mayst issue thy orders to that effect."—" No," said Al-mansúr; " the opportunity is now gone. Were I to recover this my illness, and to " command what I deem convenient for the safety of this nation, the Moslems would " say, 'Al-mansúr was attacked by a severe illness through which he lost his wits, and " in a fit of insanity he ordered the devastation of the Moslem territory.'"

After the death of Ibn Abí 'A'mir, his son 'Abdu-l-málik succeeded him in the charge of Hájib, as well as in the command of the army, and in the favour of his monarch Hishám, who led the same secluded life as before, taking no part whatever in the affairs of the state. 'Abdu-l-málik followed the traces of his invincible father; he made war on the idolaters, and was always successful, owing to which he was surnamed Al-mudhfer (the victorious). After an administration of eight years he died almost suddenly of a quinsy in his throat.

'Abdu-l-málik was succeeded, in the year 400 (beginning August 24, A. D. 1009), by his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who assumed the surname of *Al-muhdi*, but whom the people of Cordova were in the habit of calling Shanjúl,[4] or " the madman," owing to his profligate life, his impious habits, his familiarity with common soldiers and persons from the lowest ranks of society, his drinking of wine and spirituous liquors,—of which he made a constant and immoderate use,—and, above all, his impudence and presumption, which prompted him to exact from the inhabitants of Cordova an oath of allegiance to himself as their lawful sovereign. After the death of Hishám, whose heir and successor he pretended to be, he assumed the title of *Wali ahdi-l-islám* (presumptive heir to the throne). This rash conduct having brought on 'Abdu-r-rahmán the wrath of the Bení Umeyyah, who were already disgusted with his tyranny and his excesses, a conspiracy was formed in Cordova, at the head of which was a prince of that family,[5] who rose in arms against him, as well as against Hishám. The rebel

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[4] This word, which is sometimes written سَنْجول *Sanjúl*, and sometimes شنجول *Shanjúl*, is not Arabic, and belongs, no doubt, to one of the African dialects which were about that time spoken at Cordova. See vol. i. p. 506, Note 7.

[5] Mohammed Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, who afterwards reigned under the surname of " Al-muhdi."

being joined by the greater part of the army, and by almost all the inhabitants of Cordova, secured the person of Hishám, of whom no more was heard afterwards, and succeeded also in laying hold of *Shanjúl*, whom he put to death and caused afterwards to be crucified.

When the governors in the provinces heard of the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán they all raised the standard of revolt, each rising within the territories intrusted to his care, and with the armies under his command. Thus Zeyrí Ibn Menád, with his followers, rose in Granada and the adjoining districts; the Kádí Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád did the same in Seville; and Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún in Toledo, where he commanded by delegation and by appointment of Ibn Abí 'A'mir. Their example was soon followed by Yúsuf Ibn Húd, who was governor of Saragossa; in short, every Governor, Kádí, or man of consequence or authority who had any troops under his command, hesitated not to declare himself in open rebellion against the new Khalif of Cordova: for instance, Ibn Al-afttas proclaimed himself independent at Badajoz; Ibn Samádeh, at Almeria; Mujáhid, the Sclavonian, at Denia; Ibn Táhir, at Murcia; besides a great many more from among the relatives or adherents of Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and his sons.

However, soon after the death of *Shanjúl* and the disappearance of Hishám, another member of the family of Umeyyah rose to revenge the blood of the son of Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and started as competitor for the crown. His name was *Al-musta'ín:*[6] he waged war for some time with the usurper, but was at last defeated and put to death. Some historians have asserted, that during this war the Khalif Hishám was one day found concealed in the palace of Cordova; and that about that time also Ibn 'Abbád, who rose in Seville, went about with a man greatly resembling Hishám in personal appearance, and, having made the people believe that he was their legitimate sovereign, caused them to acknowledge him as such and obey his orders. But the fact is, that Ibn 'Abbád really reigned in the name of this pretended sovereign, who was a mere tool of his ambition, as was afterwards discovered; for, when he thought that his authority had been firmly established, and his power was sufficiently dreaded, he gave out that Hishám was dead, and that he had, before his death, appointed him his successor. In this manner was the Khalifate extinct in Andalus: the wheels of fate revolved their rotations of woe and perdition; corruption and vice seized the hearts of the rich and the poor, of the noble and the plebeian, of the lord and the vassal. The obscure and the low rose in every corner of the empire; the fire of discord raged through the Mohammedan provinces; and the Christians, seizing the opportunity, on all sides attacked the Moslems, who, weakened and divided as they were, made a very slight defence, the cruel enemies of our faith obtaining every where considerable advantages, especially in Aragon and Castile.

In this manner they made an incursion into the kingdom of Toledo, and completely defeated Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún, who went out to meet them, making great slaughter among his followers. They likewise attacked Saragossa, but they were there bravely met by Suleymán Ibn Húd, who not only defeated the enemy, but plundered his camp, and killed most of his men. About this time a powerful army of Christians came out from the country

[6] This was Suleymán Ibn Al-hakem.

of the Rúm (Asturias?), and arrived in Kastiliah (Castile), the court and residence of a king whose name was *Al-beytin.*[7] Another army came likewise from the great land (continent), and having all joined together, they began to scour the country in all directions, killing the inhabitants or making them captives, and committing all manner of excesses and depredations. In this manner they appeared before the walls of Valencia, where they were met by Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Razín, who offered them battle. He was, however, defeated and killed, and his army destroyed and dispersed. Thence the Christians went to Guadalajara, where they were opposed by the governor of the town, the Káyid Ibn Katání; but he also was defeated and severely wounded in the encounter. In short, God Almighty permitted the King of Castile, *Al-beytin*, every where to chastise the rebellious chieftains who had proclaimed themselves independent; for he took by storm many of their towns, and, in spite of all their efforts, subdued large tracts of the countries over which they ruled as masters. These events happened in the year 425 (beginning Nov. 25, A. D. 1033).

After this, *Al-beytin* returned to his dominions, having appointed his general, Ramiro,[8] governor of his new conquests: this Ramiro established his residence in Barbastro, a city which he had previously taken from Ibn Húd, the King of Saragossa.

On his return to his states, *Al-beytin* found that a Christian king of the name of Ferdeland,[9] whom he had left in Castile to command in his absence, had revolted against him, with a view to dispossess him of that kingdom. They accordingly made war on each other for several months. In the mean time Ibn Húd, who burned to revenge the past disasters, thinking the time was come to make an attack upon Ramiro, wrote to Ibn 'Abbád, imploring his assistance; and on the receipt of his letter the King of Seville immediately sent him some forces under the command of an experienced general named Mu'adh Ibn Abí Korrah. With these reinforcements Ibn Húd took the field and attacked Ramiro, whom he defeated; and having expelled the Christians from the countries which they occupied, he retook Barbastro and various other strong towns. The news of these successes inspired confidence in the Moslems, and their courage again revived, so that whenever the Christians dared to attack their territory, they were invariably repulsed and beaten with great loss. However, notwithstanding all these victories, hatred and ill-will still divided the Moslems, who, regardless of their common danger, went on prosecuting their private feuds, and waging war one against another, thus gaining little or no advantage against the common enemy, whose forces happened at that time to be also weakened by intestine war.

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7 The text reads thus: و خرج من بلاد الروم جيش عظيم و وصل الي صاحب قشتيلية و هي دار ملكهم و فيها كان ملكهم البيطين—literally, "and there came out of the land of the Rúm a large army, which arrived to [the dominions of] the Lord of Kastiliah, the court of their kings, and, at that time, of their king *Al-beytin.*" The word البيطين *Al-beytin*, which lower down is written البطين *Al-betin*, is, no doubt, intended for البيطر or بطير Pedro. There was, however, no King of Castile so named at the time; the monarch here alluded to is no other than Sancho *el Mayor*, King of Navarre, who, in 1026, assumed the sovereignty of Castile in right of his wife, Doña Muña Elvira, daughter of Don Sancho, and sister of Don Garcia, last Count of Castile.

8 Ramiro, a bastard son of Don Sancho, who afterwards became King of Aragon.

9 His son Fernando, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Castile. The Spanish authors, however, make no mention of this revolt.

Some time after these events the Christians made an incursion into the districts close to Granada. They were, however, met by the Berbers, who not only routed them completely, but took possession of all their baggage and stores. Then Ramiro, the son of Sancho, marched towards Huesca, and overran its territory; but Ibn Húd, sallying out from Saragossa, overtook him on the road, and a battle ensued, in which Ramiro himself was killed, and his army entirely dispersed. The Franks also made an inroad into the neighbourhood of Toledo, but the eunuch Wádheh,[10] who commanded the armies of King Ibn Dhí-n-nún, went out in pursuit of them, and put them to flight.

After this the Christians had wars among themselves; yet, though their attention was thus diverted by their own internal troubles, they nevertheless continued to profit by the dissensions of the Moslems, and the weakness to which they had been reduced. During this interval they took from us several castles and important fortresses, such as Hisn Kolimriah, Hisn Wakhshah, and Hisn Shírúr,[11] this last place falling into the hands of Sancho, son of Abarca. This Sancho[12] died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by his three sons, Ferdeland (Fernando), Garcia, and Ramiro. (May the curse of God fall on them all!). Fernando, being the eldest of the three, was chosen to succeed his father. Having taken the field, he reduced several places, like Santa Maria, otherwise called the town of Ibn Razín, and other strong fortresses. He also took from the Bení Al-afttas, who ruled as masters over the western part of Andalus, several fortresses in the neighbourhood of Badajoz.

This Fernando (may he be cursed!) died, leaving three sons, Sancho, Garcia, and Alfonso, who disputed the crown amongst themselves. However, Sancho being put to death, and Garcia being thrown into a dungeon, the empire devolved on their brother Alfonso, son of Fernando, who, seeing himself without competitors, cast a wistful eye on the dominions of the Moslems, and conceived in his base head the project of subjecting to his abominable rule the whole of Andalus. In pursuance of his plans, the Christian king never ceased from that moment to make incursions into the country of the Moslems, whom he generally found in a state of dissension and internal discord, and fast working their own ruin and destruction. Indeed, not only were the different independent chieftains at that time waging unrelenting war against each other, but they would not unfrequently avail themselves of the arms of the Christians to attack and destroy their own countrymen and brothers in religion, lavishing on Alfonso costly presents, and giving him as many treasures as he chose to have, in order to conciliate his good wishes, and to obtain security for themselves and assistance against their enemies. The Christians, perceiving the state of corruption into which the Moslems had fallen, rejoiced extremely; for, at that time, very few men of virtue and principle were to

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10 This Wádheh واضح appears to be the same Sclavonian eunuch who directed for some time the administration of Hishám II.

11 قليمرية ــ وخشة ــ شيرور Kolimriah is intended for Conimbra (now Coimbra) in Portugal.

12 Sancho II., King of Navarre. See above, Note 7. He was the son of Garcia II., and the grandson of Garces Abarca. At his death, which happened in 1035, he divided his dominions among his three sons. To Garcia he left the kingdom of Navarre; to Fernando that of Castile; and that of Aragon to Ramiro.

be found amongst the Moslems, the generality of whom began to drink wine and commit all manner of excesses. The rulers of Andalus thought of nothing else than purchasing singing-women and slaves, listening to their music, and passing their time in revelry and mirth, spending in dissipation and frivolous pastimes the treasures of the state, and oppressing their subjects with all manner of taxes and exactions, that they might send costly presents to Alfonso, and induce him to serve their ambitious projects. Things went on in this way among the rebellious chieftains of Andalus until weakness seized on the conquerors as well as on the conquered, and baseness and vice preyed likewise on the assailants and the assailed: generals and captains no longer displayed their wonted valour; warriors became cowardly and base; the people of the country were in the greatest misery and poverty, the entire society was corrupted, and the body of Islám, deprived alike of life and soul, became a mere corpse. Those among the Moslem rulers who did not actually submit to Alfonso, consented to pay him an annual tribute, thus becoming collectors in their own dominions of the revenues of the Christian monarch! While this state of things lasted, not one dared to oppose his will or disobey his commands. In the mean time the affairs of the Moslems were administered by Jews, who fed on them as the lion on a defenceless animal, and who filled even the offices of Wizír, Hájib, and Kátib, reserved in former days for the most illustrious individuals in the state: the Christians went every year round Andalus, plundering and making captives, burning villages, and wasting the whole country.

In the midst of these troubles, namely, in the year 467 (beginning Aug. 26, A.D. 1074), died the King of Toledo, Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún, the same who took Cordova from Ibn 'Abbád, and defended it afterwards from his attacks. Ibn Dhí-n-nún surpassed many of the Moslem kings of his time in courage and military talents. When he died, his body was carried on the shoulders of his own men to Toledo, and there buried. He left no sons. That period of history in which the disastrous events above related took place has been called by the Arabian authors *Ayyámu-l-firk* (the days of division or confusion).

In the same year (A.H. 467) died at Shátibah (Xativa), his birth-place, the learned theologian and traditionist the Imám Abú 'Amru Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr[13] (may God show him mercy!).

Isma'íl Ibn Dhí-n-nún having left no male children, he was succeeded in the kingdom of Toledo by his grandson, Yahya, who assumed the title of *Al-kádir-billah.* Yahya was imbecile in mind and weak in body. He had been brought up in his father's harem among women and eunuchs, dancers and singers; and he was as unfit for the command of the army as for the duties of the administration in those perilous times. He therefore abandoned himself completely into the hands of his slaves, and intrusted with his eunuchs the cares of the government. This made him the scorn of his subjects; hated and despised by whom, he became at the same time a mark to the ambition of his equals among the rulers of Andalus. The King of Seville, Ibn 'Abbád, was the first to assail him in his own dominions. Being anxious to revenge upon him all the injuries he had received at his grandfather's hands, that monarch took the field at the head of considerable forces, and, after recovering Cordova

[13] See vol. i. p. 457, where the death of this individual is said to have happened four years sooner, in 463.

and the surrounding districts, reduced also Talavera, Gháfek, and all the territory laying between those two cities.

Nor was Ibn 'Abbád the only one who attacked this imbecile prince; the King of Saragossa, Ibn Húd, made also an incursion into his territory, and, assisted by the tyrant Ibn Radmir,[14] took from him the cities of Santa Maria and Molina.[15] Unable to withstand alone the attacks of his two formidable adversaries,—a task, besides, for which his cowardice and stupidity made him totally unfit,—Yahya solicited the aid of the tyrant Alfonso. In the mean time the city of Valencia, which formed part of Yahya's dominions, as inherited from his grandfather, Al-mámún, threw off its allegiance; Ibn Húd having prevailed upon the governor, Abú Bekr Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, to declare himself in open revolt, and to assume the command of the place. The King of Saragossa then asked in marriage the daughter of Abú Bekr, expecting that the match would be the means of his getting possession of the kingdom of Valencia, which he ardently wished for.

At the same time the city of Cuenca,[16] which belonged also to Al-kádir, was besieged by Ibn Radmir. That tyrant pressed the town until the inhabitants were on the point of starvation through hunger and thirst; when, unable to hold out any longer, they capitulated, and agreed to pay him a considerable sum of money if he would raise the siege; which he did. Al-kádir then sent an army, under the command of Bashír the eunuch, to meet the combined forces of Ibn Húd and Ibn Radmir; but that general returned without encountering the enemy, who had already retired into their respective countries loaded with rich spoil.

About this time there was a popular commotion in Toledo, wherein the theologian Abú Bekr Ibn Al-harírí, and several other distinguished men, fell victims to an infuriated mob, the houses of the rich people being also gutted, and all manner of excesses committed.

When King Al-kádir saw himself thus surrounded by his enemies, he wrote to apprise Alfonso of his critical situation, and begged the Christian king to send an army to his assistance. The tyrant's answer was thus conceived:—"If thou wishest me to defend and protect "thee against thy enemies, send me so much money; if not, I will deliver thee into their "hands." This King Alfonso was a very shrewd and perfidious man, and he saw with secret delight the disturbances raised in the very heart of the Moslem dominions by their ambitious rulers. He well knew that in proportion as they consumed their own resources and those of their subjects in useless and petty warfare, his own power would increase, and that the moment was fast approaching for his conquering the whole of Andalus. He therefore took the first opportunity, which offered itself by the non-compliance of Al-kádir with the terms of the treaty, to invade the dominions of that monarch, as we shall presently relate. However, when Yahya received the above answer, he called together to a council the functionaries of the state, and the governors of his provinces, besides a considerable number of his subjects, and communicated to them Alfonso's proposal. "The Christian king," said Yahya to the assembly, "has pledged himself by a most solemn oath, that unless you bring me imme-

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[14] Sancho I. of Aragon, and IV. of Navarre. He was the son of Ramiro.

[15] مليتة

[16] كنكة

" diately the sums for which he asks, yourselves, wives, and children shall be made " answerable for it." Not one of those present answered a word, with the exception of the Káyid Abú Shajá' Ibn Lebún, who said to Yahya, " The words thou hast just uttered are " the best proof of the instability of thy empire, but perhaps thou trustest and reliest in him " (Alfonso)." Abú Shajá' was right. So disgusted were the people of Toledo with Yahya's willingness to comply with the exorbitant demands made by the Christian king, that they pronounced him to be utterly unfit to govern them, and decided to enter into a secret correspondence with Ibn Al-afttas, king of Badajoz, and persuade him to deprive Al-kádir of the empire.

No sooner was Al-kádir informed of the plot entered into against him, than, not deeming himself secure in Toledo, he fled at night with his treasures and a few only of his adherents, and took the road to Webdeh (Huete);[17] but the governor, named Ibn Wahb, shut the gates and refused him admission. During this interval Ibn Al-afttas arrived in sight of Toledo, and entered that city.

In this emergency Al-kádir again sought the aid of Alfonso. Surrounded on every side by enemies, his sole hope of salvation was in the Christian king. He wrote to him and implored his assistance, and the tyrant accordingly hastened to help him. Al-kádir went out to meet the Christian, when it was mutually agreed that Alfonso should lay siege to Toledo, until he should expel Ibn Al-afttas and restore the city to Al-kádir, who, on the restoration of his capital, was to hand over to Alfonso the whole of his treasures. As a security against any infraction of this treaty, Alfonso was to retain as pledges the fortresses of Soria and Conória.[18] These conditions being mutually agreed upon, the Christians were put in possession of the above fortresses, which they put in an excellent state of defence by considerably augmenting their fortifications, and garrisoning them with their best troops. Alfonso then laid siege to Toledo.

Ibn Al-afttas seeing himself closely besieged by the Christians, and not expecting assistance from any one, abandoned the city, and Al-kádir was again put in possession of it. Agreeably to his promise, Al-kádir collected all the money he could among the inhabitants of the place, and presented it to Alfonso; but this the tyrant would not receive. Al-kádir then brought him the whole of the treasures and jewels which he had inherited from his father and grandfather; but still the amount not being equal to the promised sum, Al-kádir begged Alfonso to wait for the payment of the remainder; his request being granted by the Christian king on condition that the fortress of Canales[19] should be given over to him as security. When Alfonso saw himself master of that important fortress, he immediately garrisoned it with his best troops, and filled it with provisions and military stores. After which he returned to Castile, rich, safe, and with his saddle-bags full of plunder.

Alfonso's interference on this occasion, far from being beneficial to Al-kádir, proved the

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[17] I read وَبَدَة, *Webdeh* (Huete), a small town north-east of Toledo, between Cuenca and Guadalaxara. The word might also be pointed thus, وُبَدَة Ubedah (Ubeda); but this town was then in the dominions of the King of Seville, Ibn 'Abbád.

[18] سرية و قنورية

[19] قنالش

cause of his ruin and of the loss of his kingdom. It alienated the hearts of his subjects entirely from him; many of whom left Toledo secretly, and repaired to the dominions of Ibn Húd, by whom they were kindly received and honourably entertained, this monarch bestowing on them all manner of favours and distinctions. The kingdom of Toledo, too, became a target for the ambition of neighbouring princes, all of whom strove to gain possession of it. Thus Ibn 'Abbád attacked it from the west, whilst Ibn Húd made it feel on the east all the agonies of death.

When Al-kádir perceived that he was unable to resist the simultaneous attacks of his enemies, and that no way was left open to him to escape from their clutches, he again wrote to Alfonso, offering to cede to him Toledo and its environs, provided he would assist him in the conquest of Valencia and its dependencies. No sooner did Alfonso receive the letter containing this proposition, than he flew towards Al-kádir as if he had had wings, and, marching night and day, arrived in sight of Toledo, which city was immediately put at his disposal, and the inhabitants at his discretion. Before surrendering his capital to Alfonso, Al-kádir stipulated for the following conditions. Every Moslem was to enjoy security for himself, family, and children; he was, moreover, to retain possession of his property. Those who chose might quit the town with all their goods and chattels; those who preferred to remain were only to be subject to the payment of the customary tribute,[20] in proportion to the number of individuals who composed their family. It was further stipulated that if any one of the inhabitants chose to return after an absence of some time, he should be allowed again to settle in Toledo with whatever goods or property he had, without being subjected to the payment of duties or other personal inconvenience owing to the amount of the same.

Alfonso gave his assent to this capitulation, which he confirmed by a touch of his right hand, swearing faithfully to observe every one of the conditions therein contained. The taking of Toledo by Alfonso happened in 478 (A. D. 1085). Tárik Ibn Zeyád having taken it in the year 92, it had thus remained the abode of Islám for a period of 386 years. On the entrance of the Christians most of the inhabitants left the city, and retired to other provinces occupied by their brethren in religion. Toledo, in the mean time, remained in the hands of the infidels, who were left in undisturbed possession of it, as no attempt was made or wish manifested to snatch it from them, until the news came that the Almoravides, after defeating the tribe of Zenátah, had conquered the whole of Western Africa. These tidings filled with joy the Moslems of Andalus, whose hope was strengthened and whose spirit was revived in expectation of their powerful allies. But to return.

In the same year in which Toledo was taken (A. H. 478) died the King of Saragossa, Al-muktadir Yúsuf Ibn Húd, who was succeeded by his son, Ahmed, who took the honorary surname of *Al-must'aín*. In this year died likewise the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, who, as we have before noticed, had risen at Valencia, and whom Al-kádir was now trying to attack and dethrone. After the death of Abú Bekr the city remained for some time without a ruler, when Al-kádir set off from Toledo with his own army, reinforced by

20 جزية *i. e.* the same capitation-tax usually paid by the Christians living in the Moslem dominions.

some troops which Alfonso sent him, under the command of Albarhánis (Alvar Yañez),[21] (may God destroy him!). This expedition took place in the year 480 (beginning April 7, A.D. 1087). Al-kádir encamped with his host outside of Valencia. At sight of his Christian auxiliaries the sides of the faithful quaked, and their hearts beat with fear; and they accordingly opened their gates to him, dreading the vengeance of Albarhánis. Al-kádir lodged the Christian in the suburb called Risáfah, while he himself took up his abode in the interior of the city.

When the tyrant Alfonso saw himself master of Toledo, his nostrils dilated with pride; his ambition was kindled, and he imagined that he could easily conquer the rest of Andalus. To gain this end, he began by making incursions into the districts round Toledo, until he reduced under his sway all the territories which had once belonged to the Bení Dhí-n-nún, from Guadalaxara to Talavera, and from the plain of Elche[22] to the district of Santa Maria (Albarracin); an extent of country comprising eighty principal towns or cities, in every one of which there was a mosque; besides innumerable villages, farm-houses, and rural buildings. At this time no chieftain or king in Andalus dared oppose himself to Alfonso, or arrest his victorious career. On the contrary, all hastened to send their ambassadors to him, and to place themselves and subjects entirely at his discretion, offering to be his vassals, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided he would maintain them in the possession of the cities and provinces in which they had risen. Things even went so far that Husámu-d-daulah Ibn Razín, King of Santa Maria (Albarracin), went in person to the court of Alfonso, and, having made him a splendid and costly present, begged him to confirm him in his states, promising to hold them in his name. Alfonso accepted the present, and gave a monkey in return; and they relate that Ibn Razín used to boast of this circumstance among his comrades, the petty kings of Andalus, asserting that among other presents offered to him by Alfonso, he had selected that animal, as indicative of the decadence of the power of that tyrant. But to return.

Elated with success, the Christian king began to assume the titles and to imitate in every respect the conduct of great monarchs and Cæsars. His ambition increased two-fold; and he surrounded his person with such splendour and magnificence that all mortals appeared contemptible before him. Seeing the Moslem princes become subservient to him, he took the title of *Emberatúr* (Imperator), which, in the language of the Christians, means as much as *Amíru-l-múmenín* (Commander of the Faithful) with us. Whenever he addressed any of them in writing, he would style himself "king of the two nations." Nor did his arrogance and presumption end here; for, in the presence of the ambassadors residing at his court, he once swore by his God not to rest until he had exterminated every Moslem prince in Andalus, or obliged them all to pay him tribute; not to lay down his arms until he had left them no other place of refuge than his protection; no other resource than a ready submission. Upon one occasion he said to the ambassador of Ibn 'Abbád, who was a Jew, named Ibn Misha'l,[23] "How can I allow these madmen to go on with their folly, and

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21 البرهانس Alvar Yañez (or Fañez) Minaya, one of the Companions of the Cid.

22 اللج—which I believe to be Elche in Murcia.

23 ابن مشعل

"assume the titles and names of their Khalifs, Kings, and Amírs? How can I tolerate "their impudence and presumption in calling themselves Al-mu'tadhed, Al-mu'tamed, Al-"mu'tassem, Al-mutawakkel, Al-musta'ín, Al-muktadir, Al-amín, Al-mámún? especially when "every one of them seems to be a prey to insanity, and ceases not to oppress his subjects "and tyrannize over them,—rising in hostile array one against another, indulging in every "vice and iniquity, and passing their lives amidst a host of singers and lute-players. I only "wonder how men can tolerate such rulers, and trust to such ignorant and negligent shep-"herds the care of a flock which they abandon and desert."

But to resume the thread of our narrative. The Christians prosecuted their victorious course through the dominions of Islám, invading the territories and towns occupied by the Moslems, and reducing them under their sway, until the arrogance of the Christian dogs waxed so great, and the fear of the Moslems became so intense, that a handful of mounted adventurers were sufficient to overawe a whole province, and to traverse it with impunity. In this way a band of mounted desperadoes, not exceeding sixty in number, made a foray into the territory of Almeria, and appeared in sight of that capital. Ibn Samádeh, who commanded there, having sent against them four hundred of his best troops, under an experienced general, not only did the infidels await their arrival, but, when attacked, they defeated the Moslems with awful carnage. At last, when all the chieftains of Andalus, and chiefly those who held command in the western parts, such as Ibn Al-afttas and Ibn 'Abbád, became certain of Alfonso's hostile views, and that neither presents nor tribute would deter him from the course he intended to pursue, they began to think of returning to the true path, and calling the Almoravides to their aid. They accordingly implored the assistance of the Amír of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, and acknowledged his sway, hoping that he would stop the victorious course of the infidel, and thus open, for the prosecution of the holy war, those gates which they had hitherto kept criminally locked. The Amír, who desired nothing more ardently than an opportunity to make war with the idolaters, and save from pollution the wives of the Moslems, granted their request, and answered in the affirmative. Victory then arose from the slumber in which she lay, and the star of triumph again shone bright amidst the clouds by which it had been obscured.

The Amír hastened to cross the sea with his brothers, the Almoravides, in the year 480 (beginning April 7, A.D. 1087).[24] God had inspired him with the purest intentions, and directed his mind towards the true path. He filled the seas with fleets, and made his troops cross the channel, squadron after squadron. He then landed with the flower of his army, amounting to twelve thousand cavalry, at *Jezírah Al-khadhrá* (Algesiras); where he was soon after joined by Al-mu'tamed Mohammed, son of Al-mu'tadhed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, by Al-mutawakkel Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz, as well as by other less powerful chieftains, with all the forces they could muster; besides great numbers of virtuous Moslems, who privately flocked under his banners for the purpose of taking part in the holy war.

Whilst these preparations were being made, Alfonso was occupied in the siege of Saragossa,

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[24] This date is erroneous. According to the best authorities the landing of Yúsuf took place the year before. The author, no doubt, speaks, by mistake, of Yúsuf's second expedition to Spain, which did really happen in 480.

which city he had sworn not to quit until he had conquered it. Fate, however, had decided otherwise. Al-musta'ín, who ruled over that city, had repeatedly offered Alfonso large sums of money if he would raise the siege and retire; but the Christian king refused every overture, and would grant no terms. In the mean time his emissaries were trying to persuade the inhabitants that his rule was far preferable to that of Al-musta'ín. It had been Alfonso's policy, whenever he took a city, to show generosity to the Moslems: he would distribute justice with an even hand, and would afford the Moslems every sort of protection, treating them with great kindness in public as well as in private: he would promise never to subject them to any service that should be incompatible with the *sunnah,* and in all other respects he would leave them entirely at liberty.[25] It was a well-known fact, that after the taking of Toledo he had distributed among the poor Moslems of that city one hundred thousand dinárs, by way of alms, and to enable the farmers, who had been ruined by the long-protracted siege, to purchase seed for their lands: he now made every endeavour to convince the people of Saragossa that his words were sincere, and that he intended religiously to fulfil his promises. Thus deceived, the inhabitants were on the point of listening to him, when the news reached him of the arrival of the Almoravides on the coast of Africa, with the intention of crossing over to Andalus. Alfonso then wrote to Yúsuf: "The petty sovereigns of this country are "continually threatening me with thy crossing the sea, and I have promised a reward of ten "thousand mithkáls of gold to the first man who will bring me the news of thy landing. "Hasten therefore to come over to me, or I shall cross the sea and visit thee there. Let "me soon hear thy determination, that I may shape my movements accordingly." In reply to this message the Amír of the Moslems wrote Alfonso a letter, wherein, after the *bismillah* and the formula in use among us, there were the following remarkable words: "The good "sharp swords and the spears have no other messengers than a numerous and well appointed "army."[26] There was not one letter more in the epistle. This answer of the Amír, together with the intelligence of his having crossed, and his marching towards Toledo, reached Alfonso at the same time. No sooner was he made certain of it than he dispatched a messenger to Al-musta'ín, offering to raise the siege if he would send him all his disposable money; but Al-musta'ín, who had also heard of the landing of the Almoravides on the coast of Andalus, denied Alfonso's request, and would not give him one single *dirhem.* The accursed, then, deceived in his expectations, was compelled to raise the siege, and to return, ashamed and crest-fallen, to Toledo, whence he speedily sent his ambassadors to all the Christian princes, apprising them of the disembarkation of the Almoravides. He also summoned the great vassals of his crown to take the field with their retainers. In compliance with his

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[25] Compare the *Cronica General,* fo. cccxx.; and Rodericus Toletanus, *Hist. Rerum in Hisp. gestarum,* lib. IX. cap. XXV., where all this passage may be found translated almost literally.

[26] المشرفية و القني و لارسل الا بالخميس العرمرم

This verse is taken from one of the poems of Al-mutennabí. An anonymous commentator (Bib. Esc. fo. 270) thus explains the meaning of the word المشرفية He says المشرفية او المشرافية هي سيوف تنسب الي مشرف ج المشارف ارض العرب "*Mashrafiyyah* or *Mashráfiyyah* are swords, so called from *Mashraf,* plur. *Mashárif,* the name for certain districts of Arabia."

orders, the people of Castile bestirred themselves, and numberless troops came to him from every part of his dominions. Alvar Yañez, the general who commanded at Valencia, also left that city and joined him with all his followers. For some time armies came to him in succession from the furthermost regions occupied by the Christians. Such was the multitude of warriors of his race, who on this occasion flocked under Alfonso's banners, that the valleys and the mountains were filled with them, and that the infidel monarch himself was astonished at their numbers. When he saw them all collected round him, his confidence increased, and he thought himself invincible. He then swore that no one would stand against so formidable an array, or dare dispute with him the possession of the land. Almighty God, however, had decreed in his omnipotence that his hopes should be blighted, and his wicked plans completely frustrated. Alfonso then left Toledo at the head of a numberless army, to which the wide-spread plains of Andalus afforded scarcely sufficient room, and resembling the dark shadows of night, or the agitated waves of a tempestuous sea. His warriors, clad in bright mail, and armed with sharp-edged swords, with steel caps on their heads, marched, animated with desperate courage, under broad pennons and fluttering banners, looking like the black gathering clouds on a spotless sky. Victory, however, followed not in their train, and their formidable host was soon after to be dispersed like the dust before the hurricane, as we shall presently relate.

In the mean while, the Amír of the Moslems was marching on Toledo with an army so numerous and well appointed as to call forth the admiration of the most experienced captains. He met Alfonso not far from Badajoz, at a place called Zalákah, where both armies encamped at a distance of three miles one from another. Messengers then went from one camp to the other, with the object of appointing the day on which the sanguinary encounter was to take place. The accursed Alfonso said, "To-day is Thursday; Friday is a holy day for "those of thy creed, as Sunday is one for those of mine; let us then fix on Saturday." The Amír of the Moslems then replied, "Let it be Saturday, if God be pleased." The accursed meant by this to deceive the Moslems, and meditated some treason. The Amír of the Moslems then took up his position close to that of the enemy; his own troops being the nearest to those of Alfonso, whilst the Andalusian warriors under Ibn 'Abbád and other chieftains were behind him. At this juncture Ibn 'Abbád took an astrolabe,[27] and ascended an eminence for the purpose of reconnoitering. Having taken the horoscope of the positions occupied by the Amír of the Moslems, he came down in haste, and said to Yúsuf, "Thy "position is not an advantageous one." Upon which the Amír, after conversing some time with him, ordered his men to raise the tents, which was done with great secrecy that very night, so that at sunrise of the following day they were encamped between two hills. Al-mut'amed then took the horoscope of the new position, and exclaimed, "A happier "position than this I never saw." However, on Friday before sunrise, notwithstanding his solemn promise, the accursed Alfonso secretly moved his battalions, and displaying his two wings as he advanced, fell suddenly on the positions occupied by the Andalusian

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[27] فرفع ابن عباد الاسطرلاب و نظر الطالع منزل امير المسلمين This prince was famous in his days for his knowledge of astrology. See vol. i. p. 385, Note 20.

Moslems under Al-mu'tamed and the other chieftains, thinking that he was attacking the Amír's camp. The Moslems, not being on their guard, were not made aware of the arrival of the Christians, until their sharp-edged swords were over their necks and their long spears in their flanks. They fled accordingly in all directions, filling the plain and the neighbouring mountains; until Al-mu'tamed, perceiving the confusion and aware of the danger, placed himself before the fugitives, and like a tawny lion, or like a mad bull butting them with his horns, checked them in their flight, and made them stand as firm as rocks before the enemy. The contest lasted for some time, until Al-mu'tamed, who had received some wounds at the onset, was exhausted, and his men disheartened. The rout then became general; the Christians followed the Moslems over the plain, killing and taking prisoners for a distance of eighteen miles.

They say that when the Amír of the Moslems was told of the rout of the Andalusians, he exclaimed, "Let them die; they deserve it. The enemy, in the mean time, will be tired, "and we shall vanquish them without great difficulty." Accordingly, when the Amír was made certain that all the Andalusians had either been killed or taken prisoners, he thought the opportunity had arrived to leave his encampment and spring upon the enemy like a lion upon his prey. The Christians having, in the ardour of pursuit, left their tents considerably behind, Yúsuf dexterously availed himself of their fault and attacked the camp of Alfonso, which he entered and plundered, after killing about ten thousand men, between cavalry and infantry, which the Christian monarch had left for its defence, and in that number were some of his bravest warriors. This being done, the Amír started off in pursuit of Alfonso, whose army, as before stated, had gone in various directions in pursuit of the fugitives, and, having overtaken them, the Moslems began to thrust their swords into their backs and their spears into their flanks. The Christians, however, did not return their blows; they turned back and fled precipitately in every direction. In the mean time the accursed Alfonso, seeing the rout of his army, fled to a neighbouring mountain with about three hundred followers, the only forces he could collect out of the sixty thousand men with whom he had taken the field. He there seemed determined to make a stand; but when night came on, and he saw that he could escape without being molested by the cavalry of the Moslems, he fled from the field of battle like the timid hare before the chasing dogs, and reached Toledo, beaten, dejected in spirits, and wounded.

The Moslems then hastened to cut off the heads of the Christian officers, and to build with them several mounds or towers, from the top of which the *muedhins* called the soldiers to prayers for three consecutive days. All those Moslems who had escaped with their lives then returned to the camp. This memorable battle and defeat of the Christian forces happened on a Friday the tenth of Rejeb, A. H. 481.[23] It inspired new life into the body of this island, like a man who, on the point of strangulation, is suffered to take breath. It confirmed the Moslems in the possession of many wealthy towns and populous districts, and it taught them that the Christians were not invincible, and could easily be exterminated, if the Moslems would only follow the right path and rely on their merciful Creator. Soon after

[23] This is an error; the battle was fought two years before.

this, however, and whilst the Amír of the Moslems was hastening into the heart of the enemy's territory, messengers came to him from Africa with letters announcing the death of his eldest son; and the unexpected calamity so much oppressed his heart, that he decided to return to Africa, with the full intention of recrossing the sea to Andalus, and following up the advantages which so signal a victory could not fail to produce to the cause of the Moslems. Accordingly, having left three thousand cavalry under his general, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-l-háj, to assist Al-mu'tamed in his wars with the Christians, he left Andalus.

No sooner, however, had the Amír of the Moslems taken his departure, when the Andalusian chieftains, who were only kept in awe by his presence, began to show the old symptoms of animosity one against another, and fresh dissensions broke out among them; for, whilst some who had witnessed the Amír's justice and moderation were strongly inclined in his favour and desired his rule, others showed envy at his military achievements; and, on the other hand, the Christians having been informed of the Amír's sudden departure for Africa, decided to renew their attacks, and, if possible, to snatch from the hands of the Moslems all their possessions in the eastern parts of Andalus. Accordingly, they began to make incursions into the districts round Saragossa, and also extended their ravages as far as Valencia, Denia, Xativa, and Murcia, burning and destroying every thing on their passage, and converting their fertile and highly cultivated plains into so many houseless deserts. In this manner they gained possession, among other important fortresses, of Murbiter;[29] and, whilst the western districts of Andalus were in comparative security, owing to the auxiliary forces of the Almoravides, the eastern provinces were a prey to the fury of the enemy.

In the mean time, the Hájib Mundhir Ibn Ahmed Ibn Húd left Léridah (Lerida) with a considerable force, and laid siege to Valencia, which he hoped to take from its king, Al-kádir. When the news of his movement reached his nephew, Al-musta'ín, who was King of Saragossa, he also marched to that capital, on which he had for some time cast a wistful eye. So eager was he to obtain possession of it, that, not deeming himself sufficiently powerful to gain his purpose, he so far degraded himself as to seek the assistance of the *Campeador*,[30] (may God send his curses upon him!) and promise him all the riches of the place if he would only help him to take it. These conditions being agreed upon, the *Campeador* took the field with his own troops, amounting to three thousand men. Having united his forces to those of Al-musta'ín, which did not exceed four hundred horsemen, both chiefs marched upon Valencia. When the Hájib received intelligence of their approach, he raised the siege, and went away. The *Campeador*, however, remained in sight of the city, hovering round it, and keeping up a sort of blockade, until he finally took it, as we shall hereafter relate.

Within this year, that is to say, in the year 481 (beginning March 26, 1088), the Káyid Abú Shajá' Ibn Lebún died a martyr for the faith in an encounter with the Christians. The Khalif Abú-l-mudhaffer[31] died also. There was likewise in the same year, in the month of

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29 *Muri veteres*, now Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum.

30 القنبيطور *Al-canbetor;* that is, Rodrigo Diaz de Bibar, commonly called 'the Cid.'

31 و فيها مات ابو المظفر الخليفة The text must be vitiated; there was no Khalif named Abú-l-mudhaffer about

Octúbir (October), a great flood, which caused considerable damage in Valencia and other parts of Andalus, and threw down the tower of Alcantara.[32] About this time too the son of Ramiro (Sancho), whose power had considerably increased in proportion as that of Alfonso had diminished owing to his past reverses, seeing that the whole of the Christians were flocking under his banners, laid siege to Tudela with an army of about four hundred thousand men: God, however, permitted that he should be defeated, and that the Christians should retire in utter confusion from before its walls. The son of Ramiro, nevertheless, succeeded in taking some of the fortresses belonging to Ibn Húd.

Whilst these events were taking place, King Alfonso was rapidly recovering from the effects of his past defeat, and his awe of the Moslem arms was gradually vanishing. He began therefore to raise troops, and to collect provisions and stores for an incursion he meditated into the Mohammedan provinces. When his preparations had all been completed, he made public his determination to lay siege to Valencia: to this end he wrote to the people of Genoa and Pisa to aid him in the undertaking; and they accordingly appeared in sight of Valencia with a fleet of four hundred sail, whilst Alfonso, on the other hand, after summoning all the people of his kingdoms, marched upon that capital. So considerable were his preparations, and so numerous and well appointed his army, that the Christian monarch did not doubt for a moment of the victory, and thought that Valencia and all the coast of Andalus would soon fall into his hands. The Almighty, however, in his infinite mercy, had decreed otherwise; and he permitted that division and discord should enter his council, and that the Christians should shortly after separate without striking a blow, or gaining the least advantage. In fact, when the Moslems of Valencia had seen Alfonso pitch his tents in sight of the walls, and were anticipating the fiercest attacks, the next morning saw the Christian king in full retreat with his innumerable host. The fact was, that when the *Campeador* heard that Alfonso was encamped before Valencia, his ire was excited, and he assembled his followers; for he looked upon Valencia as his own conquest, and on its king, Al-kádir, as his vassal. Perceiving, however, that he was not sufficiently strong to contend with Alfonso, and to compel him to give up his undertaking, he decided upon invading Alfonso's dominions. He accordingly entered Castile, burning and destroying every thing before him. This was one of the chief causes of the raising of the siege of Valencia, and the dispersion of the troops which came for its reduction; for when Alfonso heard of the march of the *Campeador*, he returned in all haste to Castile, although he could not overtake his enemy, the *Campeador* having by that time left the country. In the mean time the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, and other maritime states, which had come to assist in the siege of Valencia, seeing their hopes frustrated, sailed to Tortosa. They were there met by Ibn Radmir, Count of Barcelona (Sancho Ramirez), who, wishing to gain possession of that important city, engaged their services; but Almighty God was pleased to breathe courage into its defenders, and, after battering the walls for some time, the Christians were compelled to

this time. Al-muktadí-billah, son of Al-káyem-billah, the twenty-third Khalif of the house of 'Abbás, reigned then in the East; and he did not die till 487. He does not appear, moreover, to have had the surname of *Abú-l-mudhaffer* (the father of the victorious). See *Hist. Sar.* p. 288, and Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 291.

[32] برج القنطرة Perhaps the triumphal arch at the head of the bridge built by Trajan. See vol. i. p. 61.

desist from their attacks, and to return to their homes in despair. After this the *Campeador* made another incursion into the territory of Valencia, and laid siege to the city; but the storm was a second time averted, by the inhabitants consenting to pay him an annual tribute of one thousand *mithkáls*.

In this year also, the Christians of every denomination, being possessed by a strong desire to conquer the whole of Andalus, attacked the Moslems in every province. King Garcia[33] laid siege to Almeria, Al-fánah,[34] and Lorca, which he reduced to the last extremity. Alvar Yañez attacked Murcia; the *Campeador*, Xativa. Al-mu'tamed then dispatched (against the latter) his son, Ar-rádhí, with three thousand cavalry. Ar-rádhí met the enemy of God, (may the curses of the Almighty come down upon him!) who, being only three hundred strong, fled precipitately on the approach of the Moslems; but they were, however, overtaken, their camp was plundered and destroyed, and numbers of them were either killed or remained prisoners in the hands of the true believers. About this time a bishop of the Franks built on the sea-shore the castle of Shashenah:[35] the Almoravides, who were in Seville, being informed of it, their souls were inflamed with martial ardour. Having appointed as their general the Káyid Mohammed Ibn 'A'yeshah, they marched to Murcia, and meeting on their way to that city some of the enemy's forces, they routed them, killing and taking numbers of them prisoners. Ibn 'A'yeshah then proceeded to Murcia, which city he entered, depriving the ruler there of all command. From Murcia Ibn 'A'yeshah went to Denia, where he intended doing the same; but Ibn Mujáhid, who reigned in it, took to flight, and crossed the sea to Africa, where he placed himself under the protection of An-násir Ibn 'Alnás, a prince of the dynasty known as the Bení Hammád of Senhájah, by whom he was well received and hospitably entertained. Ibn 'A'yeshah then entered Denia. While he was commanding there, Ibn Jeháf, Kádí of Valencia, came to ask him to go to that city with him, and take possession of it. Ibn 'A'yeshah would not quit Denia, but gave Ibn Jeháf some troops, under the command of a general of his, the Káyid Abú Nasr, when both marched to Valencia, and put to death King Al-kádir in the year 485 (beginning Feb. 11, A.D. 1092). When the news of Al-kádir's death reached the *Campeador*, who was then besieging Saragossa, his anger was kindled, and his soul was inflamed; for he considered the besieged city as his, and King Al-kádir as his tributary; since, as we have already stated, that monarch paid him an annual tribute of one hundred thousand dinárs. The *Campeador* left Saragossa, and hastened to Valencia. Having arrived in sight of the city, he began to batter the walls, until, after a siege of twenty months, he stormed it, the inhabitants having been reduced to the last extremity through want of provisions. So great, they say, was the famine, that a mouse sold for one dinár. The taking of Valencia by the *Campeador* happened in the year 487 (beginning Jan. 30, A.D. 1094).

During these transactions a number of low, dissolute, and contemptible Moslems, with whom crime and impiety were a constant practice, deserted our ranks, and enlisted under

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33 There was about this time no king of this name in Spain: Garcia III. of Navarre had died in 1054. The conquests here recorded were achieved by Sancho Ramirez, King of Aragon and Navarre, and Count of Barcelona, who is mentioned in the preceding page.

34 الفانة

35 ششنة—which might also be read شنشة Shanshah.

the banners of the *Campeador* and other Christian chieftains. These wretches, who were at the time called *Dawáyir* (deserters), having swelled the ranks of the infidels, began, in union with them, to make incursions into the countries inhabited by the Moslems, polluting the harems, killing the men, and taking into captivity the women and children. Most of them went even so far as to forsake Islám, and to disregard the principal injunctions of our Prophet, selling their comrades and countrymen for a loaf of bread or a pitcher of wine, or a pound of fish; and seizing on the defenceless Moslems for the purpose of extorting from them heavy ransoms. If their prisoners, moreover, happened to be poor, they would cut out their tongues, or pluck off their eyelids, and then leave them exposed to be devoured by infuriated blood-hounds, or commit upon them other such like atrocities. The bands commanded by Alvar Yañez (may God send down his malediction on him and his followers!) were the most remarkable of all for their cruelty and excesses; for, on coming to a town, they would seize upon all its inhabitants and cut off the virilia of the men and the breasts of the women; the Moslems who served under the banners of the accursed Christian being the first to perpetrate these and other atrocious crimes, and to inflict such unparalleled cruelties upon the people of their faith.

In this manner war raged without intermission throughout the Mohammedan provinces, until the general of the Almoravides, Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr, having heard of the attacks made by the idolaters upon the worshippers of the true and only God, and of the ravages they were daily committing in their towns and provinces, collected his forces and sallied out against Alvar Yañez, whom he completely defeated, God making him his instrument to humble the arrogance and break down the courage of that accursed chieftain. The news of this success filled the Christians with consternation. They perceived, to their cost, how dangerous it was to come in contact with the Almoravides, and they accordingly desisted from their attacks. But Ibn 'Abbád and the other Andalusian princes hated Seyr and his followers; and such were their want of virtue and justice, their excessive ambition, and their dissensions, that they could not tolerate the presence of the Almoravides, and wished to get rid of them at any price: they began therefore to plot treason against them and to meditate their ruin. To this end they entered into a secret correspondence with Alfonso, and offered to deliver into his hands the whole of the Almoravides on condition that he would leave them unmolested in possession of their respective states, they paying him an annual tribute in token of vassalage. Alfonso having agreed to these propositions, every one of them prepared to carry their wicked and treacherous projects into execution. Accordingly, when the Amír of the Moslems crossed over to Andalus for the second[36] time, for the purpose of prosecuting the holy war against the infidels, they threw every obstacle in his way. They compelled him to besiege Malaga, Granada, and Almeria, and raised up against him enemies in other places, in order that their plans might be better accomplished, and the hopes of the enemy of God realized. However, the Amír of the Moslems marched on Granada, and encamped in its vicinity. 'Abdullah Ibn Bádís Ibn Habús, who reigned in that city, at first thought of resisting. His mother said to him, "Go out and salute thy uncle Yúsuf." 'Abdullah followed her

[36] Instead of 'second,' read 'third.'

advice, and went out. He had saluted the Amír with all due respect, and was preparing to retire, when he was prevented, and conducted by the orders of Yúsuf to a separate tent, where heavy irons were put on his feet. The Amír then rode on to Granada, and took possession of it without resistance. The people, far from blaming Yúsuf for this treacherous act, and his device to secure the person of 'Abdullah, and gain possession of his capital, were rejoiced at it, because he had run counter to the designs of his secret enemies, and defeated their plans. But the fact is, that Yúsuf was ignorant of the conspiracy formed against him, and that, when he crossed to Andalus this time, he came with a full intention to disclose before the Moslems the shameful conduct and wicked practices of their rulers, and to look for an opportunity to lay his hand on their dominions.

After the taking of Granada, Yúsuf sent an army to Almeria. Ibn Samádeh, who commanded there, waited not its approach, but took to sea, and went to place himself under the protection of An-násir Ibn Al-mansúr, a Sultán of the Bení Hammád, who not only received him kindly, and entertained him with magnificence, but went so far as to confer great favours on all those persons who came in his suite.

The Amír then sent Seyr to Seville, with instructions to take the command from the hands of Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád, and, if possible, to secure his person; bidding him put to death such as should oppose him, whether citizens or soldiers. Some authors pretend that the Amír issued no such orders, as he had, upon a certain occasion, solemnly promised Al-mu'tamed upon his oath, never to dispossess him, unless the Theologians, the Kádís, the officers of the troops, and the principal citizens, should desire him to do so. However, Seyr marched to Seville, which he besieged and took, depriving Al-mu'tamed Ibn 'Abbád of the command. He then did the same with Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz, and reduced the whole of *Al-gharb* (the Western Provinces) under his sway. The cities of Murcia, Almeria, Denia, and Xativa, had already fallen into the hands of another of his generals, the Káyid Ibn 'A'yeshah, as before related. After these conquests the Amír of the Moslems crossed over to the opposite coast.

In the year 490 (beginning December 18, A.D. 1096,) the Amír of the Moslems visited Andalus for the third time, and fixed his residence in Cordova. Having, whilst there, heard that Alfonso was marching against him, he exclaimed, "I shall never meet him again as long "as I live, because defeats are creatures of God, and I gave him a sufficiency the year I met "him at Zalákah.[37] I will, however, send my generals against him, with my best troops; "and if God has decreed that they should be defeated, I will be behind them like a cloak, to "cover their retreat." He accordingly collected a numerous army of Almoravides, Arabs, and Andalusians, from the eastern and western parts of the country, the command of which he gave to Mohammed Ibnu-l-háj, one of his generals. The two hosts met at a place called Kabethuwah,[38] where there was manœuvring and charging until Almighty God was pleased to throw into confusion the vanguard of the enemy, and they fled before the Moslems, who pursued them closely, sword in hand, dealing death amongst them. After this the Moslems

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[37] فان الهزايم مخلوقة و قد كان منا خطا في لقايه سنة الزلاقة — that is to say, "I vanquished him once, and it might not be the will of God that I should vanquish him again in person."

[38] كبثوة

returned to Cordova safe, and loaded with plunder. The Amír was greatly delighted at the victory, and made preparations to return to his dominions across the sea. Before his departure for Africa, Yúsuf had sent an army, under the command of Mohammed Ibn 'A'yeshah, to make war on the infidels in the neighbourhood of Konkah (Cuenca).[39] Mohammed met there the accursed Alvar Yañez, defeated him, and plundered and destroyed his camp, after which the Almoravides returned home victorious, receiving every where on their passage the congratulations of the inhabitants.

Mohammed's next expedition was directed towards *Jezírah Shukar* (the island on the river Xucar),[40] which the Christians had attacked some time before. He there fell in with a division of the army of the *Campeador,* which he almost exterminated, as few escaped on that memorable day from the swords of the Almoravides. When the news of this disaster was brought to the *Campeador,* he shortly after died of sorrow and disappointment.[41] (May God not show him mercy!).

In the year 493 (beginning Nov. 16, A.D. 1099,) the Amír Yahya Ibn Abí Bekr,[42] son of the Amír of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, crossed over to Andalus for the purpose of prosecuting the holy war against the infidels. He came, accompanied by the Amír Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr and by Mohammed Ibnu-l-háj, at the head of their respective forces; and all three marched to Toledo, which they besieged, making incursions into the neighbouring districts. In this manner they took several castles, made numerous prisoners, and collected considerable spoil; after which they returned victorious [to Africa].

In the year 494 (beginning November 5, A.D. 1100,) the Amír Yahya Ibn Abí Bekr again crossed over to Andalus, with a numerous army, to make war on the enemy of God. This time he marched against Valencia, which he besieged for seven months; until Alfonso, perceiving the sufferings of the garrison, and being fearful of the consequences, arrived with a powerful army, and, having taken out all the Christians who were within, set fire to the city and abandoned it, the Almoravides taking possession of it immediately after. By the reduction of Valencia, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín saw himself master of the whole of Andalus, with the exception of Saragossa, which remained in the hands of its king, Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd. The Almoravides dared not molest this prince, on account of the great distance of his kingdom, and of his being in league with the Christians, whose tributary he was.

After this, Modhdelí, who had remained as Governor of Valencia, attacked the territory of Barcelona,[43] pulled down the churches, made the belfries shake to their foundations, burnt the towns and hamlets, dispersed their garrisons, and stormed the castles; after which he returned to Valencia, the hands of the Moslems being filled with the spoils of the infidel.

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39 كُنْكَة

40 جزيرة شقر now *Alcira,* a corruption from Al-jezírah. See vol. i. p. 376, Note 14. In the *Cronica General,* (fo. cccxxiii. *verso,*) this place is called *Algezira de Xucar.*

41 According to the Christian authorities the Cid died during the siege of Valencia by the Almoravides in 1099 (A. H. 493).

42 This is *el Rey Bucar* of the *Cronica General,* fo. cccxxxix. *verso, et passim.*

43 The text reads بن جلنونة — but I have substituted برجلونة

Among other valuable objects taken on this occasion were the bells, the crosses, and vases of the churches, all of which were set in silver and pure gold. The bells he caused to be suspended from the ceiling of the principal mosque at Valencia, to be used as lamps.

In the same year 'Alí Ibnu-l-háj sallied from Cordova, taking with him Ibn Yakhún[44] and his division. They marched together to the land of Castile, where they were met by the accursed Errink (Henry of Besançon ?) at the head of considerable forces, when they fought with him the battles of extermination. After this another general of the Almoravides made a foray into the territory of Kala't-Ayúb: having there met with a body of Christians, he put them to shameful flight, and plundered and destroyed a fortified camp wherein they had entrenched themselves; when, after making numbers of prisoners and collecting considerable spoil, the Moslems under his orders returned home, rejoiced at their success.

In the year 497 (beginning October 4, A.D. 1103,) the Amír of the Moslems returned to Andalus, this being the fourth and last expedition which he made into that country: on this occasion he reached as far as Murcia. He removed Modhdelí from the government of Valencia, which he gave to the Káyid Abú Mohammed Ibn Fátimah. The Amír Modhdelí he appointed to be Governor of Telemsán, in the room of Táshefín Ibn Yatanghmor, with whom he was displeased, owing to his intimacy and close connexion with the dynasty of the Beni Hammád.

In the same year, that is, in 497, there came to the Amír of the Moslems letters from Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, imploring his help against the tyrant Alfonso, who kept him closely besieged in his capital, and had nearly reduced him to the last extremity.[45] Agreeably to his wishes, the Amír sent him one thousand picked horsemen, under the orders of the Káyid 'Abdullah Ibn Fátimah, who not only relieved Al-musta'ín from his perilous situation, but made an inroad into the country of the infidels, whence he returned victorious and loaded with spoil.

In the same year (A.H. 497) the Káyid Mohammed Ibn 'A'yeshah met the enemies of God at Fahs Al-lej (Elche ?), close to Balátt Al-arús, and gained a signal victory over them. He also took from them the town of Suleymán, and the hands of his men were filled with the spoil taken from the infidels.

In the same year (A.H. 497) the Amír of the Moslems arrived in Granada, with his son, the Amír 'Alí, for the purpose of having him sworn to and acknowledged as sovereign of Andalus.[46] This being done, he returned to his dominions in Africa, after subjecting to his rule the whole of this island, with the exception of Saragossa, which still remained in the hands of Al-musta'ín.

In the year 500 (beginning Sept. 1, A.D. 1106,) died the Amír of the Moslems, Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín. He was succeeded by his son 'Alí, who, immediately after his accession,

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44 ابن يخون

45 The author says, with great elegance, قد اخذ بمخنقه و اشفي علي اخر رمقه—"who held him tight by "the throat, so that he (Al-musta'ín) was on the point of breathing his last, from strangulation."

46 The author of the *Karttás* places this event in Dhí-l-hajjah of the preceding year (Sept. A.D. 1103). The ceremony was performed at Cordova.

dispatched to Andalus a chosen body of troops under the command of two of his generals, the Káyid Abú Suleymán and the Káyid Abú 'Imrán, two brothers, who were the sons of Táreshená. These chiefs marched against the districts of Santa Maria and Ar-rayáhir,[47] where, as well as in many other parts of the enemy's territory, they made several successful inroads, whereby the hands of their men were filled with plunder.

In the ensuing year, 501, (beginning August 21, A.D. 1107,) Alfonso called together the people of his kingdom, and, having mustered a large army, invaded the eastern provinces of Andalus. He was met by the Amír Temím, when the two hosts manœuvred, skirmished, fought, and destroyed each other, until God Almighty was pleased graciously to grant the victory to the Moslems, and to permit that the arrogant Christian should take to flight, after losing one of his sons, and being himself wounded in the onset.[48] (May the curses of God rest upon them both!). Great was the chastisement inflicted upon the enemy of God on this memorable occasion; since, between those killed in the engagement, and the prisoners, who were very numerous, the army of the infidel king was annihilated. The Moslems returned to their homes victorious, elated with success, and proud of having received so signal a proof of the Almighty's favour; while the Christian tyrant (may the curses of God fall upon his head!) retired to his dominions, confused and humiliated at his defeat, and broken-hearted at the loss of his son. Three months[49] after these events the accursed Alfonso died, God being pleased to deliver the Moslems from his mischief. His body was carried to Castile on the shoulders of his own men, and there buried by the side of those of his ancestors. He left no male child; but he had a daughter,[50] who succeeded him in the kingdom, which she administered at first with great firmness and skill. But, fearing lest her dominions should be invaded by some Christian or Mohammedan king among her neighbours, she secretly sent to the son of Ramiro (Alfonso), and offered him her hand. The proposition was accepted, and the marriage took place: but no happiness or joy ensued from it; for they had been married but a short time, when discord broke out between them, and they separated on the worst possible terms. Her husband then left her, and retired into his own dominions; and having there called together his vassals, he invaded the kingdom of his wife, who, on her side, had also taken up arms, and went out to meet him. In this manner they waged a desultory war against each other, until the queen gained a signal victory over her husband, and routed his army, with the death of upwards of three thousand of his bravest warriors. After this the queen espoused one of the counts[51] of her own kingdom, and had by him one son, called As-soleytán (the little king). On the death of the queen, the Christians chose her

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47 الرياحر —This word is, doubtless, corrupted in the text.

48 This battle, at which Alfonso himself was not present, was fought near the town of اقليش Uklísh, now Uclés, in the province of Toledo. The prince's name was Sancho, and he was the king's only son.

49 The death of Alfonso happened in July, A.D. 1109. (See Mariana, lib. x. cap. vii.) He was buried in the monastery of Sahagun.

50 Doña Urraca, who married Alfonso I., King of Aragon and Navarre. She was then the widow of Raymond, Count of Burgundy.

51 Count Pedro de Lara.

son for their king, notwithstanding that the right to the throne came to him on the mother's side, not on that of his father.

In the year 503 (beginning July 30, A. D. 1109,) the Amír 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf crossed over to Andalus for the purpose of waging war with the infidels. He landed at Algesiras with a numerous and well appointed army, and took the road to Toledo. Arrived before that city, he encamped in front of the principal gate, and fixed his quarters at a well known pleasure-house outside the walls.[52] He then made himself master of some of the outer defences, and ravaged the neighbouring districts by means of bodies of light cavalry, which he sent in various directions. Seeing this, the Christians fled for refuge to the castles, towers, and fortresses nearest to them: terror then seized on the Castilians, and fear lodged in their hearts; for they doubted not that the Amír would prosecute his victorious career and pounce upon them, and demolish the places whither they had fled to escape his vengeance. However, it was not as they apprehended; for the Amír, having suddenly raised the siege, approached the sea, and crossed over to the seat of his African dominions.

In the same year, Errink (Henry of Besançon) and the son of Ramiro (Alfonso I. of Aragon) (may the Almighty's curses fall upon the heads of both!) invaded the territory of Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd with an army, the numbers of which are only known to God. Al-musta'ín hastened to the defence of his states, but fate had decided against him, and he fell a martyr in an encounter with the Christians. (May God have mercy on him!). After this, the son of Ramiro besieged Saragossa for a whole month, during which time the inhabitants were exposed to all manner of misery and tribulation, until the people of the town, unable to withstand his attacks any longer, consented to surrender on condition that those among the inhabitants who chose to remain might do so unmolested on the payment of a certain annual tribute which was stipulated; and that those who preferred leaving the town should be allowed to go to whatever part of the country, inhabited by the Moslems, they most liked, with all their goods and chattels. It was further stipulated that the Christians should dwell in the city itself, and that such among the Moslems, as chose to remain, should inhabit the suburb called *Rabadhu-d-dabbághín* (the suburb of the tanners); that if a Christian recognised among the inhabitants a runaway slave, the Moslem should not be given up to him, but should be free, as if he had never been taken, and should live in the full enjoyment of his rights and the exercise of his religion, his master possessing no dominion whatever over him. These conditions being agreed to by both parties, and each having promised on oath to fulfil them, the Moslems gave up the keys of the city to the son of Ramiro. Thus was the mighty city of Saragossa, one of the vital members of the corrupted body of Islám, torn away, never to form again an integral part of it. There is no power but in God! the Almighty, the Illustrious! He whose wisdom is unbounded, and whose impenetrable decrees no creature on the earth can pretend to unravel!

No sooner had the accursed Christians taken possession of the city, than the greater part of the inhabitants fled to other parts of the country occupied by the Moslems. They say,

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[52] Now *Las Casas de la Reyna*, formerly a villa belonging to the Beni Dhí-n-nún kings of that city. See vol. i. pp. 239, 384.

that the number of persons who left Saragossa on this occasion exceeded fifty thousand, between great and small, males and females. When all this multitude were ready to depart, the Christian king rode out of the city with his officers and escort: having appeared in front of the emigrants, he ordered them to form into lines, and to exhibit before him whatever property, whether large or small, each man carried with him. This being done, there were shown treasures without computation; and yet, strange to say, though the king knew very well that as long as he lived his eyes would never again feast on such a mass of riches, he refrained from taking any, and said to them, "Had I not asked to see the property each of you "carries with him, you might have said, 'The king knew not what we had, otherwise he would "not have let us go so easily.' Now you may go whither you please in perfect security." The king, moreover, sent a body of his own troops to escort the emigrants to the frontiers of his dominions, which they all reached in safety, and without being subjected to the payment of any other tax or tribute than two *mithkáls*, which every man, woman, or child was obliged to pay before starting. From that day, until that of his death, God permitted that this insolent Christian should always be victorious against the Moslems. But to return.

Some time before the city surrendered to the Christians, a son of the king, Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd, whose surname was *'Imádu-d-daulah* (the column of the state), left Saragossa secretly, and took refuge in a neighbouring castle named Rotah.[53] This castle, which was exceedingly strong, was situated on the top of a high inaccessible mountain: so high was the mountain, that it looked as if it were borrowing the reins of the sky. The fortress had been erected by his father, Al-musta'ín, who had filled it with stores, and provided it with every thing necessary for a long siege: it was supplied with water by means of a subterraneous passage built of solid masonry, leading from the castle down to the river by upwards of four hundred steps, so that the garrison could never be short of water. In this place 'Imádu-d-daulah passed a few years, secure from the infidels, until death came to surprise him. (May God have mercy on him!).

'Imádu-d-daulah was succeeded by his son Ahmed, who took the surname of *Al-muntaser*. This prince once received an embassy from the Christian tyrant, *Al-enberatúr* (the emperor), surnamed 'the little Sultán.' The message was thus conceived: "If thou wilt give me possession "of Rotah, I will give thee instead more extensive and better dominions in Castile, which "shall bring thee closer to the western provinces of Andalus, inhabited by thy countrymen. "I will then place myself at the head of my troops, and we will both make an incursion into "those districts, and reduce them into obedience to thee. Those towns that shall voluntarily "acknowledge thee as their lord, shall hereafter remain under thy dominion and authority, "and I promise thee to defend them against all aggressors, whether Moslems or Christians, "and to be unto them as a kind and affectionate father. I hope not one will resist thee, "oppressed as they are by the Almoravides, and subjected to all manner of indignities by "them. They all detest their rule, and wish for the restoration of the Mohammedan empire, "now prostrate. Were the Almoravides to lay their hands on thy person, there would "remain not one man whose call they might obey, thou being the only descendant from their

[53] روطة Now Roda.

"ancient kings in the whole of Andalus." These words lodged in Ahmed's head, and had the desired effect upon his mind: he delivered his fortress into the hands of Alfonso, and the king gave him an equivalent in towns and lands. After this, he placed himself at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, and invaded the Mohammedan settlements in the western provinces of Andalus, as he had promised. His hopes and those of Ahmed, however, were far from being realized; for, wherever they went, they met with resistance and ill-will, the inhabitants deserting their homes at their approach. Not a soul stirred to do him homage; not a hamlet, of the many traversed in their march, greeted them; nor did the news of their arrival spread over the country, as had been anticipated. The people were, no doubt, afraid lest by swearing obedience to Ahmed they should fall a prey to the Christians who came with him, and the whole should be a device to catch them and put them to death. Had not these fears preyed on their minds, they would undoubtedly have hastened to do homage to Ahmed; for they were anxiously expecting his arrival, and he had, no doubt, a considerable party in the country. As it was, he failed most completely in his attempt, and he had to return home more dejected and low-spirited than Abú Ghabashán himself.[54]

In the year 507 (beginning June 17, A. D. 1113,) the Amír Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr and the Almoravide Modhdelí made an incursion into the territory of Toledo, and appeared in sight of that city. Having there divided their armies into several small detachments, they sent them out in various directions, and began pulling down houses, killing the inhabitants, burning their fields, and laying waste every thing before them. Alvar Yañez then sallied out at the head of ten thousand men at arms; but he was met by the Moslems, who defeated him, with the loss of seven hundred of his mounted followers. In the same year a war broke out between the Castilians and the son of Ramiro (Alfonso), when both parties made one another taste of the cup of perdition. In one of these encounters the accursed Alvar Yañez was killed, and his soul was immediately consigned by the Almighty to the raging fire of hell.

In the year 508 (beginning June 6, A. D. 1114,) the people of Pisa and Genoa assembled together, and, having fitted out a fleet of three hundred sail, made for the island of Yébisah (Iviza), which they took and plundered, making captives of the inhabitants. Iviza is an island close to, and under the jurisdiction of, Mallorca. From Iviza the Christians sailed to the latter island, which they attacked both by sea and land.

The island of Mallorca had for many years been governed by independent chieftains. The first was an Andalusian named Al-murtadhí, who, on the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty, when the governors rose in every province, followed their example, assumed the supreme power, and reigned for a while independent in the island. He was succeeded at his death by one of his eunuchs, whose name was Mubashsher, but who assumed on his accession to power the honorific surname of *Násiru-d-daulah* (the preserver of the state). This Mubashsher was

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54 و رجع اخسر صفقة من ابي غبشان—Abú Ghabashán was the door-keeper of the Ka'bah whilst the custody of that building was in the hands of the tribe of Khozá'h, to which he himself belonged. Having attended a convivial meeting, he got so intoxicated with wine that one of the party, named Kasí Ibn Keláb, persuaded him to exchange his keys for a skin of wine, which he did: immediately after which 'Abdu-d-dár, son of Kasí, repaired to Mekka, and gave them to the tribe of Koraysh. The humiliation and disappointment of Abú Ghabashán, when he recovered and found himself without the keys intrusted to his keeping, afterwards became proverbial among the Arabs. See Ath-thá'lebí, *Thimáru-l-kolúb*, &c., fo. 27.

a native of Kal'ah Himyar in the territory of Lerida: when a youth, he had been taken prisoner by the enemy, who made a eunuch of him. It happened that Al-murtadhí once sent an ambassador to the court of the Christian king,[55] to settle various matters pending between them: whilst there, the ambassador made the acquaintance of Mubashsher, and being much struck with his affable manners, his intelligence, and his ready wit, paid his ransom, and took him with him on his return to Mallorca: he then presented him to Al-murtadhí, who was highly pleased with him, placed him near his person, gave him his confidence, and always found him a zealous and trusty servant. At the death of his master, Mubashsher succeeded him. He governed with moderation and justice, was noble-minded and generous, and possessed many virtues and noble qualities: he was still reigning when, as already related, the people of Pisa and Genoa landed on the island, and besieged his capital; and he not only exhibited the greatest courage during the siege, but his perseverance and fortitude in making war on the infidels were beyond all praise. Mubashsher died while the Christians were still on the island. He was succeeded by a relative of his, named Abú Rabi' Suleymán, who followed in his steps, and stoutly defended the island, until the Christians gained possession of it. Some time before his death, Násiru-d-daulah, perceiving that he could not long withstand the attacks of the enemy, decided on writing to the Amír of the Moslems, imploring his assistance. Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Maymún, the captain of a carabel then in the port, having consented to be the bearer of the message, every precaution was taken for his leaving the island unperceived by the enemy. Ibn Maymún sallied secretly and at night from the arsenal: his flight being discovered by the Christians, some of their galleys weighed anchor, and went off in pursuit of him; but, after a chase of nearly ten miles, Ibn Maymún, protected by night, contrived to escape, and the Christians, despairing of success, returned to their anchorage in sight of Mallorca. Ibn Maymún, moreover, arrived safe in Africa, and delivered his letter to the Amír of the Moslems, who issued orders for the immediate fitting out of three hundred sail. The commands of the Amír were punctually executed, and in a very short time the above number of vessels, together with many others which happened to be ready on the arrival of Ibn Maymún, put to sea. No sooner were the Christians made aware of the departure of so formidable an armament, than they desisted from their undertaking, and put off to sea, taking away with them, however, so much plunder, and so many captives, that they departed highly satisfied and content. When the Moslem fleet arrived in sight of the island, they found the city in ruins, and the streets deserted; every thing round it bore the appearance of desolation and ruin.[56] Seeing this, Ibn Táfertás, who came in command of the fleet, ordered the Almoravides, and the other soldiers and sailors who composed the expedition, to set about rebuilding the city. This was done, when the people who had fled to the mountains returned: the city was rebuilt as before, and repeopled; many of the soldiers, who had accompanied the expedition, agreeing to settle in it. The fleet then returned to the port whence it had been taken. As the Christians were returning to their country, they were assailed by a storm, which separated their galleys, and cast four of their number on the coast of Denia; which being perceived by the people of that town, they went out in chase of them, and succeeded in capturing three, and sinking the other.

[55] No doubt, the Count of Barcelona.

[56] The island had in the mean time been taken and plundered by the Christians.

APPENDIX D.

Extracts from the history of the Berbers by Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún (Brit. Mus. No. 9575), respecting the conquests and settlements of the Al-muwáhhedún (or Almohades) in Spain.

This part of Al-makkarí's narrative is so short, his information so scanty and unsatisfactory, that I have considered it necessary to translate here such passages from the work of the above celebrated and most accurate historian as were likely to throw a light upon the events recorded in the body of this work, especially as the period to which they relate is perhaps the most interesting, as it is the most obscure, in the annals of Mohammedan Spain.

An account of the conquest of Andalus by the Almohades, and the events attending thereon.

Fo. 106, *verso*.—When the intelligence of the death of Táshefín Ibn 'Alí,[1] and the siege of Fez by the Almohades, was received by the Almoravides of Andalus, 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún, the commander of their fleet, shook off their yoke, and embraced the party of the Almohades. Having risen in revolt at the island of Kádis (Cadiz), he crossed over to Africa, joined 'Abdu-l-múmen before Fez, and placed himself under the orders of that Sultán, whom he had previously caused to be proclaimed from [the pulpit of] the great mosque at Cadiz; this being the first proclamation that was made in Andalus for the Almohades. This happened in 540 (beginning June 23, A.D. 1145). Ahmed Ibn Kasí,[2] Lord of Mirtolah (Mertola), was the next chieftain to proclaim in Andalus the supremacy of the Almohades. This done, he sent Abú Bekr Ibn Khanisen[3] with a message to 'Abdu-l-múmen. Abú Bekr met that Sultán near Telemsán, and delivered into his hands his master's credentials; but 'Abdu-l-múmen, being dissatisfied with the manner in which the name of the Mahdí was mentioned in his letter, sent no reply to it. Subsequently to this, Seddaray[4] Ibn Wazír, Lord of Badajoz,

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[1] The last of the Almoravide Sultáns. He was put to death near Wahrán (Oran) on the 27th day of Ramadhán, 539 (March 23rd, 1145).

[2] Ibnu Khaldún treats of this chieftain in his historical Prolegomena, sect. iii., in the chapter entitled في أن الدعوة الدينية من غير عصبية لا تتم (That religious revolutions unsupported by clanship do not succeed). He says that his entire name was Abú-l-kásim Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn قسي Kasí, (elsewhere written قِسِي *Kisí* and قُسِي *Kosa*); that he made himself conspicuous among his countrymen for the austerity of his life, and wrote a work entitled الخلع النعلين في التصوف (The putting off of the two slippers on the doctrines of the Súfís); that he called the people to [the knowledge of] truth, and was followed by numerous disciples, to whom he gave the name of *Al-morábetún*. He was himself a disciple of Abú Hámid Al-ghazzálí; and, as such, the doctrines which he preached were not dissimilar to those of the Mahdí. Profiting by the civil wars which distracted Mohammedan Spain at the commencement of the twelfth century, he made himself master of a considerable portion of Al-gharb (Algarbe).

[3] بن خنيس

[4] سدراي بن وزير—whom Conde calls *Sidray* and *Sid-Ray*. See vol. ii. pp. 276, 320, *et passim*.

Beja, and the western districts of Andalus, having quarrelled with Ahmed Ibn Kasí, made war against him, and came off victorious, taking from him the city of Mertola; upon which the latter chieftain, who was on intimate terms with Ibn Maymún ['Alí Ibn 'Isa], decided to cross over to Africa, and [following the example of his friend] to put himself under the command of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who had just taken possession of Morocco. Accordingly, Ibn Kasí landed at Ceuta, where he resided some time: thence Yúsuf Ibn Makhlúf [the governor] sent him on with an escort to the camp of 'Abdu-l-múmen, whom he saw and spoke to, inviting him to undertake the conquest of Andalus, and to expel the Almoravides therefrom. 'Abdu-l-múmen listened to his propositions, and sent an army of Almohades under the command of Berráz Ibn Mohammed Al-masúfí, the same who towards the close of the reign of Táshefín deserted the cause of that Sultán, and went over to the Almohades. To this general, 'Abdu-l-múmen intrusted the subjection of the Lamtúnites of Andalus, as well as that of the other rebels in that country who acknowledged no authority at all: he re-inforced his army with another division, under the command of Abú 'Imrán Músa Ibn Sa'íd, and subsequently with a second, at the head of which he placed 'Omar Ibn Sáleh As-senhájí. On the landing of these forces on the coast of Andalus, their first destination was against a rebel named Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Gharún,[5] who had taken possession of Xerez and Ronda. After the reduction of these, the army marched to Liblah (Niebla), which city was in the hands of another rebel named Yúsuf Al-betrúhí, who hastened to make his submission: thence they proceeded to Mertola, which city [was not attacked], being considered by the Almohades as under their rule, owing to Ibn Kasí [its former lord] having previously subscribed to the dogma of the unity of God [as preached by the Mahdí]. The army then continued its march to Shelb (Silves), which city was taken by storm, and given over to Ibn Kasí: thence they directed their course towards Beja and Badajoz; but the lord of those two cities, Seddaray Ibn Wazír, hastened to place himself under their rule. This done, Berráz retired with his army to Mertola, where he wintered, until, on the approach of the fine season, he sallied out to lay siege to Seville. On his march to that city he received the allegiance of the garrisons of Tablada[6] and Hisn Al-kasr, which submitted to him. Being afterwards joined by the forces of several chieftains who had before this risen in open rebellion against the Almoravides, Berráz invested Seville by sea and land, and took that mighty city in the month of Sha'bán of the year 541 (Jan. or Feb. A.D. 1147).[7] The Almoravides who composed the garrison fled to Carmona, not without being closely pursued by the victors, who dealt death among them. In the confusion occasioned by the entrance of the Almohades into Seville, a son of the Kádí Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-'arabí was unintentionally killed by one of the besieging army.

On the taking of Seville, an embassy composed of several distinguished individuals, at the head of whom was the Kádí Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-'arabí, was sent to Africa to inform 'Abdu-l-

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[5] This name is differently written in various parts of this work, thus: ابو عمر بن عرون—ابو الغمر بن عزون and بن غرون Conde calls him Abu-l-hamri (vol. ii. p. 325,) and Abu-l-camar (p. 313). He had been governor of Xerez and Arcos for Ibn Hamdín, King of Cordova, and had taken Ronda from Akhíl Ibn Idrís. See Casiri (vol. ii. p. 56).

[6] طليطلة No doubt, a mistake for طبلطة Tablada, unless it be Tallada.

[7] The author of the *Karttás* places this event in 540.

múmen of the success of his arms. The messengers reached Morocco, and presented themselves to the Sultán, who accepted of the obedience they tendered to him in the name of their fellow-citizens, and dismissed them with suitable presents and pensions [upon his treasury]. This took place in the year 542 (beginning June 1, A.D. 1147). As Abú Bekr was returning to his native country, he died on the road, and was buried at Fez.

It happened about this time that two brothers of the Mahdí, named 'Abdu-l-'azíz and 'Isa, who resided at Seville, and held high command in the army, were guilty of great cruelty and excess: they stretched out their hands over the inhabitants, seized on their property, shed their blood, and practised every iniquity and injustice. Having conceived an enmity against Yúsuf Al-betrúhí, governor of Niebla, who was then dwelling in Seville, they formed the design of ridding themselves of him by treason; but that chief, having received intelligence of their plans in time, quitted the city, and took refuge in the capital of his dominions, whence he expelled the Almohades, and declared himself in open revolt against 'Abdu-l-múmen. He then sent on [troops] to Tablada and Hisn Al-kasr, [of which he gained possession], and put himself in communication with the Almoravides on the opposite shore. His example was speedily followed by other chieftains: Ibn Kasí rose at Silves; 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún did the same at Cadiz; Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibnu-l-hajjám[8] at Badajoz. In short, the only chief who, on this occasion, remained faithful to the Almohades, was Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Gharún, governor of Xerez, Ronda, and the neighbouring districts, which he continued to hold for them and in their name. On the other hand, Ibn Ghániyyah, the Almoravide, took possession of Algesiras, whence he stirred the inhabitants of Ceuta to rebel, as before stated.[9] Owing to these circumstances, the situation of the Almohades at Seville became so precarious, that 'Isa and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, the two brothers of the Mahdí, with a cousin of theirs, named Islitín, and such as followed their party, were compelled to leave that city, and retire to the mountains of Bishter.[10] Here they were joined by Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Gharún at the head of his forces, when it was agreed among them to lay siege to Algesiras; which was done, until that city was taken by storm, the Almoravides, who composed the garrison, being all put to the sword. After this exploit, the brothers of the Mahdí crossed over to Morocco, and 'Abdu-l-múmen sent Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán to Seville with an army of Almohades. On his arrival there, Yúsuf took the command from the hands of the governor, Berráz Ibn Mohammed, whom he allowed, however, to retain the office of tax-collector. He then went out against Al-betrúhí, whose states of Niebla and Tablada he speedily reduced. The same fate befel Ibn Kasí, whose city, Silves, was taken from him. After these exploits, Yúsuf [Ibn Suleymán] set out, though it was winter,[11] against 'Isa Ibn Maymún, Lord of Santa Maria, whom he compelled to return under the obedience of the Almohades, and to join him with

[8] The author of the *Karttás* speaks of an individual named Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-hajjám, who was appointed governor of Badajoz in A. H. 501 by 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, the second Sultán of the Almoravides. *Ibnu-l-hajjám* means 'the son of the surgeon or barber,' whence are derived the Spanish words *alfageme* and *alhageme*, which have still a similar meaning.

[9] This happened in A. H. 543; the Kádí 'Iyádh, who was governor of the city, revolting against 'Abdu-l-múmen, and proclaiming Ibn Ghániyyah.

[10] جبل بشتر—Between Malaga and Ronda.

[11] Such I believe to be the meaning which the author intended to convey by these words: ثم اغار يوسف علي صنبرة

his forces. Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibnu-l-hajjám, governor of Badajoz, having sent him an embassy with presents, Yúsuf accepted of them, and granted him pardon in the Sultán's name. After this he returned to Seville.

During these transactions the Christian king (Alfonso II. of Castile), having mustered all his forces, marched against Yahya Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ghániyyah, Lord of Cordova, whose friend and ally he had been on a former occasion, but whom he now attacked. After ravaging the territories subject to his rule, Alfonso appeared in sight of Cordova, and besieged Ibn Ghániyyah in his capital. In this manner the Christians made themselves masters of Lisbon, Tortosa,[12] Lerida, Fraga, Santa Maria, and other cities or fortresses belonging to the Moslems of Andalus. In this conflict Ibn Ghániyyah began to look about him for the means of increasing the number of his warriors, and expelling the insolent Christians from before the walls of Cordova: to this end he sent a message to Berráz Ibn Mohammed, the general of the Almohades, asking for an interview. The meeting having taken place at Ezija, Berráz agreed to assist him with the troops under his command, on condition that he (Ibn Ghániyyah) would immediately put him in possession of Cordova and Carmona, in compensation for which he was to receive Jaen. Ibn Ghániyyah having accepted of these terms, a treaty was immediately drawn up between the two chiefs, and sent over to Africa for the confirmation of 'Abdu-l-múmen. When this arrived, Ibn Ghániyyah gave up Cordova to Berráz, and retired to Jaen. He was there besieged by the Christian king; but Ibn Ghániyyah having treacherously seized on one of his counts,[13] and confined him to the castle of Ibn Sa'íd (Alcalá de Aben Zaid), the Christian king was compelled to give up his undertaking, and retire from before Jaen. After this, Ibn Ghániyyah repaired to Granada, which city was in the hands of Maymún Ibn Bedr Al-lamtúní, who commanded a body of Almoravides. Ibn Ghániyyah went thither for the purpose of inducing that chieftain to come to an agreement with the Almohades, as he himself had done; but all his arguments were in vain, and Maymún persevered in his rebellion. Shortly after, Ibn Ghániyyah died at that city in the month of Sha'bán of the year 543 (January, A.D. 1149):[14] he was buried there, his tomb being well known to this day.

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[12] The text reads طرسوسة *Tarsúsah*, which is evidently a mistake for طرطوشة *Tortósa*, unless it be meant for طرسونة *Tarazóna*, which can hardly be supposed. The cities mentioned in this passage were not reduced by Alfonso II., as here intimated. Lisbon and Santa Maria [de Algarbe] were taken by Alfonso I. of Portugal, in 1147, or 542 of the Hijra, and the other three by Raymond V., Count of Barcelona, in 1148-9.

[13] This was Count Don Manrique de Lara. Ibn Ghániyyah sent a messenger to Alfonso, inviting him to Jaen, of which city he offered him the possession. Alfonso accepted the proposition, but did not go in person. He sent thither the above-mentioned nobleman, at the head of a body of cavalry: on his arrival at Jaen, Don Manrique was made a prisoner, and confined to a castle.

[14] According to Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát and the author of the *Karttás*, Ibn Ghániyyah died a natural death on Friday, the 24th of Sha'bán, 543 (Jan. 7, A.D. 1149), and "was buried within the *Kassábah*, and opposite to the tomb of Bádís Ibn Habús." Conde, though professing to translate the narrative of the last-mentioned writer, makes Ibn Ghániyyah die in a skirmish with the Almohades. This is not all: he translates the following و دُفن في القصبة بازاء قبر باديس بن حبوس thus: 'enterraronle en *Cazbe Baz* en la Makbira de Badis ben Habus Rey de Granada.' (He was buried at Cazbe Baz, in the cemetery of Bádís Ibn Habús, King of Granada.)!

In the mean time the Christian king, thinking the opportunity a favourable one again to attack Cordova, marched his army thither, and laid siege to it. When the intelligence reached Seville, the Almohades immediately sent to its relief Abú-l-ghamr Ibn Gharún, who, having made a junction with the troops of Yúsuf Al-betrúhí, governor of Niebla, proceeded by forced marches to his destination. 'Abdu-l-múmen, who had likewise been informed of the perilous situation of the Cordovans, had also sent thither an army of Almohades under the command of Yahya Ibn Yaghmúr. This general, therefore, having joined on the way the forces commanded by Abú-l-ghamr, entered Cordova without any opposition on the part of the besieging army. A few days after this, the Christian king struck his tents, and disappeared from before the city. From all parts of Andalus rebels came to Ibn Yaghmúr to ask him for letters of security in the name of 'Abdu-l-múmen; which being obtained, they repaired to Morocco, and presented themselves to that Sultán, who received them kindly, and was pleased graciously to pardon all their offences. Subsequently to this, 'Abdu-l-múmen, having removed to Salé in the year 545 (beginning April 29, A. D. 1150), invited the people of Andalus [15] to come over to him; which they did in great numbers, when they all proclaimed him as their rightful sovereign; the rebel chieftains hastening also to take the oath of allegiance, and to lay down all [usurped] authority. Among the Andalusians who on this occasion presented themselves to 'Abdu-l-múmen was Seddaray Ibn Wazír, Lord of Beja and Ebora; Al-betrúhí, governor of Niebla; Ibn Gharún [Abú-l-ghamr], Lord of Xerez and Ronda; Ibnu-l-hajjám, Lord of Badajoz; 'A'mil Ibn Muhíb,[16] Lord of Talavera (Tavira?). Ibn Kasí and the people of Silves were the only Andalusians who did not make their submission on this occasion, this being the cause of the death of that chieftain [who was afterwards executed], as we shall relate in due course.[17] 'Abdu-l-múmen returned to Morocco, and the Andalusians to their respective towns; he moreover took most of the rebel chieftains with him to his capital, and kept them about his court. In the year 548 (beginning March 28, A.D. 1153), 'Abdu-l-múmen ordered the execution of Islitín, a relative of the Mahdí.[18]

The Almohades subdue the rest of Andalus.

Fo. 107, *verso.*—In the year 549 (beginning Mar. 17, A.D. 1154), while the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen was at Morocco, the intelligence was brought to him how Yahya Ibn Yaghmúr,[19] governor of Seville, had made great slaughter among the people of Liblah (Niebla), of which city Al-wahíbí had treacherously gained possession. Though the inhabitants protested their

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15 *i. e.* the deputations of the several towns which had previously acknowledged his authority, that they might take the oath of allegiance in the name of their fellow-citizens.

16 عامل بن مهيب صاحب طلبيرة Perhaps وهيب is to be substituted, and طبيرة *Tabira* for Talavera.

17 I have in vain looked in other chapters of Ibnu Khaldún's work for the event here recorded.

18 أصلتين قريب المهدي which Conde (vol. ii. p. 343) translates by 'Isaltin Coraib Almehedi.'! This Islitín had some time before risen in arms against 'Abdu-l-múmen.

19 ابن يغمور But I find his name thus written in the *Karttás*, Abú Zakariyyá Yahya ابن يرمر Ibn Yarmar or Yurmur.

innocence, and that they had taken no part whatever in the plans of that rebel, the governor, Yahya, would not admit of their excuses, and [on the taking of the city] chastised them with the greatest severity.[20] The Sultán, being exceedingly displeased with Yahya on this account, removed him from the government of Seville, which he gave to Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Abí Hafss, of Tínmelel. He likewise deposed Abú Zeyd Ibn Bakít from the government of Cordova, and appointed in his room 'Abdullah Ibn Suleymán. On his arrival at Seville, the new governor put Yahya Ibn Yaghmúr in irons, and took him with him to Algesiras: he there assigned him his dwelling for a prison, until he dispatched him to Telemsán, escorted by his son, Síd Abú Hafss.

In the mean while the empire of the Almohades waxed stronger in Andalus. Maymún Ibn Bedr Al-lamtúní quitted Granada, where the supremacy of the Almohades was immediately acknowledged. Soon after, Síd Abú Sa'íd, governor of Ceuta, went over to assume the command of that city in the name of his father, the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen. The wearers of the veil (Almoravides) [who were at Granada] were compelled to repair to Morocco. Síd Abú Sa'íd Al-merínî laid siege to Almeria, until he obliged the Christians within to surrender on the terms of a capitulation drawn up by the Wizír Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Attiyyah. Notwithstanding that the garrison of Almeria had received assistance from the rebel Ibn Mardanísh, who had risen [some time before] in the eastern parts of Andalus, and also from the Christian king, his ally, all these forces united together were unable to deter that prince from his purpose; and the city was taken, as before related, in 546 (beginning April 19, A.D. 1152).

In the year 551 (beginning Feb. 24, A.D. 1156), the Sheikhs of Seville, having come [to Africa] to ask 'Abdu-l-múmen to appoint one of his sons to command over them, that Sultán gave the investiture of Seville and its dependencies to his son Síd Abú Ya'kúb, who immediately took possession of it. One of the first acts of his government was to make war against Al-wahíbí, the rebel. Having accordingly left Seville, he put himself at the head of his army, and, accompanied by the Wizír Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Attiyyah, started in pursuit of that chieftain, whom he besieged [in one of his fortresses] until he compelled him to surrender. After this, he took possession of the states of Ibn Wazír, and of those of Ibn Kasí, which last were reduced by a division of his army under the command of Táshefín Al-lamtúní. The victory, in short, was every where complete. After this success, Síd Abú Ya'kúb returned to Seville, and the Wizír Abú Ja'far to Morocco, where he soon after fell into disgrace, and was put to death[21] by the command of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who appointed 'Abdu-s-sellám Al-kúmí to succeed him in the charge of Wizír. 'Abdu-s-sellám, who was connected by marriage with the family of 'Abdu-l-múmen, retained that office until he was executed by order of that Sultán, soon after the taking of Telemsán, as we shall hereafter relate.

Fo. 108.—In the year 553 (beginning Feb. 1, A.D. 1158), when the intelligence reached 'Abdu-l-múmen of the defeat of his son, Síd Abú Ya'kúb [Yúsuf], by the Christians, close

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[20] Conde, who gives some details respecting this siege, and the cruelties practised on the inhabitants, borrowed from the *Karttás*, speaks of Liblah, which he writes *Leila*, as if it were a town in Africa. See vol. ii. p. 345.

[21] This happened in Shawwál, 552 (December, A.D. 1157), according to the author of the *Karttás*. See Moura, p. 216.

to the walls of Seville, and of the great number of the Almohades, Sheikhs, Háfedhs, and other principal men, as Ibn Gharún and Ibnu-l-hajjám, who had fallen martyrs in the encounter, he set out with the intention of crossing over in person to the theatre of war. For this purpose he went to Salé, but having whilst there received intelligence of fresh troubles in Eastern Africa, and of the taking of Mehediyyah by the Christians, he gave up his former determination, and turned his attention to that quarter. Accordingly, having appointed the Sheikh Abú Hafss to command in the *Maghreb* during his absence, he hastened to Eastern Africa at the head of all the forces collected round Salé for his intended expedition to Andalus, and arrived before Mehediyyah, when he compelled the Christians and Sicilians, who had taken possession of it, to capitulate in 555 (A.D. 1160).[22]

Account of Ibn Mardanísh, who revolted [against the Almohades] in the eastern provinces of Andalus.

Whilst 'Abdu-l-múmen was in Eastern Africa, the intelligence was brought to him that Mohammed Ibn Mardanísh, who rose in the eastern provinces of Andalus, had gone out of Murcia, and encamped before Jaen, the governor of which city, named Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Al-kúmí, had submitted to him. He had likewise appeared in sight of Cordova; but unable to gain possession of that city, he had raised the siege, and marched against Carmona, which he had taken by treason. He had thence returned to Cordova, the governor of which, Ibn Bakít, had sallied out against him, but had been defeated, and put to death. On the arrival of this diastrous news, 'Abdu-l-múmen wrote to his lieutenants in Andalus, apprising them of his recent conquests in Eastern Africa, and of his intention shortly to cross over to Andalus in person. Accordingly, after making the necessary preparations, he crossed the straits, and landed at *Jebalu-l-fatah* (Gibraltar), where he was soon joined by the Almohades, and such among the Andalusians [as followed his banners]. After providing for the affairs of government, 'Abdu-l-múmen returned to Morocco, whence he sent his army to make war on the infidels of Andalus. The Christian king, having marched against the Moslems, was defeated, and his army dispersed. Síd Abú Ya'kúb took Carmona from the hands of Ibn Humushk, who commanded there by the appointment of Ibn Mardanísh, his brother-in-law; but whilst Síd Abú Ya'kúb, governor of Seville, and Síd Abú Sa'íd, governor of Granada, were at Morocco, whither they had crossed over for the purpose of visiting 'Abdu-l-múmen, Ibn Humushk, seizing the opportunity, approached Granada secretly and at night, and succeeded, with the aid of his numerous partisans there, in gaining possession of the city;[23]

[22] Historians are at variance as to the date of the taking of Mehediyyah by 'Abdu-l-múmen. Some, as Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, (Bodl. Lib., Marsh, 433, fo. 7, *verso*,) place it in A. H. 554, after a siege of seven months; the anonymous writer of a history of Morocco, (see vol. i. p. 349, Note 73,) on the 10th of Moharram of 555, after a siege of five months and nine days. The author of the *Karttás* (Moura, p. 216) gives both of those dates, that of 554 and that of 555.

[23] Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (*loco laud.*, fo. 25, *verso*,) says that it was the Jews, commanded by الغوي ابن دهري صحر بن ريد Sahr Ben Ruiz Ibn Dahri, (?) who facilitated his entrance into Granada. They had been some time previously compelled to turn Moslems: hence their discontent.

the Almohades, who composed the garrison, retiring to the *Kassábah.* When this news was known in Africa, the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen immediately left Morocco, to deliver his followers. He arrived at Salé, and having appointed Síd Abú Sa'íd to the command of his army, this general immediately crossed the strait at the head of numerous forces. Being joined on his landing by Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Alí, lieutenant-governor of Seville, he marched to Granada. On the news of their approach, Ibn Humushk sallied out of the city, and defeated them: Síd Abú Sa'íd retreated to Malaga, upon which 'Abdu-l-múmen deprived him of the command of the army, and gave it to his brother, Síd Abú Ya'kúb. The Almohades marched a second time against Granada, whither Ibn Mardanísh himself had lately arrived with his Christian auxiliaries to the succour of his brother-in-law, Ibn Humushk. A battle was then fought in the plain of that city, in which the victory remained to the former, Ibn Mardanísh betaking himself to his strongholds in the eastern provinces, whilst Ibn Humushk took refuge in Jaen, where he was immediately besieged by the victorious Almohades. After this, Síd Abú Ya'kúb and Síd Abú Sa'íd went to Cordova, where they remained until the year 558 (beginning Dec. 9, A.D. 1162), when the former was summoned to Morocco by his father, who wished to designate him his successor to the empire, instead of his brother Mohammed, and to have him acknowledged as such by the councils of the Almohades and the governors of the provinces. In compliance with these orders, Abú Ya'kúb repaired to Morocco; and the ceremony being performed, he accompanied his father the Khalif 'Abdu-l-múmen to Rebát, whence that Sultán intended to set out a second time for Andalus, for the purpose of prosecuting the holy war. He was, however, overtaken by death, at Salé, in Jumáda II. of the same year 558 (May, A.D. 1163). His remains were deposited at Tínmelel, beside those of the Mahdí.

Reign of the Khalif Yúsuf, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen.

Fo. 108, *verso.*—Immediately after the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen, Síd Abú Hafss went to the chiefs of the Almohades, and received from every one of them the striking of hands, or customary oath of allegiance to his brother Abú Ya'kúb [Yúsuf]. Being greatly satisfied with this [generous] conduct on the part of his own brother, Abú Ya'kúb preferred him to his intimacy, confirmed him in all his honours and distinctions, and appointed him his Wizír. This being done, they returned together to Morocco. This Síd Abú Hafss had been Wizír to his father, 'Abdu-l-múmen, who, after the disgrace and execution of his chief Wizír, 'Abdu-s-sellám [Ibn Mohammed] Al-kúmí, in 555 (beginning Jan. 11, A.D. 1160),[24] had recalled him from Eastern Africa, and appointed him to the vacant office. Abú Hafss filled the duties of the Wizírate conjointly with Abú-l-'ola Ibn Jámi', who was appointed to assist him until 'Abdu-l-múmen died, when, as before related, he received the oaths of the people for his brother Abú Ya'kúb.

[24] He was arrested by order of 'Abdu-l-múmen shortly after the entrance of that Sultán into Telemsán, A. H. 555 (A. D. 1160). Two days after, he died in prison from the effects of poison, administered to him in a bowl of milk. See *Karttás*, p. 217. See also Conde (vol. ii. p. 349), who, with his usual negligence, or rather from his not understanding the text of the above writer, says that it was 'Abdu-s-sellám who poisoned Ibn 'Attiyyah, his predecessor in office. In my extracts from Ibnu Khaldún (see vol. i. App. B, p. xxx.) I have written the name of this Wizír *'Abdu-s-salám* instead of 'Abdu-s-sellám.

Soon after the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen, happened that of his son, Abú-l-hasan, governor of Fez, and that of Síd Abú Mohammed, governor of Bujéyah (Bugia), on his way to the capital (Morocco). In the year 560 (beginning Nov. 17, A.D. 1164), the Sultán (Abú Ya'kúb) summoned to his presence Síd Abú Sa'íd, who, in obedience to his orders, left Granada [of which city he was governor], and arrived at Morocco. His brother, Síd Abú Hafss, went to Ceuta to meet him on his first landing in Africa.

Subsequently to this, the Khalif Abú Ya'kúb, having received intelligence of the march of Ibn Mardanísh to Cordova, sent his brother, Abú Hafss, to Andalus with a powerful army of Almohades, re-inforced by the Arabian tribes of Zaghabah, Riyáh, and Ath-thíj. Abú Hafss crossed the straits, and marched against Ibn Mardanísh, who, having collected all his forces, and obtained succours from his friends and neighbours the Christians, prepared for a stout resistance. The Almohades met him on the plain of Murcia, where the rebellious chieftain and his auxiliaries were completely defeated, and compelled to take refuge within that city. He was there immediately besieged by the Almohades, who reduced the neighbouring districts. After this splendid victory, through which the raging fire of civil war was somewhat allayed, Síd Abú Hafss and his brother, Abú Sa'íd, returned to Morocco in the year 561 (beginning Nov. 6, A.D. 1165). In the same year (A.H. 561) the Khalif gave his brother, Síd Abú Zakariyyá, the investiture of Bugia. He also gave that of Seville to the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Ibráhím, though he afterwards removed him to make room for his own brother, Abú Ibráhím. He confirmed the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah in his office of Wizír [to the former], and gave the investiture of Cordova to Síd Abú Is'hák: he also confirmed Síd Abú Sa'íd in the government of Granada. After this, the Almohades, having bethought them of adopting a motto[25] for the dispatches signed by their Khalifs, chose the following,—*Wa-l-hamdu lillahi wahduhu*, 'Praise be [given] to God the only one,'—which they chanced to find in the handwriting of the Imám Al-mahdí, in one of his official letters; and it continued to be their device to the end of their empire.

Civil war in [the mountains of] Gomárah.

In the year 562 (beginning Oct. 27, A.D. 1166), the Amír Abú Ya'kúb moved towards the mountains of Gomárah (Gomera), where a rebel named Saba' Ibn Mun'akád[26] had risen, calling upon the inhabitants to join their neighbours the Senhájah in their rebellion against the Almohades. At first, the Amír Abú Ya'kúb sent an army under the command of the Sheikh Abú Hafss; but these forces being insufficient to quell the rebellion of the tribes of Gomárah and Senhájah united together, he repaired to the field of war in person, defeated the rebels in several encounters, and almost exterminated them; he also put to death Saba' Ibn Mun'akád, by which he applied a cautery to that evil. He then gave to his brother, Síd Abú

[25] The word I have translated by 'motto' is علامة which means 'a sign, a mark, a signature, the reading upon a seal,' &c.

[26] سبع بن منعقد whom Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát calls ابن منحفاد Ibn Munhafád, and the author of the *Karttás* ابن منغفاد Ibn Munghafád.

'Alí Al-hasan, the government of Ceuta and other districts previously occupied by the rebels. In the year 563 (beginning Oct. 16, A.D. 1167), the Almohades renewed the oath of allegiance[27] to Abú Ya'kúb, on whom they agreed to confer the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (commander of the faithful). The Sultán then wrote to the Arabs of Eastern Africa, stirring them up to resume the war against the infidels. For this purpose he addressed to them a *kassídah* and an epistle, which are sufficiently known among [literary] men. The answer made by the Arabs, and their readiness to flock under his banners, are also too well known [to deserve being recorded here].

Events in Andalus.

When Abú Ya'kúb saw his empire consolidated in Africa, he began to turn his eyes towards Andalus, and to meditate the prosecution of the holy war. The intelligence having been brought to him that the enemy (may the curse of God fall on his head!) had surprised the city of Truxillo, then that of Ebora, then the fortresses of Sheberínah and Jelmániyyah,[28] opposite to Badajoz, and lastly, the city of Badajoz itself, he dispatched against him the Sheikh Abú Hafss, with an army of Almohades. Having made the necessary preparations, Abú Hafss crossed over to Andalus in the year 564 (beginning Oct. 4, A.D. 1168), to deliver Badajoz from the horrors of a siege. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at Seville, and was preparing for his expedition, when news came to him how the Almohades of Badajoz had, with the assistance of the son of Alfonso (Ferdinand), defeated and taken prisoner the son of Errink (Alfonso Enriquez), who commanded the besieging forces, and how his enemy, the King of Galicia, had also fled to his castles. The Sheikh Abú Hafss then marched to Cordova, whence he dispatched an army to the assistance of the people of Badajoz, under the command of Ibráhím Ibn Humushk. This chief had some time previously tendered his obedience [to the Almohades], and made profession of the unity of God, owing to certain differences which had arisen between him and his friend Ibn Mardanísh, and which had created much ill-will and animosity between them. Ibn Mardanísh having begun hostilities, Ibn Humushk had retorted, and, in order the better to repel his attacks, had sent to offer the Sheikh Abú Hafss his submission, on condition that he would assist him against his enemy. The Sheikh hastened to inform the Khalif of the circumstance, as well as of the incursions and ravages which the Christians were daily making in the Moslem territory. Upon which, Abú Ya'kúb sent his own brother and

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27 Two kinds of inauguration were then in use among the Almohades: the الخاصة or 'private,' that is, of the high officers of the state, of the members of the royal family, &c.; and العامة or الجماعة that of the subjects: and, according to the author of the *Kartás*, Yúsuf went at first only through the former of these ceremonies.

28 جلمانية Jelmania, perhaps a corruption of Germania. Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (*loco laud.*) says that it was a fortress built not far from Badajoz by Alfonso, King of Portugal, in order to molest from thence the garrison of that city. Sheberínah thus written شبرينة might be Severina, but there is at present no town of this name.

Wizír, Síd Abú Hafss,[29] at the head of an army of Almohades. Abú Hafss started from Morocco in the year 565 (beginning Sept. 24, A. D. 1169), taking in his company his brother Síd Abú Sa'íd, whom, immediately after his arrival in Seville, he sent on to Badajoz. Abú Sa'íd, having concluded a peace with the Christian king, returned to Seville. The two brothers then marched upon Murcia, the capital of the states of Ibn Mardanísh, which they invested, taking with them Ibn Humushk, the former friend of that rebel. During the siege of Murcia the people of Lorca, another city subject to Ibn Mardanísh, shook off his yoke, and proclaimed the supremacy of the Almohades. After taking possession of Lorca, Síd Abú Hafss stormed the city of Bastah (Baza), the taking of which was soon followed by the surrender of Almeria, whose governor, named Mohammed,[30] a nephew of Ibn Mardanísh, bought by ready submission the pardon of his rebellion.

When the news of this success reached Morocco, there happened to be encamped near that capital considerable forces of the Arabs of Eastern Africa, which had been brought thither by Síd Abú Zakariyyá, governor of Bujéyah (Bugia), and Síd Abú 'Imrán, governor of Tremezen. The day of their arrival had been one of great festivity and rejoicing: profiting by the assembly of such considerable forces, the Khalif determined to employ them against the infidels. Having, therefore, reviewed them, as well as his own troops, he started for Andalus, after appointing his brother Síd Abú 'Imrán to command at Morocco in his absence. He arrived in Cordova in the year 567 (beginning Sept. 3, A. D. 1171): after some stay he left that city and repaired to Seville, where he was met by Síd Abú Hafss on his return from the expedition against Ibn Mardanísh. This rebel, seeing the siege protracted, and having no hopes of succour, had made a sally, and, breaking a passage through the ranks of the besieged, whom he found unprepared, had effected his escape. However, his brother Abú-l-hejáj, and his son Helál, had tendered their obedience to the Almohades; and he himself (Ibn Mardanísh) had died soon after in Rejeb of the same year[31] (March, A. D. 1172). After the death of his father, Helál sent to offer the Almohades possession of Murcia; upon which, Abú Hafss hastened to that city. Helál went out with a party to meet him; and Abú Hafss, having received him with every kindness, sent him on to the Khalif, who was at that time in Seville. After this, the Khalif Abú Ya'kúb went out of Seville, intent upon an incursion into the enemy's country. He laid siege to Ubeda,

[29] This *Síd* Abú Hafss, who was 'Abdu-l-múmen's brother, must not be confounded with the *Sheikh* Abú Hafss, who was no relation of that Sultán, and whose descendants, the Hafssides or Bení Abí Hafss, became in time kings of Eastern Africa.

[30] Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (*loco laud.*) gives some interesting details about this chieftain. His name was Mohammed; but he was more generally known under the surname of Ibn *Sáhib Al-basít*, ابن صاحب البسيط ('the son of the hero of Albacete,') a surname given to his father, 'Abdullah Ibn Mardanísh, after his victory over Ibn Húd, in the neighbourhood of that town. His uncle, Mohammed Ibn Mardanísh, had intrusted him with the government of Almeria, and given him besides his own daughter in marriage; but when he heard of his submission to the Almohades, the rage of that rebel, who was then at Valencia, was so great, that he ordered the immediate execution of the wife (his own daughter) and all the children of his cousin. The wife, however, was spared; though the children were drowned in the Albuhera, a lake close to Valencia.

[31] Conde (vol. ii. p. 380) gives three different dates for the death of this chieftain, 567-9-71; but the former is the most probable, as agreeing with the account of the *Karttás*, Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, and Abú-l-fedá.

and remained some days encamped before the city; he then raised his tents, and marched to Murcia, whence he returned to Seville in the year 568 (beginning August 22, A.D. 1172), taking with him Helál Ibn [Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Ibn] Mardanísh, whom he had so far distinguished as to take his sister for a wife.[32] Abú Ya'kúb gave to his own uncle, Yúsuf, the government of Valencia, and to his brother, Síd Abú Sa'íd, the investiture of Granada. After this, having received intelligence of an incursion which the enemy, commanded by Count Al-ahdab,[33] had made into the country of the Moslems, the Khalif went out to meet them at the head of his forces. Having overtaken them near Kal'ah Rabáh (Calatrava), he defeated them with great loss; after which he returned victorious to Seville. Having arrived there, and wishing to provide for the defence of that frontier, he gave orders for the rebuilding of the fortress of Al-kal'ah (Alcalá de Guadayra), which had been in ruins since the time of the civil wars between Ibnu-l-hejáj and Koreyb Ibn Khaldún,[34] during the reigns of Al-mundhir Ibn Mohammed and his brother 'Abdullah, both Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah. After this, the son of Alfonso bestirred himself, and made an incursion into the Moslem territory. The Khalif collected his forces, and dispatched against him an army under the orders of Síd Abú Hafss, who not only repelled the invasion, but attacked the enemy of God in the very heart of his dominions, took from him Kantarah As-seyf (Alcantara), and defeated his armies wherever they attempted to make a stand. In the year 571 (beginning July 21, A.D. 1175), five years after his crossing to Andalus, the Khalif started from Seville on his way back to Morocco. Before taking his departure, however, he gave his brother Al-hasan the investiture of Cordova; and his brother 'Alí that of Seville. Soon after this, the plague having broken out at Morocco, three members of the Sultán's family were attacked, and died of it. These were Síd Abú 'Imrán, Síd Abú Sa'íd, and Síd Abú Zakariyyá. The Sheikh Abú Hafss also died of it, as he was journeying from Cordova [to Morocco], and was interred at Salé. After this, the Khalif having summoned to his presence his own brothers, Abú 'Alí and Abú-l-hasan, they came over from Andalus, and appeared at court: he then gave to the former the investiture of Sijilmésah, and caused the latter, 'Abu-l-hasan, to return to Cordova. He also granted investitures to his two nephews, the sons of his brother Síd Abú Hafss; to Abú Zeyd he gave the government of Granada, and that of Malaga to Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah. In the year 573 (beginning June 29, A.D. 1177), the Khalif being displeased with his Wizírs, the Bení Jámi', exiled them to Merida. In the year 575 (beginning June 7, A.D. 1179), he gave to Ghánim Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mardanísh the command of his fleets, and directed him to attack Lisbon; which he did, returning with considerable spoil. In the same year (A.H. 575) happened the death of the Khalif's brother and Wizír, Síd Abú Hafss, whose life was a tissue of valorous performances against the

[32] This happened in the year 567, according to the author of the *Karttás* and Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát.

[33] القومس الاحدب *Comes Al-ahdab*, or 'the hump-backed count.'

[34] Ibnu Hayyán (Bodl. Lib., No. cxxxvii. fo. 46,) gives an account of these civil wars from the work of a writer named Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Al-ash'ath ابن الاشعث who wrote a history of Seville. Koreyb Ibn 'Othmán *Ibn Khaldún* and his brother Khaled, ancestors of the writer of this fragment, having resuscitated the old feuds between the Arabs of Yemen and the Bení Modhar, took the field as chiefs of the former against Ibráhím Ibnu-l-hejáj, who was the representative of the latter. After a long and desultory warfare the two Bení Khaldún were taken prisoners in 277, and put to death.

enemy of God, and of praiseworthy deeds for the cause of religion. Abú Hafss' two sons having come over from Andalus, and informed the Khalif of the annoyance to which the Moslems of that country were exposed through the incessant attacks of the Christian king, he determined to re-commence the holy war, for which end he began to summon the Arabian tribes from Eastern Africa.

Abú Ya'kúb's assiduity in the prosecution of the holy war.

On his return from the expedition to Kafssah, which city was taken in the year 577 (beginning May 16, A.D. 1181), Abú Ya'kúb received the congratulations of his brother Síd Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ya'kúb, who came over from Murcia, as well as those of all the Almohades and the chiefs of Andalus who hastened to his presence [for that purpose]. Abú Ya'kúb welcomed their arrival, and they all returned to their respective countries honoured and satisfied. The intelligence then came to him that Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Wánúdín, with the Almohades of Seville, had made a foray into the enemy's territory, had laid siege to the city of Ebora, plundered the neighbouring districts, reduced some of its fortresses, and then returned victorious to Seville. He also heard that 'Abdullah Ibn Is'hák Ibn Jámi', the commander of the fleets of that city, had met at sea the naval forces of Lisbon, which he had defeated, sinking or capturing twenty of their ships, taking at the same time considerable spoil, and making numbers of prisoners. Subsequently to this, the news came to him how Alfonso, son of Sancho, had laid siege to Cordova, and made several incursions in the neighbourhood of Malaga, Ronda, and Granada; after which he had appeared in sight of Ezija, and stormed the castle of Shankílah,[35] wherein he had left a garrison of Christians, and then returned to his own dominions; that upon this Abú Is'hák had mustered all his forces, and repaired to the subdued fortress (Shankílah), which he had besieged [though in vain] for about forty days; for when King Alfonso heard of it, he sallied out of Toledo to the succour of the besieged, and Abú Is'hák was compelled to desist from his undertaking. During the course of these events, Ibn Wánúdín (Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf) had gone out of Seville with an army of Almohades, and laid siege to Talavera: the garrison having made a sally, he defeated them completely, and returned [to Seville] loaded with spoil. The news of these occurrences, which came to Abú Ya'kúb in rapid succession, induced that Khalif earnestly to prosecute the holy war. To this end, he appointed his two sons, Síd Abú Is'hák and Síd Abú Yahya, to the command of his forces in Andalus: he confirmed the former in the government of Seville, and gave to the latter the investiture of Cordova: he also gave that of Granada to his son Síd Abú Zeyd Al-hirssání; and that of Murcia to Síd Abú 'Abdillah. He himself prepared to cross over to Andalus; for which purpose he arrived at Salé in the year 577 (beginning May 16, A.D. 1181), and was met there by Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Is'hák Ibn Jámi' at the head of the Arabian tribes of Eastern Africa. Thence the Sultán went to Fez, and after sending in advance the tribes of Hentétah and Tínmelel, and the forces of the Arabs, he himself crossed the sea from Ceuta in Safar of the year 578 (June, A.D. 1182). He landed at Jebalu-l-fatah (Gibraltar), and thence proceeded to Seville, where he was met

35 شنقيلة perhaps Sietefila شتفيلة

by the forces of Andalus. During his residence at that city he was displeased with Mohammed Ibn Wánúdín, whom he exiled to the castle of Gháfek. He then marched towards Shatareyn (Santarem), which he besieged; but after some days he gave orders for raising the siege, and the men were disheartened and discontented. The Christians of the town, having made a sally, found the Khalif almost alone, and unprepared for the attack; the consequence was, that the Khalif and those who were with him were sadly tried in the cause of God, and turned their backs after a most sanguinary conflict. On that very day[36] the Khalif died; some say, of an arrow-shot which he received in the midst of the fight; others, of a disease which attacked him on the road. (May God have forgiven him!).

Reign of his son, Ya'kúb Al-mansúr.

After the death of the Khalif [Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf] before Santarem, above related, his son Ya'kúb [Abú Yúsuf] was immediately proclaimed. He returned with the army to Seville, where he received the oaths of the inhabitants. He then appointed the Sheikh Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed Ibn Abí Hafss to the post of Wizír, and intrusted to his brother, Síd Abú Yahya, the prosecution of the war against the infidels. Abú Yahya reduced some fortresses, and committed all manner of depredations in the enemy's country. After this he (Ya'kúb) crossed the sea to the capital of his African dominions (Morocco). On his way thither he was met at Kasr-Masmúdah by Síd Abú Zakariyyá, son of Síd Abú Hafss, who had come from Telemsán with the Sheikhs of the tribe of Zaghabah. He then proceeded to Morocco, where he suppressed iniquity, administered justice with an even hand, and promulgated laws. One of the first occurrences of his reign was the rebellion of Ibn Ghániyyah, which we are going to relate.

Account of the origin and rising of Ibn Ghániyyah.

We have elsewhere related how the enemy of God took possession of Mallorca, and how the inhabitants of that island were left without a ruler by the death of their governor, Mubashsher, who had formerly been a freed-slave of Mujáhid. Whilst the Christians were besieging his capital, this chief had sent to implore the assistance of 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf; but before the re-inforcements which that Sultán sent had arrived, the island was taken and plundered, and the city burnt down by the Christians, who set sail for their country, loaded with immense spoil. Yúsuf appointed one of the bravest officers among the Lamtúnah, named Wáthúr Ibn Abí Bekr, to be governor of the island, and gave him the command of a division of five hundred cavalry. The new governor rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious to the inhabitants: he subjected them to several vexations; among other things he ordered them entirely to desert their city, and build another inland. This, however, was openly resisted by the inhabitants; and a tumult ensuing, the leader of the discontented was seized and

[36] On Saturday, the 12th of Rabi'-l-akhar, 580, according to the author of the *Karttás*, who relates this differently, and says that Abú Ya'kúb defended himself valiantly, and killed six of his assailants with his own hands, but was at last pierced by the spear of a Christian knight. See Moura, p. 235.

executed by order of Wáthúr. This so much exasperated the people of the island, that they rose against the governor, and made him their prisoner. They then sent an embassy to 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, who, having heard their case, granted them pardon, and appointed Mohammed Ibn Ghániyyah to succeed Wáthúr in the government of the island. This Mohammed was the son of 'Alí Ibn Yahya Al-masúfí, better known under the surname of Ibn Ghániyyah. His brother Yahya [Ibn 'Alí] was then commanding the western provinces of Andalus in the Khalif's name; and, as he held his court at Seville, his brother had appointed him his lieutenant in Cordova. The two brothers were filling their respective governments when 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf sent letters to Yahya, commanding him to remove his brother to the government of Mallorca. In compliance with the Sultán's orders, Mohammed sailed for that island, taking with him his sons 'Abdullah, 'Alí, Is'hák, Az-zobeyr, Ibráhím, and Talhah. The two first named had been under the special care of their uncle Yahya, who doted upon them, and was a second father to them.

Immediately after his arrival on the island, Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ghániyyah seized Wáthúr, whom he sent in irons to Morocco. After he had ruled for ten years[37] over the island, his brother Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah died. He had previously appointed his nephews, 'Abdullah and Is'hák, to be governors of Granada and Carmona. After this happened the death of 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, and the decay of the empire of the Bení Lamtúnah commenced, which began every where to give way under the blows of the victorious Almohades. Seeing this, Mohammed sent [to Andalus] for his two sons, 'Abdullah and Is'hák, who repaired to Mallorca in their father's fleet. The empire of the Lamtúnah was finally subverted; subsequently to this, Mohammed, having designated his son 'Abdullah to be the heir of his dominions, Is'hák, the other brother, took offence at it, and, having entered into a conspiracy with some of the Lamtúnah, put his brother 'Abdullah, as well as his own father Mohammed, to death. This done, the conspirators tried to rid themselves of Is'hák himself; but he anticipated them, and through the means of Lob Ibn Maymún, general of the sea, who embraced his cause, he was enabled to attack them in their dwellings, and put them to death; thereby gaining complete possession of the island in the year 546 (beginning April 19, A.D. 1151). At first, Is'hák governed with great wisdom and moderation: he took to planting and building; but after this he rather changed, and the inhabitants became disgusted with his rule. Lob Ibn Maymún then deserted his cause, and went over to his enemies the Almohades. Is'hák in the mean while made war on the infidels. He was in the habit of presenting the Khalif Abú Ya'kúb with Christian slaves: he persevered in this custom until he died, shortly before that monarch, in the year 580 (beginning April 13, A.D. 1184), leaving thirteen sons: Mohammed, 'Alí, Yahya, 'Abdullah, Al-ghází, Seyr, Al-mansúr, Jabbárah, Táshefín, Talhah, 'Omar, Yúsuf, and Al-hasan.

Is'hák was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who, soon after his accession, dispatched an embassy to the Khalif Yúsuf [Abú Ya'kúb], offering to place himself under his government. The Khalif sent him 'Alí Ibn Ar-robertín to receive his allegiance. No sooner, however,

[37] If the appointment of Mohammed Ibn Ghániyyah to the government of Mallorca took place, as Ibnu Khaldún himself and the author of the *Karttás* state, in the year 520, twenty-three years must have elapsed between his taking possession of the government and the death of his brother Yahya, which happened in Sha'bán, 543. See above.

were Is'hák's brothers made aware of his determination, than they seized him, and put him in prison, appointing 'Alí Ibn Is'hák, one of themselves, to the command. About this time news came to Mallorca of the death of the Khalif, and the appointment of his son Al-mansúr, who succeeded him in the empire. Encouraged by this, 'Alí confined Ibn Ar-robertín to a dungeon, and after appointing his brother Talhah to command in Mallorca during his absence, sailed with a fleet to Bujéyah (Bugia), of which city he gained possession in the year 581 (beginning April 3, A. D. 1185), making the governor, Síd Abú-r-rabi'ah, and Síd Abú Músa 'Imran, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, who chanced to be there at the time, his prisoners.

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We have related elsewhere how Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah, before leaving Mallorca for his African expedition, had confined Ibn Ar-robertín to a dungeon, and appointed his brother Talhah to govern the island in his absence. No sooner, however, did Ibn Ar-robertín, who was an enterprising and shrewd man, see the ground clear from his enemies, than he meditated a revolt, and, having entered into a secret negotiation with the Christian freedmen who guarded his prison, promised to let them go to their native countries with their children and families if they would assist him in his escape. They acceded to his wishes, and having risen within the *Kassábah*, they released Mohammed Ibn Is'hák from prison, and all repaired to court. However, when the news of this occurrence reached Tripoli, where 'Alí Ibn Ghániyyah was at the time, he immediately sent his brother 'Abdullah to Sicily, who [having there obtained some re-inforcements] sailed to Mallorca, and landed at a port on the island, whence he gained possession of the capital by stratagem.

His adventures in the holy war.

In the year 586 (beginning Feb. 7, A. D. 1190), the Khalif Ya'kúb having learned through a messenger sent him by Abú Yúsuf Ibn Abí Hafss, governor of Seville, that the Christians had taken the important city of Shelb (Silves),[38] and defeated the Almohades close to the former city, into the neighbourhood of which they were making continual excursions, reducing many of its fortresses, he summoned his men to the *jihád* or holy war, and started immediately for Andalus. He arrived at Kasr-Masmúdah, where he made some stay; thence he crossed over to Taríf (Tarifa), whence he proceeded by forced marches to Silves. He was soon joined before that city by the forces of Andalus, to whom he intrusted the siege of the city, whilst he himself marched to Hisn-Torash,[39] which he reduced, returning afterwards to Seville. In the year 587 (beginning Jan. 28, A. D. 1191), the Khalif returned to Silves, putting himself at the head of the army before that place, which he took: he was there met by Ibn Wazír, who arrived before Silves, after taking another fortress on his way to the camp. The object for which the expedition had been planned being now gained, the Khalif

[38] قاعدة i. e. a capital, from its being the chief town of a considerable district in the Algarbe or West of Spain. It was taken on the 8th of September, 1189, by Alfonso I. of Portugal, assisted by a fleet of English crusaders.

[39] حصن طرش This word not being pointed, I am unable to fix its true pronunciation. There was a castle called Torosh (now Torrox) between Granada and Almeria; but this cannot be the place here meant.

returned to the capital of his African dominions, where he soon after appointed his son, An-násir, heir to his empire. In the year 588 (beginning Jan. 17, A. D. 1192), Síd Abú Zeyd, governor of Eastern Africa, arrived at the court, bringing in his company the chiefs of the Arabian tribes of Helál and Solaym. The Khalif received them with cordiality and attention; after which the messengers returned to their respective countries. In the year 590 (beginning Dec. 26, A. D. 1193), the intelligence being brought to Ya'kúb how the power of the rebel Ibn Ghániyyah had greatly increased in Eastern Africa,—where he was committing all manner of ravages and depredations,—he decided to proceed to the seat of war. Scarcely, however, had he reached Meknásah, when the news he received of the state of affairs in Andalus made him change his determination and return to the West, in order to march thither in person. He accordingly arrived in Cordova in the year 591 (beginning Dec. 15, A. D. 1194). After staying in that city for three [days],[40] that he might collect together the troops he had summoned from every province of Andalus, Ya'kúb started in pursuit of the enemy, and arrived at Al-ark (Alarcos) in the district of Badajoz, where he pitched his camp. He was here met by the whole of the Christian forces, commanded by three of their princes, namely, Ibn Adefonsh (Alfonso III. of Castile), Ibn Errink (Sancho I. of Portugal), and Ibnu-l-babúj[41] (Alfonso IX. of Leon). The battle was fought in the year 591 (beginning Dec. 15, A. D. 1194). Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss commanded the volunteers; his brother, Abú Yahya, had charge of the Almohades and the rest of the troops. This battle became ever after celebrated for the complete defeat of the Christians, of whose number no less than thirty thousand perished by the swords of the Moslems. The relics of the [Castilian] army, in all about five thousand men, principally officers and knights, took refuge in the neighbouring castle of Alarcos; but Al-mansúr followed them thither, compelled them to surrender, made them all prisoners of war, and caused them afterwards to be exchanged for a similar number of Moslem captives. On this memorable day, Abú Yahya, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, died a martyr for the faith, after performing great feats of arms; whence his sons were ever after known under the surname of *Bení-sh-shoheyd* (the sons of the martyr).

After this victory Al-mansúr repaired to Seville, which city he again left in the year 592 (beginning Dec. 5, A. D. 1195), to make an incursion into the country of Al-jauf, where he

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[40] The text reads اراح ثلثا 'he stopped or rested for three,' which cannot be understood otherwise than by 'days,' from the fact of Ya'kúb having landed at Algesiras on the 19th Rejeb, 591 (28th June, A. D. 1195), and his having arrived at Alarcos on Thursday, the 3rd of Sha'bán of the same year (12th July, A. D. 1195), as asserted by Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát; thus making the interval between his landing and his appearing in sight of the enemy, thirteen days.

[41] The MS. reads السيوج—but البيوج is meant. Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (fo. 37, *verso*,) calls Ferdinand II. of Leon, فرذلند البيوج *Ferdeland Al-babúj;* but the meaning of the word *babúj*, which is not to be found in dictionaries, not being explained by that writer, I am unable to assign a reason for it. There can, however, be no doubt that by *Ibnu-l-babúj* the historian here intends the son of Ferdinand, *i. e.* Alfonso IX. of Leon. According to the Christian authorities, Alfonso solicited the aid of his neighbours, Sancho VI. of Navarre, and Alfonso, of Leon; but though they proffered their assistance, and marched to join him, he fought the battle without waiting for their arrival. Neither was the King of Portugal (for such is in my opinion the monarch here designated under the appellation of Ibn Errink, or the son of Enriquez,) present at the engagement.

reduced several fortresses and cities, which he destroyed, as Turjélah (Truxillo), Talavera, and others. He also went forward to Toledo, round which capital he hovered, destroying the crops, burning the villages and towns, carrying off the inhabitants, and laying waste every thing on his passage. After this he returned to Seville in the year 593 (beginning Nov. 23, A.D. 1196). Whilst the Sultán was residing there, the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd was charged with entertaining opinions contrary to the Mohammedan faith. His house being searched by the Sultán's orders, there were found papers in his own handwriting[42] which proved the charge, and he was accordingly cast into prison, though he was afterwards released, and accompanied Al-mansúr to Morocco, where he died. Again Al-mansúr left Seville to make an incursion into the dominions of Ibn Adefonsh (Alfonso III. of Castile). This time he penetrated as far as Toledo, in the neighbourhood of which he encamped; but, having received intelligence that the Lord of Barcelona (Pedro II. of Aragon?) had come to the assistance of Alfonso, and that both were besieging Majoritt (Madrid),[43] he raised the siege, and hastened thither. Scarcely, however, had he appeared in sight of that town, when the troops of Alfonso took to flight without waiting his approach; after which Al-mansúr returned to Seville, where he was met by the ambassadors of the Christian kings, who came to ask for peace, which he granted. Having then given the investiture of Seville to Síd Abú Zeyd Ibnu-l-khalífah; that of Badajoz to Síd Abú-r-rabi', son of Síd Abú Hafss; that of Al-gharb (the western provinces) to Síd Abú 'Abdillah, son of Síd Abú Hafss; the Sultán crossed over to the capital of his African dominions in 594 (beginning Nov. 12, A.D. 1197). He was soon after attacked by a disease which brought on his death. After drawing up that memorable will [containing instructions to his son and heir] which has been handed down to posterity, and which was witnessed by 'Isa, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, the Khalif Ya'kúb died (may God show him mercy!) in Rabi' II. of the year 595 (Feb. A.D. 1199).

Reign of An-násir, son of Al-mansúr.

On the death of Al-mansúr, his son Mohammed, whom, as above stated, he had designated for his heir, succeeded him. On his accession to power he assumed the surname of *An-násir lidíni-llah* (the defender of the religion of God). He named to the post of Wizír Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján,[44] a nephew of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, and after him Abú Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss.

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[42] See vol. i. Appendix, p. xix.

[43] مجريط—a corruption of Majoritum. This town, as well as Calatrava, Uclés (أقليج or اقليش), Jebel Suleymán, now Alcalá (see vol. i. page 534), and Salamanca, had been reduced by Ya'kúb on a former occasion.

[44] This name is sometimes written يوجان Yúján, at other times بوجان Búján, (see vol. i. App. p. xii.) In my copy of the *Karttás* the name of this Wizír is written thus برجان *Berján* or *Burján*. His *kunya* or appellative was *Al-asfar*, 'the yellow,' no doubt from the colour of his hair, or because he was of a sallow complexion.

Conquest of Mallorca.

The conquest of Mallorca happened thus. When 'Alí [Ibn Is'hák Ibn Ghániyyah] and his brother Yahya, as has been related, sailed for Eastern Africa, after appointing their brother Talhah to govern the island, another brother of theirs, named Mohammed Ibn Is'hák [who was confined in a dungeon], succeeded, in conjunction with Ibn Ar-robertín, in bribing his guards, and was released by them from prison. This done, Mohammed decided on acknowledging the supremacy of the Almohades. Having, therefore, proclaimed the Khalif Al-mansúr, he dispatched Ibn Ar-robertín to Africa, to inform that Sultán of the rising in his favour. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence, Al-mansúr sent a fleet under the command of Abú-l-'ola Ibn Jámi' to take possession of the island in his name; but to this Mohammed would not consent, and sent to ask the Lord of Barcelona for some troops to oppose the landing of the Almohades. The Christian granted his request; but the people of Mallorca, dreading the vengeance of Al-mansúr, rose against their king, Mohammed, and deposed him, appointing in his room his brother Táshefín. When the news of this insurrection reached 'Alí, who was then residing at Kosantínah, he immediately dispatched to Mallorca his two brothers, 'Abdullah and Al-ghází, who, having gained over to their party some of the inhabitants, deposed Táshefín, and appointed 'Abdullah in his stead. Al-mansúr, in the mean time, made repeated attempts to gain possession of the island: he several times sent his fleet, first under Abú-l-'ola Ibn Jámi' above mentioned, then under Yahya, son of the Sheikh Ibráhím Al-hazrají;[45] but all was in vain, for the people of the island stoutly repulsed the attacks, and killed great numbers of their assailants, whence the power of Ibn Ghániyyah ['Abdullah Ibn Is'hák] waxed stronger. These events happened within the year 583 (beginning March 12, A. D. 1187). However, on the death of Al-mansúr, his son and successor, An-násir, sent a fleet under the command of his uncle, Síd Abú-l-'ola, and of the Sheikh Abú Sa'íd Ibn Abí Hafss, who appeared in sight of the island, and besieged 'Abdullah in his capital. This time the Almohades were victorious, owing to the defection of Táshefín, 'Abdullah's brother, who went over to them with the troops under his command; upon which the Almohades took the city by storm, and put to death ['Abdullah and] most of the inhabitants. Síd Abú-l-'ola then returned to Morocco, after appointing 'Abdullah Ibn Tá'-allah Al-kúmí to be governor of the island. Some time after this, An-násir deposed 'Abdullah, and named in his stead his own uncle, Síd Abú Zeyd [Ibn Túján], who gave 'Abdullah Ibn Mutá'i[46] the command of the sea; after him, Síd Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen; after him, Abú Yahya Ibn 'Alí Ibn Abí 'Imrán At-tínmelelí, under whose government the island fell into the hands of the Christians in the year 627 (beginning Nov. 19, A. D. 1229).

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45 الهزرجي *i. e.* from the tribe of Hazraj, a branch of the Masmúdah.

46 No doubt, the same individual above alluded to; but why should he be called there Ibn *Tá-'allah*, and here Ibn *Mutá'i*? The meaning of the two names, however, is the same, *i. e.* 'he who obeys the commands of God.'

An-násir's high deeds in the prosecution of the holy war.

When An-násir received the intelligence that the fortresses round Valencia had fallen into the hands of the Christians, he was greatly grieved and perplexed. He wrote to the Sheikh Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss, asking his advice and assistance on this emergency; but he refused to comply with his requests. He then left Morocco in the year 609 (beginning June 2, A. D. 1212), and arrived at Seville, where he spent some time in making preparations for the campaign he meditated. This done, he left that city at the head of his forces, and invaded the dominions of Ibn Adefonsh (Alfonso III. of Castile), from whom he took the castle of Shalbaterra (Salvatierra). Thence he proceeded by forced marches to attack the infidel. The Christian king, in the mean time, had laid siege to Kal'ah Rabáh (Calatrava), and compelled its governor, Yúsuf[47] Ibn Kádis, to surrender. On the approach of An-násir the Christians went out to meet him. The Almohades marched in good order until they came to a place called Al-'akáb, where the Christian king, having just been re-inforced by the Lord of Barcelona (Pedro), who had come to his assistance, was strongly entrenched. The two armies joined battle, but, alas! the wheel of fortune turned against the Moslems, who were put to flight with dreadful slaughter. This disastrous battle was fought at the end of Safar of 609 (July, A. D. 1212). After this, An-násir returned to Morocco, where he died, in Sha'bán of the ensuing year. They say that Alfonso had entered into a secret compact with his cousin, the son of Al-babúj, King of Leon,[48] that he should affect to be the friend of An-násir, and then take to flight; which the Christian did, as agreed between the two. After this they [the Almohades] returned to Andalus to oppose the frequent incursions which the Christians were making in their territory. Having, upon one occasion, arrived in sight of Seville, the Christians were met by Síd Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, who defeated them with great slaughter; by which victory the Moslems were somewhat revived.

Revolt of Ibnu-l-faras.

This Ibnu-l-faras, whose name was 'Abdu-r-rahím Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, belonged to the classes of the Ulemas in Andalus. He was more generally known under the surname of Al-mohr, and had at one time been one of the courtiers of Al-mansúr. Having, on one occasion, uttered certain expressions which made him fear the vengeance of that Sultán, he retired from the audience-room and hid himself for some time. No more was heard

[47] The author of the *Karttás* calls him Abú-l-hejáj [Yúsuf] Ibn Kádis. He seems to me to be the same officer alluded to in vol. i. p. 124, and 413, note 8.

[48] This passage is rather obscure, and reads thus in the manuscript: قد باطن بن عمه السوح [الببوج] صاحب لدون [ليون] في ان يوالي الناصر و يجر الهزيمة علي المسلمين ففعل ذلك
The fact, if true, is very curious, and is not to be found in the Spanish chronicles.

of him, until, after the death of Al-mansúr, he appeared in the territory inhabited by the tribe of Kezúlah, assuming the title of Imám, and pretending to be the Kahttání alluded to in those words of the Prophet, (may the blessings of God and his salvation be on him!) "The time shall come when a man of the stock of Kahttán shall lead men with a stick, and shall fill the earth with his justice, as it had before been filled with iniquity," &c.[49]

To him are attributed the following verses:

"Tell the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí to be prepared for the attacks of the lion of "Helál.[50]

"For here comes the Lord of Kahttán, the wise man of his race, the end of every "opinion, the conqueror of kingdoms.

"Men shall obey [the motions of] his stick, and he [shall go] in front of them, "commanding and forbidding like an ocean of science and government!

"Hasten to his call; for God is his protector, and shall soon [through his means] "grind to powder the heretics and the impious."[51]

An-nasír having sent some troops against this rebel, he was defeated, and put to death; after which his head was brought to Morocco, and suspended to the walls.

Reign of Al-mustanser, son of An-násir.

On the death of Mohammed An-násir, son of Al-mansúr, which happened in 611 (beginning May 12, A.D. 1214), his son Yúsuf, who was then sixteen years old, was inaugurated with the empire. On his accession to power, Yúsuf assumed the surname of *Al-mustanser-billah* (he who seeks for the help of God). Ibn Jámi' and the Sheikhs of the Almohades having

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[49] In a chapter of his historical Prolegomena, entitled "An account of the Fátemí, and of the various opinions respecting him which are current among the people," Ibnu Khaldún records this tradition differently: لاتقومُ السَاعَةُ حَتَّي يَخرُجَ رجُل من اهْل بيتي اسْمه اسْمي و نسَبُه نسَبي يمْلا الارض قسطاً و عَدْلاً كما مُلِيتْ جوراً وَ ظلماً يملكها سبع سنين او قال تسع "The time shall come when a man of my family, bearing my name and patronymic, "shall fill the earth with equity and justice, which had before been filled with tyranny and oppression. He shall rule over "it seven years; others say nine."

[50] The lion of Helál, no doubt, because he belonged to the tribe of that name, one of those domiciled in Eastern Africa.

[51]
قولوا لابنآ عَبد المومن بن عَلي ∴ تَاهّبُوا لوقوع الحارث الحللي
قد جاء سَيد قحطان وَ عَالمهَا ∴ وَ مُنتهيَ القول وَ الغلاب للدُوَل
و الناس طوعاً عَصَاه وَ هو سَآيقهم ∴ بالامر وَ النهي بحر العلم وَ العمَل
تَبادرُوا اليه فالّلهُ ناصرهُ ∴ وَ الله خاذل اهْل الزيغ وَ الميَل

gained him over, they governed in his name: owing to this circumstance, and also to the extreme youth of Al-mustanser, Abú Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, who was then governor of Eastern Africa, was at first rather slow in sending in his allegiance; but when Al-mustanser had removed his chief Wizír, Ibn Jámi', as well as his *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*, 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Abí Zeyd, Abú Mohammed failed not to send his homage to court.

After this, Al-mustanser began to attend to the affairs of government as assiduously as his extreme youth would permit: he distributed the government of the several provinces of his empire among the princes of the royal family: he gave the investiture of Fez to [his uncle] Síd Abú Ibráhím, brother of Almansúr, who took [on the occasion] the surname of *Adh-dháher*, and was the father of Al-murtadhí [who reigned afterwards]. To his uncle Síd Abú Is'hák Al-ahwal he gave the investiture of Seville. During this governor's rule the raging fire of war preyed on the fortresses which the Almohades had taken [from the Christians], and the brave defenders of Andalus were defeated and dispersed.[52]

On the death of Ibn Abí Zeyd, at the instigation of Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján, Al-mustanser deposed Ibn Jámi' from the Wizírate, and appointed in his room Abú Yahya Al-hazrají. He also named to the office of *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*, Abú 'Ala Ibn Asharfí. He then restored Ibn Jámi' to his favour, and re-instated him in the office of Wizír. He also deprived Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján of the government of Telemsán, which he gave to Sa'íd Ibn Al-mansúr, and sent the former to Murcia, where he was imprisoned by his orders, and kept in close confinement. The reign of Al-mustanser passed on in tranquillity and peace until the Bení Merín made their appearance in the neighbourhood of Fez in the year 613 (beginning April 19, A.D. 1216). Having sent against them [his uncle] Síd Abú Ibráhím, with the forces of the Almohades, this general was defeated and taken prisoner; though no sooner did the Bení Merín recognise him than he was set at liberty. Then came the news of the death of Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss, Lord of Eastern Africa, whom Al-mustanser immediately replaced by Síd Abú-l-'ola, brother of Al-mansúr, then governor of Seville. After this, however, Al-mustanser deposed him, and appointed in his room Si'ayah Ibn Muthana,[53] who repaired thither, as we shall hereafter relate when we come to treat of the Bení Abí Hafss.

About this time there appeared in the territory of Fez a man of the family of the 'Obeydites, who claimed descent from Al-'ádhed,[54] and assumed the surname of Mahdí. Al-mustanser sent against him [his uncle] Abú Ibráhím, the brother of Al-mansúr. On his arrival at Fez, this general bribed some of the partisans of the rebel, who seized him, and brought him into his presence, when he was immediately put to death. In the year 619 (beginning Feb. 14, A.D. 1222), Al-mustanser gave to his uncle, Abú Mohammed, better known under the surname of Al-'ádil, the investiture of Murcia, after removing him from the government of Granada, which he held. After this the state was disturbed [by wars and seditions]. Al-mustanser died in the year 620 (A.D. 1223).

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[52] The MS. reads thus و استولي القيس علي المعاقل التي اخذها الوحدون Instead of القيس the sense requires القبس

[53] سعايه بن مثني

[54] The twenty-fourth Sultán of Egypt, of the dynasty of the 'Obeydites or Fátimites.

Reign of 'Abdu-l-wáhed Al-makhlú', the deposed brother of Al-mansúr.

On the death of Al-mustanser, which happened on the day of *'Idu-l-adháhi* of the year 620 (Jan. 4, A. D. 1224), Ibn Jámi' and the Almohades having united their councils, appointed as his successor Síd Abú Mohammed[55] 'Abdu-l-wáhed, brother of Al-mansúr, who was accordingly proclaimed.

On his accession to power, 'Abdu-l-wáhed gave orders that a sum of money should be offered to the rebel Ibn Asharfí, on condition of his laying down his arms. He also wrote to confirm his own brother, Abú-l-'ola, in the government of Eastern Africa, notwithstanding that Al-mustanser [who had been prepossessed against him] had long contemplated his removal; but, as Abú-l-'ola was dead when the confirmation reached him, he was succeeded by his son, Abú Zeyd Al-mushammar, who declared himself independent in those provinces, as we shall hereafter relate when we come to narrate the events of Eastern Africa. After this the Sultán sent down his orders to Murcia for the release of Ibn Túján [Abú Zeyd], who, as before related, was confined in the castle of that city; and it was done as he commanded, against the advice of [his Wizír] Ibn Jámi', who was of a contrary opinion. 'Abdu-l-wáhed also sent his brother, Abú Is'hák, with a fleet to assail the island of Mallorca, as his predecessor, Al-mustanser, had done before he died.

About this time a son of Al-mansúr, named Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, who was governor of Murcia, revolted against the Sultán, at the instigation of Ibn Túján [Abú Zeyd]. This man [who was his Wizír at the time] had prevailed on him to rise and seize on the empire, by asserting—which assertion he proved by witnesses—that he [Ibn Túján] had heard Al-mansúr designate him for his heir to the Khalifate in the event of An-násir's death. As the people were discontented with the administration of Ibn Jámi', and the governors of Andalus happened all to be the sons of Al-mansúr, and favourable to his views; and as he had, in the first instance, opposed his uncle's proclamation, Abú Mohammed found no difficulty in seizing on the empire, which he did, assuming on the occasion the surname of Al-'ádil. All his brothers [in Andalus] hastened, though in secret, to take the oath of allegiance to him. These were Abú-l-'ola, governor of Cordova; Abú-l-hasan, governor of Granada; and Abú Músa, governor of Malaga. On the other hand, 'Abdu-l-wáhed having removed Abú Mohammed Ibn Abí 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, better known by the surname of *Al-báyesí* (of Baeza),[56] from his government of Jaen, which he gave to his uncle Abú-r-rabí' Ibn Abí Hafss, the deposed governor also joined the insurgents and proclaimed Al-'ádil. Having then joined his forces to those of Abú-l-'ola, governor of Cordova, who was also Al-'ádil's brother, they both marched to Seville, where a brother of Al-mansúr and of 'Abdu-l-wáhed commanded at the time. 'Abdu-l-'azíz, for such was his name, immediately embraced their party: the only one who refused to take the oath of allegiance to Al-'ádil, and who remained faithful to

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[55] Conde (vol. ii. p. 432) calls him Abú-l-málik.

[56] He was so called on account of his living afterwards at Baeza.

'Abdu-l-wáhed, was Síd Abú Zeyd Ibn Abí 'Abdillah, the brother of *Al-báyesí.* However, Al-'ádil marched from Murcia to Seville, taking in his company Abú Zeyd Ibn Túján, and made his entrance into that city. When this intelligence reached Morocco, the Almohades declared against 'Abdu-l-wáhed, and compelled their monarch to deprive Ibn Jámi' of his office, and to exile him to Heskúrah. About the same time, Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Abí Yahya Ash-shahíd Ibn Abí Hafss rose with the tribe of Hentétah, whilst Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí did the same with that of Tínmelel. He ['Abdu-l-wáhed] sent Abú Is'hák Ibn Jámi' to station himself with the fleet in the Straits [of Gibraltar], to prevent the passage of ships from Andalus. He also sent a secret message to Ibn Jámi', who had set out for Heskúrah, enjoining him to return to him; but he failed in all his plans, being soon after dethroned, and privately put to death in Rabi'[57] of the year 621 (from March 22 to May 19, A.D. 1224), when the Almohades sent in their allegiance to Al-'ádil.

Reign of Al-'ádil, son of Al-mansúr.

Al-'ádil received the oaths of the Almohades at the same time with a letter of Zakariyyá Ibnu-sh-shahíd, announcing to him the capture of ['Abdu-l-wáhed] the deposed Sultán. Upon this, Al-báyesí [Abú Mohammed], who knew well the ill-will which that monarch bore him, decided to revolt against him, and to assume the supreme power at Baeza, which he did, under the surname of *Adh-dháfir,* remaining for some time undisturbed. Al-'ádil then sent against him his own brother, Abú-l-'ola, who besieged that city, but could not reduce it.[58] After this, Al-'ádil dispatched Abú Sa'íd, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, who was also unsuccessful. In the mean time affairs were daily presenting a worse aspect in Andalus against Al-'ádil. The Christians made repeated incursions into the neighbourhood of Seville, where Abú-l-'ola was residing at the time, and defeated the troops of the Almohades near Tablada. In Africa, Al-'ádil's courtiers instigated him against Ibn Túján, who was seized and conveyed prisoner to Ceuta. Mean while the party of Al-báyesí waxed stronger in Andalus through the means of the Christians, who lent him assistance. Seeing this, Al-'ádil determined to send troops to Andalus, to re-inforce his brother, Abú-l-'ola.[59] As he was at Kasr-al-mejáz, 'Abik[60] Ibn Abí Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, arrived there,

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[57] First or second is here wanting, as there are two months so called. Conde says that he was deposed on the 13th of Safar, 621 (March 6, A.D. 1224), and murdered three days after; but the dates given by the author of the *Karttás,* whence the Spanish translator borrowed his narrative, are very different. The African historian places the former event on the 21st of Sha'bán, 621 (Sept. 5, A.D. 1224). On the following day, which was a Sunday, the oath of allegiance was publicly taken to Al-'ádil, and thirteen days after, (on the 14th Ramadhán,) he was strangled. See the *Karttás,* by Moura, p. 269.

[58] The author of the *Karttás* says that he was obliged to capitulate, and swear allegiance to the Sultán; but no sooner had the enemy retired from before Baeza, than Al-báyesí wrote to Alfonso, and entered into an alliance with him against Al-'ádil.

[59] The text here is doubtless corrupted, but I have not the means of correcting it: فاجاز العادل الي العدوة الي اخاه ابا العلي علي الاندلس

[60] عبق

and entered his presence. Al-'ádil having said to him, "How farest thou?" he replied in verse.[61] Al-'ádil was so pleased with his answer that he appointed him governor of Eastern Africa. He wrote to his cousin, Síd Abú Zeyd, to come to him to Salé. Abú Zeyd did as he was commanded. The Sultán then spent some time at this place, and sent for the Sheikhs of the neighbouring tribes. Among those who came on this occasion was Helál Ibn Hamidán Ibn Mukaddam, Amír of the tribe of Al-khalatt, with whom Ibn Túján happened to be on terms of great intimacy. Another chieftain, named Ibn Jarmún, who was then Amír of the tribe of Sufyán, not choosing to obey the summons, the tribes of Al-khalatt and Sufyán fought with one another. Upon this, Al-'ádil hastened to Morocco, where, immediately upon his arrival, he showed his resentment against Ibn Túján, by depriving him of his office, and appointing in his room Abú Zeyd Ibn Abí Mohammed, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss. Ibn Túján having fallen into disgrace [with his master], Ibnu-sh-shahíd and Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí, Sheikhs of the tribes of Hentétah and Tínmelel, seized on the supreme power. This was followed by the revolt of [the tribes of] Heskúrah and Al-khalatt, who made an incursion into the territory of Morocco. Ibn Túján went out to meet them, but gained no advantage over the invaders, who completely ravaged the country of Dukélah. Al-'ádil then sent against them an army of Almohades under the command of Ibráhím Ibn Ismá'il, son of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, the same who had opposed the sons of the Sheikh Abú Mohammed in Eastern Africa, as we shall hereafter relate; but he also was defeated and put to death. Ibnu-sh-shahíd and Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí then went to their respective tribes, assembled their forces, and took the field against the tribe of Heskúrah; they likewise agreed to deprive Al-'ádil of the command, and to proclaim in his stead Yahya, son of An-násir. Accordingly, having arrived at Morocco, they made a sudden attack upon the royal palace, which they plundered of all its valuables, and seized the person of Al-'ádil, who was strangled on the day of *Al-fitr*, or 24th of Shawwál of the year 624 (Oct. 7, A. D. 1227).

Reign of Al-mámún, son of Al-mansúr.

Al-'ádil had a brother named Idrís Al-mámún, who was governor of Seville. When the intelligence of the revolt of the Almohades and Arabs against his brother, and the overthrow of his empire, reached him, Al-mámún, who, as before stated, was governor of Seville, rose in that city and had himself proclaimed by the inhabitants, the example being soon followed by most of the people of Andalus, as well as by Síd Abú Zeyd, governor of Valencia and the eastern parts of Andalus, who hastened to send in his allegiance. Then came the events above recorded; the rising of the Almohades against Al-'ádil, his execution at Al-kasr, and the election of Yahya, his cousin, son of An-násir. Ibn Túján then entered into a secret correspondence [with some of his partisans], and aimed at the overthrow of the established dynasty. [At his instigation] the tribes of Heskúrah and the Arabs

[61] The verse reads thus in the MS., but I have not attempted a translation of it, as without some comment or explanation it is by no means easy to seize the sense:

حالي مَتَي علم ابن منصور بهَا ∴ جَا الزمَان اليْه منها تآيُبَا

made an incursion into the territory of Morocco, and defeated an army of Almohades that sallied out to oppose them. But Ibnu-sh-shahíd having discovered the secret machinations of Ibn Túján, surprised him one day in his house, and put him to death. Then Yahya Ibn An-násir went out to his friends as above related, and the Almohades deposed him, and sent their allegiance to Al-mámún. The principal actors in this last revolution were Abú 'Abdillah Al-gheríghor and Síd Abú Hafss Ibn Abí Hafss. When the intelligence reached Yahya Ibn An-násir and Ibnu-sh-shahíd, they laid siege to Morocco in the year 626 (beginning Nov. 29, A. D. 1228), and put the conspirators to death. However, the party of Al-mámún waxed every day stronger. The governor of Fez, as well as Mohammed Ibn Abí Zeyd Ibn Túján, governor of Telemsán, Abú Músa Ibn Al-mansúr, governor of Ceuta, and his cousin, Ibnu-l-attás,[62] governor of Bujéyah, all embraced his party. The only one who resisted was Abú Zakariyyá, governor of Eastern Africa, and this resistance was the cause of his subsequent rebellion, since, as we shall relate hereafter, he afterwards declared himself independent in that country. In short, nothing remained under the rule of Yahya Ibn An-násir except Sijilmésah and Eastern Africa.

Whilst these events were passing in Africa, Al-báyesí marched against Cordova and gained possession of it. Thence he went to Seville in company with his ally, the King of the Christians, to whom he had given over the castle of Kijáttah[63] (Quesada), and other fortresses belonging to the Moslems. Al-mámún, however, went out of Seville and met the enemy, whom he defeated with great loss, obliging Al-báyesí to take refuge in Cordova. Finding, on his arrival at this place, that the inhabitants had risen against him, Al-báyesí fled to a neighbouring castle called Al-mudowwar (Almodovar), where he was soon after treacherously put to death by his own Wizír, Ibn Biurak,[64] who hastened to Seville to present his head to Al-mámún. After this came the rebellion of Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd, who gained possession of Murcia and the greater part of Eastern Andalus, as we have related in our account of him. Al-mámún marched against him and besieged him, but he defended himself bravely; and Al-mámún, unable to conquer him, returned to Seville.

After this, in the year 626 (beginning Nov. 29, A. D. 1228), Al-mámún repaired to Morocco, on the solicitation of the people of Africa, who wished for his presence, and had previously sent him their allegiance. Helál Ibn Hamidán, Amír of the tribe of Al-khalatt, had also implored his assistance, and begged him to come over. Before embarking, Al-mámún asked the Christian king to give him a body of troops to serve under his orders in Africa; and this request being granted on terms stipulated between the two monarchs, Al-mámún put to sea with his Christian auxiliaries. No sooner, however, had Al-mámún quitted the shores of Andalus, than the people of Seville revolted against him, and sent their allegiance to Ibn Húd.

At his landing on the coast of Africa, Al-mámún was met by Yahya Ibn An-násir, whom he completely defeated, after a sharp encounter, making great slaughter among his followers, the Almohades and Arabs: Yahya fled to the mountains of Hentétah.[65] After this victory Al-mámún gained possession of the capital (Morocco). Having there summoned to his

[62] ابن الاطامن or ابن الاطاس [63] قجاطة [64] ابن بيورك

[65] A branch of the Atlas, inhabited by the tribe of that name.

presence the Sheikhs of the Almohades, he upbraided them with their conduct, and, having ordered the arrest of the principal among them, to the number of one hundred, caused them all to be put to death. He then sent circulars throughout the provinces of his empire, commanding that the name of the Mahdí should no longer be struck on the coins, or proclaimed from the pulpits of the mosques; that in the call to prayer [which was made] in the Berber language no mention should be made [as before] of the death of that individual; that the words *Asboh Wa lillahi-i-hamdu* (rise and praise God), which the Mahdí had caused to be added to the formula of convocation for the prayer of *al-fajr* (day-break), should be suppressed, as well as other peculiar practices introduced by him, which had been respected and strictly kept by 'Abdu-l-múmen and his descendants, the ancestors of Al-mámún. He even meditated doing away with every one of the religious precepts imposed by the founder of that sect, and ridiculed the people for describing the Mahdí as a man under the protection of Heaven. He went still further, and made himself guilty of other excesses. In compliance with the treaty entered into with the infidel king, he gave the Christians who came over with him permission to build a church within the precincts of Morocco; which they did, tolling their bells daily.

In the mean time Ibn Húd had reduced almost the whole of Andalus, and expelled therefrom the Almohades, who fell every where victims to the infuriated mob. Among those who perished on this occasion was Síd Abú-r-rabi', the nephew of Al-mansúr, who had been governor of Cordova ever since the reign of that Sultán. In this extremity Al-mámún sent orders to Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Mohammed, grandson of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, who was governor of Eastern Africa, to come to his assistance; but not only did he refuse to do so, but some time after, in the year 629 (beginning Oct. 28, A. D. 1231), he shook off all allegiance due to him. However, Al-mámún gave his cousin, Síd Abú 'Imrán, son of his uncle Mohammed Al-hardhání, the government of Bujéyah; at the same time appointing Abú 'Abdillah Al-lehiyání,[66] brother of the Amír Abú Zakariyyá [to act as his Wízir]. Yahya Ibn An-násir marched against him [Al-mámún], but was defeated. Again, a second time, Yahya attacked his adversary, but he was defeated with the loss of many of his followers, whose heads were fixed on spikes to the walls of Morocco. After these defeats Yahya Ibn An-násir fled to the countries of Dar'ah and Sijilmésah.

Some time after this, happened the revolt of a brother of Al-mámún, named Abú Músa, who caused himself to be proclaimed at Ceuta, and assumed the surname of *Al-muyyed-billah.* Al-mámún left Morocco to reduce him; but having heard on his road to that city (Ceuta) that the tribes of the Bení Fezár and Nekayah had laid siege to Meknásah (Mequinez), and were committing all manner of ravages in its neighbourhood, he decided to abandon his former purpose, and repair to those districts. He did so; and after applying a cautery to that wound, returned to Ceuta, which he besieged for three consecutive months. Abú Músa then sent to Andalus, to implore the assistance of Ibn Húd, Lord of that country, who granted his request, and sent a powerful fleet to his succour. Whilst Al-mámún was occupied in the siege of Ceuta, Yahya Ibn An-násir, accompanied by the Arabian tribe of

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[66] He was called اللحياني Al-lehiyání because he had a very fine beard. His name was Mohammed.—Ibnu Khaldún, fo. 135.

Sufyán and their Sheikh, Jarmún Ibn 'Isa, as well as by Abú Sa'íd Ibn Wánúdín, the Sheikh of the tribe of Hentétah, made a sudden incursion into the territory of Morocco, and ravaged the country all around. When this intelligence was brought to Al-mámún, he raised the siege of Ceuta, and started off in pursuit of his enemy; but he died on the road at Wáda Umm Rabí', in the beginning of 630 (A. D. 1232). When Abú Músa saw his brother raise the siege, he placed himself under the obedience of Ibn Húd, and gave him possession of Ceuta, to which city that Sultán appointed a new governor.

The people of Valencia, Murcia, and the eastern provinces of Andalus, proclaim the Sultán Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Hafss, and send an embassy to him.

During the course of these events, Abú Jemíl Zeyyán, son of Abú-l-hamalát Mudáfi' Ibn Abí-l-hejáj Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mardanísh, took Valencia from Síd Abú Zeyd, son of Síd Mohammed, son of Síd Abú Hafss, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of that city and the surrounding districts. About this time, as above related, the empire of the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen was fast declining every where in Andalus. We have related how Ibn Húd revolted against Al-mámún and waged war with him: another chieftain, named Ibnu-l-ahmar, rose also at Arjona; and in short the whole of Andalus became a prey to civil war. This state of things being observed by the Christian kings, they began to wreak their fury on every point of the Moslem frontier. The King of Aragon (Jayme) marched towards Valencia, which he besieged. This was in the year 633 (beginning Sept. 15, A. D. 1235). In order the better to surround the Moslems, the Christian king formed seven large camps: he had two in front of Valencia, one at Jezírah Shukar (Alcira), and another at Xativa; the remainder were in Jaen, Tavira,[67] Murcia, and Liblah (Niebla). Besides these forces brought to act against the Moslems of Andalus, the Genoese [with a fleet] were upon Ceuta. Some time after, the King of Castile [Ferdinand III.] took Cordova, while the King of Aragon reduced most of the fortresses round Valencia and Alcira. The latter built a fortress called Anísah,[68] from which to besiege Valencia, and, after quartering his forces in it, retired to his dominions. Zeyyán Ibn Mardanísh then decided to make a sally and attack the besieging forces. To this end he sent to ask the people of Alcira to assist him in his undertaking. Having obtained the re-inforcements he wanted, he marched against the enemy, but he was completely defeated, with the loss of the greater part of his followers. On that disastrous day, which was like the harbinger of the taking of Valencia by the Christians, several men eminent for their talents or their virtues died martyrs for the faith; among others, Abú-r-rabí' Ibn Sálim, the chief of the traditionists of Andalus. Subsequently to this the Christians made several incursions in the neighbourhood of Valencia, until the month of Ramadhán, 635 (April or May, A. D. 1238), when the King of Aragon in person appeared before the city, and

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67 This would make eight, not seven, as above. The copy of Ibnu Khaldún, which, as I have frequently observed, is by no means correctly written, reads طبيرة—which can be no other place than Tavira. Perhaps طلبيرة Talavera is meant; but as no evidence of the military preparations of Jayme is to be found in the native historians, I have not the means of determining the true reading.

68 Near the ancient Enesa or Anaso, (now Puig de Cebolla,) on a rock surrounded by the sea, about seven miles from Valencia.

began to press the siege with the utmost vigour. In the mean time, fortune forsook the banners of the Beni 'Abdi-l-múmen of Morocco, whose empire passed into other hands; the Beni Abí Hafss becoming the rulers of Eastern Africa. Not expecting any assistance from the former, Ibn Mardanísh and the people of Eastern Andalus decided upon applying to the latter, and imploring the help of Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Hafss (the reigning Sultán of that family), whom they proclaimed their sovereign. Accordingly that chieftain dispatched to him his secretary, the Faquih Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-abbár, who arrived in this country and brought their oath of allegiance, and then recited in the presence of Abú Zakariyyá that celebrated *kassídah* of his, rhyming in the letter *sin*, which begins thus:

" Hasten to Andalus with thy mounted warriors, the soldiers of God, before the paths " of salvation are entirely obliterated.

" Go and bestow on her thy powerful assistance, since the help of thy victorious arms " is never withdrawn from the needy.

" Thy presence will restore life to her sinking body, after tasting morn and evening of " the cup of woe.

" To the island, then, whose inhabitants are so many victims destined for sacrifice, and " whose sufferings cannot otherwise be terminated than by a speedy death." [69]

The Amír granted the request of the people of Valencia, and sent to their assistance a fleet loaded with provisions, stores, and money, under the orders of Abú Yahya Ibn Yahya Ibnu-s-shahíd Abí Is'hák Ibn Abí Hafss. The total cost of the armament was one hundred thousand dinárs. The fleet reached the shores of Valencia at a time when the inhabitants were suffering all the privations and horrors of the siege, and cast anchor at Denia, where it landed all the stores; but the admiral seeing that Ibn Mardanísh did not send thither any one to take charge of them, set sail and returned to Africa. The siege, in the mean while, was pressed more and more, until the provisions were entirely exhausted, and the people died through hunger. Negotiations then began for the surrender of the city, which was finally given up to Jakmek (Jayme), King of Aragon, in the month of Safar of the year 636 (Sept. A. D. 1238). Ibn Mardanísh left Valencia for Jezírah Shukar (Alcira), where, immediately upon his arrival, he exacted from the inhabitants the oath of allegiance to the Amír Abú Zakariyyá. Ibnu-l-abbár returned to Túnis, where he took up his residence, becoming one of the courtiers of the Sultán.

The enemy, however, pursued his conquests. Ibn Mardanísh was besieged in Alcira, and compelled to abandon that city, and to take refuge in Denia, into which he made his entry in Rejeb of the same year (Feb. or March, A. D. 1239). Having there caused his sovereign, Abú Zakarriyá, to be proclaimed, Ibn Mardanísh tried to do the same at Murcia, where

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69 ادرك بخيلك خيل الله اندلسا ∴ انّ السبيل الى منجاتها درسا
وهب لها من عزيز النصر ما التمست ∴ فلم يزل منك عزّ النصر ملتمسا
و حاش مما تعانيه حشاشتها ∴ فطال ما ذاقت البلوي صباح مسا
يا للجزيرة اضحي اهلها جزراً ∴ النايبات و امسي جدّها تعسا

The author gives considerable extracts from this poem, which I have not thought it necessary to translate.

a chieftain named Abú Bekr 'Azíz Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Khattáb had reigned since the commencement of the year 636 (August 13, A. D. 1238), having been proclaimed king by the inhabitants. In Ramadhán of the same year, Ibn Mardanísh succeeded in his attempt. Having gained possession of Murcia, he put to death its ruler [Ibn Khattáb],[70] and sent the allegiance of the inhabitants to Abú Zakariyyá. In this manner were the eastern provinces of Andalus reduced under the sway of the Bení Abí Hafss. The messengers sent by Ibn Mardanísh to Túnis returned in 637 (beginning Aug. 2, A. D. 1239), bringing him the investiture of all those districts which had through his means acknowledged the supremacy of the Bení Abí Hafss. Ibn Mardanísh retained the government of them, until, in the year 638 (beginning July 22, A. D. 1240), Ibn Húd[71] took the city of Murcia, and obliged him to seek shelter in the fortresses which still held to their allegiance for him. Ibn Húd, moreover, maintained himself in Murcia until the city was finally taken by the King of Barcelona [Jayme] in the year 644 (beginning May 18, A. D. 1246),[72] when he crossed the sea to Túnis.[73] God alone is eternal!

The inhabitants of Andalus come under the rule of the Bení Abí Hafss. Arrival at Túnis of messengers bringing the allegiance of the people of Seville and other great cities.

There were about this time at Seville two influential citizens, one of whom was named Abú Merwán Ahmed Al-bájí, who was a descendant of Abú-l-walíd [Al-bájí], and the other, Abú 'Amru Ibnu-l-jadd, of the posterity of the celebrated traditionist, Abú Bekr (Ibnu-l-jadd). These two men, whose ancestors had enjoyed great favour with the Khalifs [of the house of Umeyyah], had inherited considerable property and influence. They were held in great estimation and respect by the people of Seville, who never failed to consult them in arduous points of law, and looked up to them in every emergency. All the princes of the family of 'Abdu-l-múmen who had held command in Andalus had moreover appointed them to offices of trust, and admitted them into their council. We have seen how, after the death of Al-mustanser, the affairs of Andalus had fallen into the worst possible state, the relatives of that monarch dividing his dominions among themselves. About the same time Ibn

[70] He was the descendant of Ahmed Ibn Khattáb, of Murcia, surnamed Al-khazení (of the hoarded treasures), who, on the return of Al-mansúr [Ibn Abí 'Amir] from his expedition to Catalonia in A. H. 374, entertained him most munificently during his stay in that city. See Conde, vol. ii. p. 153; and Casiri, vol. i. p. 64. The former of these writers places the death of Ibnu-l-khattáb on the 26th of Ramadhán, 640 (March 18, A. D. 1243), and says that he was killed near Lecant (Alicante); but what faith can be placed in the statements of an author whose narrative swarms with the greatest blunders? who, in the course of a few pages, makes Ibn Khattáb sometimes governor of Lorca, and sometimes of Murcia; who speaks of two kings of the latter city, 'Alí Ibn Húd, and Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Húd, the latter of whom he also calls governor of Lorca? Compare vol. ii. p. 20 *et seqq.*

[71] This Ibn Húd seems to be the Abenhudiel of the Cronica General, fo. ccccxiii. *et passim.*

[72] Ibnu-l-khattíb places the taking of Murcia in 640, alluding, no doubt, to the first occupation of that city by the Infante Don Alfonso in 1241. The city, however, seems to have fallen again into the hands of the Moslems; for, on the 13th of February, A. D. 1265, it was taken by Don Pedro, son of King Jayme of Aragon, who undertook its conquest on behalf of Ferdinand III. of Castile, to whose dominions it was annexed. See Cascales, *Discursos Históricos de la Ciudad de Murcia.* Mad. 1621, fo. 18.

[73] It is not easy to say, from the ambiguous manner in which this passage is conceived, whether it was Ibn Mardanísh or Ibn Húd who crossed over to Africa. I am inclined to believe it was the latter.

Húd[74] and Zeyyán Ibn Mardanísh raised the standard of revolt in the eastern provinces, while Ibnu-l-ahmar rose in arms in the west. The former was every where successful against the Almohades, whom he expelled from several cities. Having reduced Seville in 626 (beginning Nov. 29, A. D. 1228), he confined in prison the Almohade [princes] who were there, and took possession of the place, where he maintained himself until he lost it in 629 (beginning Oct. 28, 1231), by a revolt of the inhabitants. After expelling his brother Abú-n-neját Sálim, whom he had left to command in his absence, the people of Seville proclaimed Al-bájí, who took, upon his accession, the surname of Al-mu'tadhed, and appointed Abú Bekr Ibn Sáhibi-r-radd to be his Wizír. The example of Seville was soon followed by the people of Carmona, who also proclaimed Al-bájí. On the receipt of this intelligence, Ibn Húd hastened to Seville, which city he besieged; but Al-bájí having made an alliance with Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar, who, after the taking of Cordova [by the Christians], had risen at Arjona and Jaen, that chief hastened to his assistance. Ibn Húd, however, met them at the head of his forces, but he was defeated, and put to flight. The victors after this returned to their respective states, Ibnu-l-ahmar to Arjona, and Al-bájí to his capital [Seville], where he encamped outside the walls. Subsequently to this, Ibnu-l-ahmar, seeing the opportunity at hand to possess himself of Seville, sent thither a relative of his, named Ibn Ashkílúlah, with some of the troops of Arjona, and a division of Christians. Having made a sudden and unexpected attack upon the tents of Al-bájí, they took him and his Wizír prisoners, and put both of them to death. This happened in the year 631 (beginning Oct. 6, A. D. 1233). Ibnu-l-ahmar then made his entry into Seville, but scarcely had he been there a month when the inhabitants rose against him, and returned to the obedience of Ibn Húd, who again appointed his own brother, Abú-n-neját Sálim, to govern them.

On the death of Ibn Húd, which happened in 635 (A. D. 1238), the people of Seville returned to their obedience to the Almohades of Africa, proclaiming as their sovereign the Sultán Ar-rashíd, who then reigned at Morocco. In the mean time, and until a governor should be appointed, they elected Mohammed, son of Síd Abú 'Imrán, of whom we have already spoken as being governor of Constantina at the time that city was taken by Abú Zakariyyá. Abú 'Imrán was taken prisoner, and confined in a dungeon. As to his son Mohammed, he was transported to Seville, where his mother, who then resided in that city, took care of his education. This was the individual whom the citizens of Seville set over themselves whilst they sent their allegiance to Ar-rashíd. They were directed on this occasion by the advice of Abú 'Amru Ibnu-l-jadd. On the arrival of the ambassadors at court, Ar-rashíd granted their request, and confirmed Abú 'Abdillah [Mohammed] in the government of Seville. Things remained in this state until the death of Ar-rashíd, which happened in 640 (A. D. 1242), when the people of Seville, hearing that Abú Zakariyyá [Ibn Abí Hafss] had taken Telemsán, and was threatening other provinces of Western Africa, did as the people of Valencia, Murcia, and other cities of Eastern Andalus had done, and proclaimed the Amír Abú Zakariyyá Ibn Abí Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafss; their example being speedily followed by the people of Xerez and Tarifa, who also sent their messengers

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[74] Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd, surnamed *Al-mutawákkel alai-llah.*

bearing their allegiance in 641 (beginning June 20, A.D. 1243), and requesting him to appoint a prince of his family to command over them. The Amír acceded to their wishes, and named his nephew Abú Fáris, son of Yúnas, and grandson of the Sheikh Abú Hafss, who arrived in Seville, and took possession of the government, Ibnu-l-jadd hastening to surrender all his authority into his hands. Subsequently to this, in the year 643 (beginning May 28, A.D. 1245), Ibnu-l-jadd having revolted against Abú Fáris, deposed him from the government of the city, and banished him to Ceuta, himself remaining sole master of Seville. Ibnu-l-jadd then made peace, and contracted an alliance with the Christian king, and [in order to insure its continuance] proceeded to strike out of the rolls of the army his best Almogávares[75] or frontier soldiers. These, however, became so incensed at the measure taken by Ibnu-l-jadd, that they revolted aginst him, and put him to death at the instigation of a captain of theirs, named Sakkáf, who assumed the command of Seville. This Sakkáf, having sent for Abú Fáris Ibn Abí Hafss, replaced him in his post of governor for Abú Zakariyyá. This offended the Christian king, who, taking the murder of his ally Ibnu-l-jadd as a pretext for declaring war against the rebels, took Carmona and Marsánah (Marchena), and subsequently laid siege to Seville. The people then sued for peace, but this the Christian arrogantly refused to grant. The administration of affairs was then vested in a council composed of the following individuals: the captain of the Almogávares, Sakkáf, Ibn Sho'ayb, Yahya Ibn Khaldún,[76] Masúd Ibn Khiyár, and Abú Bekr Ibn Sharíh, over which presided Abú Fáris Ibn Abí Hafss.

The siege lasted for two consecutive years, Ibnu-l-ahmar serving under the Christian king with a body of troops. The Amír Abú Zakariyyá sent to their assistance a fleet under the command of Abú-r-rabi' Al-'azíz At-tínmelelí, who having been requested by the people of Ceuta to allow them to join their fleet to his, acceded to their solicitations, and sailed up the river of Seville (Guadalquivir); but he was beaten by the Christian fleet, who defended the entrance of the port, and was obliged to return. At last, the enemy gained possession of the city by capitulation in the year 646 (A.D. 1248), after a siege of fifteen months, during which time Ibnu-l-ahmar, as before related, assisted the Christians with men and provisions. The Christian king appointed over the guilty inhabitants of Seville 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn Abí Mohammed Al-báyesí, of the posterity of 'Abdu-l-múmen. There is no God but God! His is the empire!

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[75] المغاور *Al-mugháwar*, whence the Spanish 'Al-mogávar,' means a soldier employed in border warfare.

[76] The grandfather of the celebrated historian, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún. See vol. i. p. 311. The author of the chronological history of the Spanish Moors, published in the *Art de verifier les dates*, vol. iii. p. 68, has unduly ridiculed Cardonne for stating that Seville became a republic before it was taken by the Christians; for, although the form of government adopted by the inhabitants on that occasion cannot strictly be called a republic, it was nevertheless contrary to all Moslem notions of government.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

TABLE I.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE AMI'RS OR GOVERNORS OF MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN UNDER THE KHALIFS.

[*Those whose names are marked with an asterisk were elected by the army.*]

I. Tárik Ibn Zeyád,[1] from Shawwál, A. H. 92 (July, A. D. 711), to Jumáda I., A. H. 93 (March or April, A. D. 712).

II. Músa Ibn Nosseyr, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 95 (Sept. A. D. 714).

III. 'Abdu-l-'azíz, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 97 (Aug. A. D. 716).

IV. *Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 98 (July or Aug. A. D. 717).[2]

V. Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefí, to Ramadhán, A. H. 100 (March or April, A. D. 719).

VI. As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 102 (May, A. D. 721).

VII. *'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-ghâfekí, to Safar, A. H. 103 (Aug. A. D. 721).

VIII. 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí, to Sha'bán, A. H. 107 (Dec. A. D. 725 or Jan. 726).

IX. *'Odhrah Ibn 'Abdillah Al-fehrí, to Shawwál, A. H. 107 (March, A. D. 726).

X. Yahya Ibn Salmah Al-kelbí, to Rabi' II., A. H. 108 (Sept. A. D. 726).

XI. *'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah, to Sha'bán, A. H. 109 (Nov. A. D. 727).

XII. 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-khath'amí, to Rabi' I., A. H. 110 (June or July, A. D. 728).

XIII. Hodheyfah Ibn Al-ahwass Al-kaysí, to Moharram, A. H. 111 (April, A. D. 729).

XIV. Al-haytham Ibn 'Obeyd Al-kelábí, to Jumáda I., A. H. 113 (Aug. A. D. 731).

XV. *Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ashja'í, to Sha'bán, A. H. 113 (Oct. A. D. 731).

'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-ghâfekí, for the second time, to Ramadhán, A. H. 114 (Oct. A. D. 732).

XVI. 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehrí, to Ramadhán, A. H. 116 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 734).

XVII. 'Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj (or hajjáj) As-selúlí, to Safar, A. H. 123 (Dec. A. D. 740).

*'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, for the second time, to Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 123 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 741).

XVIII. *Balj Ibn Beshr Al-kusheyrí, to Shawwál, A. H. 124 (Sept. A. D. 742).

XIX. *Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-'ámelí or Al-jodhámí, to Rejeb, A. H. 125 (May, A. D. 743).

XX. Abú-l-khattár Husám Ibn Dherár Al-kelbí, to Rejeb, A. H. 127 (April or May, A. D. 745).

XXI. *Thuábah[3] and As-samíl, conjointly, to Rabi' II., A. H. 129 (Dec. A. D. 746 or Jan. 747).

XXII. Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 138 (May, A. D. 756).

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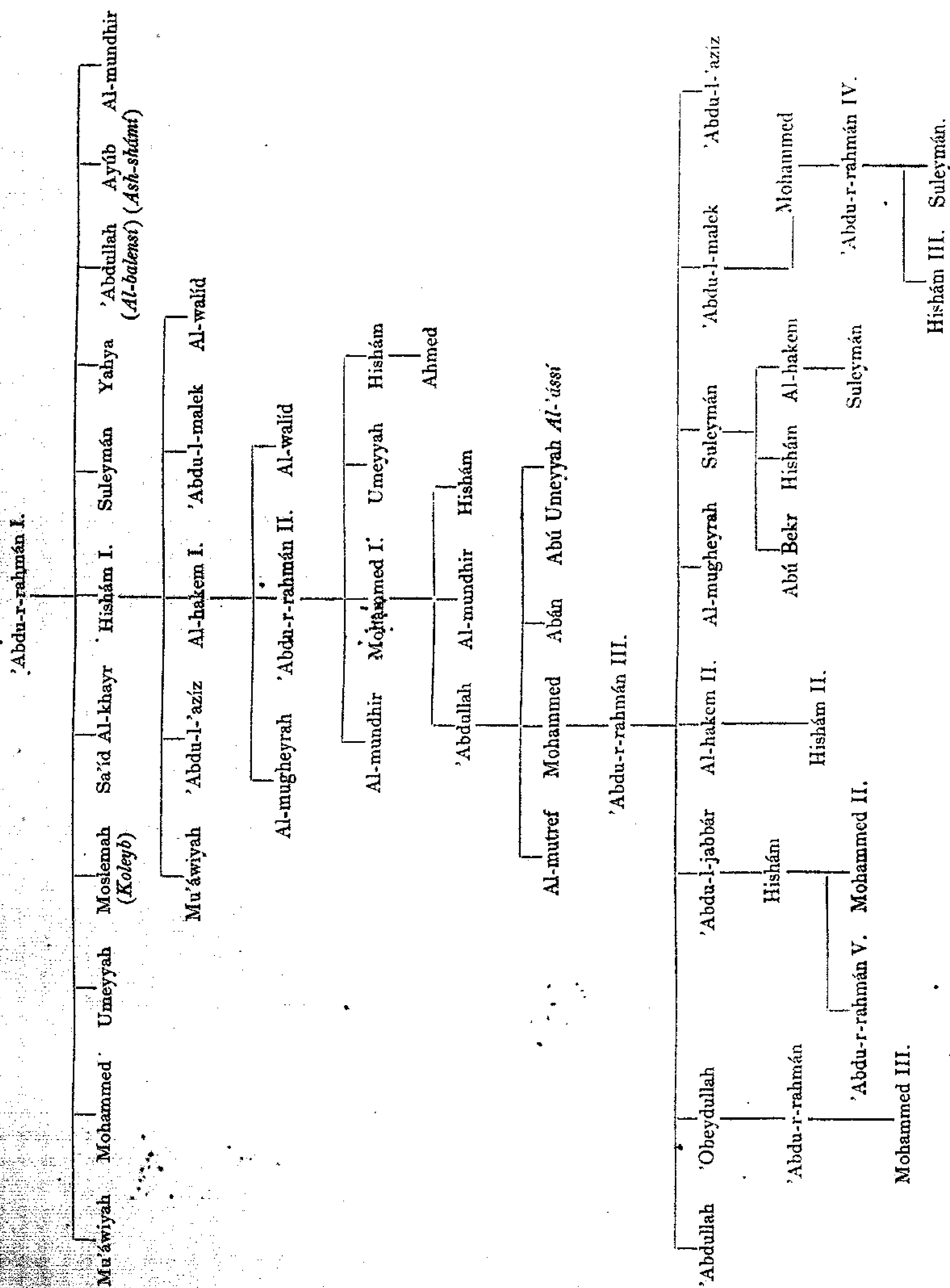
[1] Some of the Mohammedan historians omit Tárik in this list, and not without reason, since he was merely the lieutenant of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, governor of Africa, for whom and in whose name the conquest of the Peninsula was undertaken and achieved. At any rate, his government ought not to be counted from the battle of Guadalete, much less from the date of his landing, but from the taking of Toledo, the capital of the Gothic monarchy, supposing that city to have been taken before Músa's landing, which is very doubtful.

[2] Those writers who do not include Ayúb in the list, give Al-horr an administration of two years and eight months, counting from the assassination of 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

[3] Thuábah's election was afterwards confirmed by the Wáli of Africa, when he governed alone.

TABLE II.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE BENI' UMEYYAH, AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE SAME.



I. 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., from Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 138 (May, A. D. 756), to Jumáda II., A. H. 172 (Nov. A. D. 788).

II. Hishám I., to Safar, A. H. 180 (April, A. D. 796).

III. Al-hakem I., to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 206 (May, A. D. 822).

IV. 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., to Rabi' II., A. H. 238 (Aug. A. D. 852).

V. Mohammed I., to Safar, A. H. 273 (Aug. A. D. 886).

VI. Al-mundhir, to Safar, A. H. 275 (July, A. D. 888).

VII. 'Abdullah, to Safar, A. H. 300 (Oct. A. D. 912).

VIII. 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., to Ramadhán, A. H. 350 (Oct. A. D. 961).

IX. Al-kakem II., to Safar, A. H. 366 (Sept. A. D. 976).

X. Hishám II., to Jumáda II., A. H. 399 (March, A. D. 1009).

XI. Mohammed II. (*Al-muhdi*), to Rabi' I., A. H. 400 (Nov. A. D. 1009).

XII. Suleymán, to Shawwál, A. H. 400 (May or June, A. D. 1010).

Mohammed II., for the second time, to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 400 (Aug. A. D. 1010).

Hishám II., for the second time, to Shawwál, A. H. 403 (April, A. D. 1013).

Suleymán, for the second time, to Moharram, A. H. 407 (July, A. D. 1016).

'Alí Ibn Hammúd.

XIII. 'Abdu-r-rahmán IV.[1] (*Al-murtadhi*), from Ramadhán, A. H. 408, to Safar, 409 (Jan. A. D. 1019).

Al-kásim Ibn Hammúd.[2]

XIV. 'Abdu-r-rahmán V. (*Al-mustadh'her*), from Ramadhán, A. H. 414 (Dec. A. D. 1023), to Dhí-l-ka'dah of the same year (March, A. D. 1024).

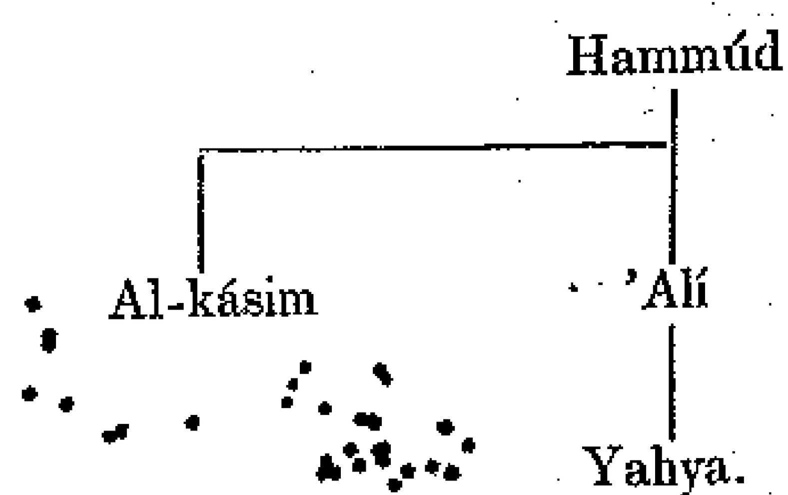
XV. Mohammed III. (*Al-mustakfí*), to Rabi' I., A. H. 416 (May, A. D. 1025).

Yahya Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hammúd.

XVI. Hishám III. (*Al-mut'add*), from Rabi' I., A. H. 418 (April or May, A. D. 1027), to A. H. 422 (A. D. 1031).

TABLE III.

GENEALOGICAL TREE AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE BENÍ HAMMU'D OF CORDOVA.



I. 'Alí Ibn Hammúd, from Moharram, A. H. 407 (July, A. D. 1016), to Dhí-l-ka'dah, 408 (March or April, A. D. 1018).

II. Al-kásim Ibn Hammúd (*Al-mámún*), to Rabi' II., A. H. 410 (Sept. A. D. 1019).

III. Yahya Ibn 'Alí (*Al-mu'tali*), from Jumáda II., A. H. 410 (Oct. A. D. 1019), to Dhí-l-ka'dah, 413 (Feb. A. D. 1023).

Al-kásim Ibn Hammúd, for the second time, to Sha'bán, A. H. 414 (Nov. A. D. 1023).

'Abdu-r-rahmán V. of the house of Umeyyah.

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[1] 'Abdu-r-rahmán IV. ought not to be counted in this list, for he never gained possession of the capital.

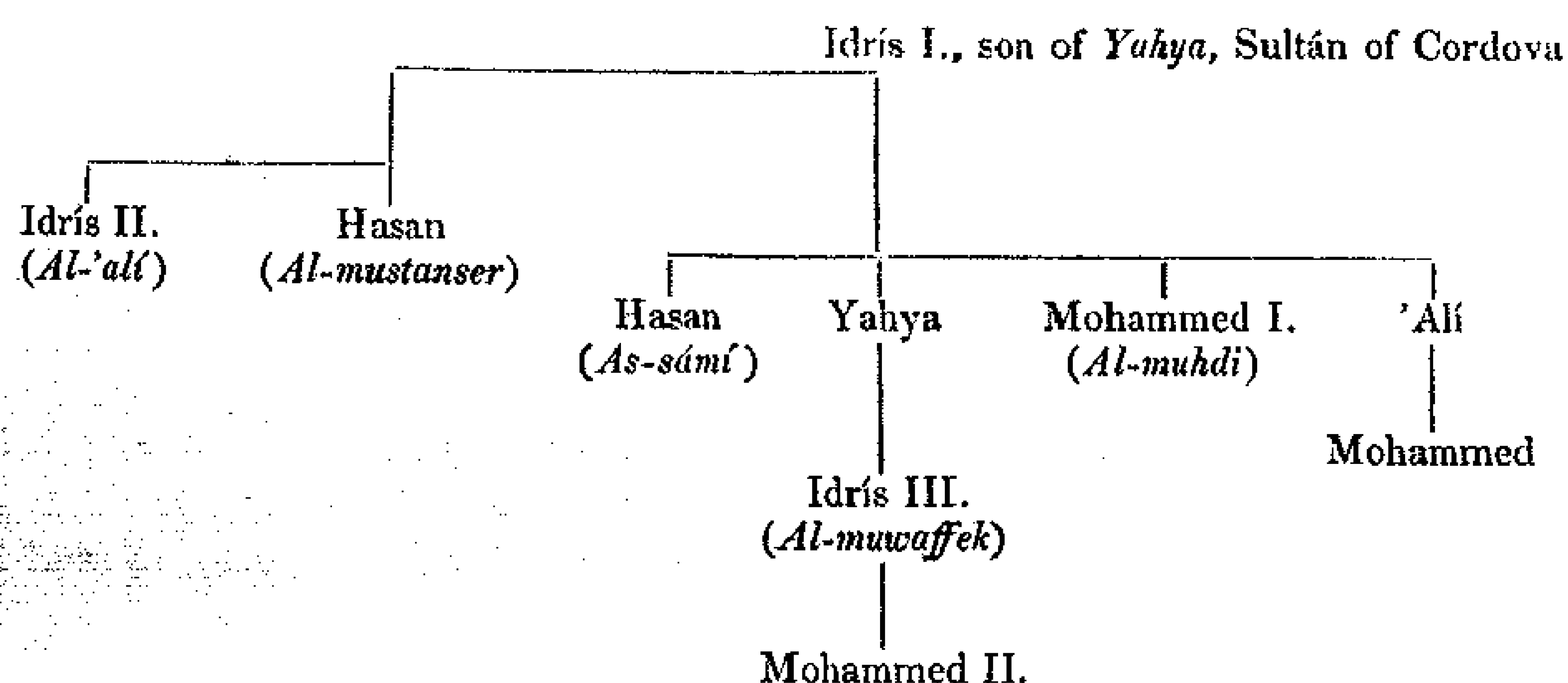
[2] The three Sultáns whose names are written in italics belonged to the dynasty of the Bení Hammúd. See Table III.

Mohammed III. of the house of Umeyyah.

Yahya Ibn 'Alí, for the second time, from Rabi' I., A. H. 416 (May, A. D. 1025, to Dhí-l-hajjah, 417 (Feb. A. D. 1027).

TABLE IV.

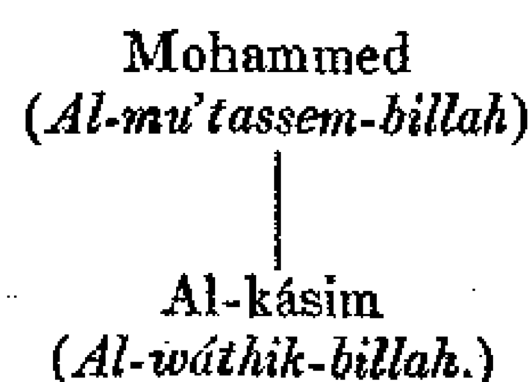
BENI' IDRI'S OF MALAGA.



I Idrís I. (*Al-mutáyyed-billah*), from A. H. 427 (A. D. 1036), to 431 (A. D. 1040).
II. Yahya, two months of A. H. 431 (A. D. 1040).
III. Hasan (*Al-mustanser-billah*), to Jumáda I., A. H. 434 (Jan. A. D. 1043).
IV. Idrís II. (*Al-'álí-billah*), from Jumáda II., A. H. 434 (Feb. A. D. 1043), to A. H. 438 (A. D. 1046-7).
V. Mohammed (*Al-muhdi*), to A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052-3).
VI. Idrís III. (*Al-muwaffek*), to A. H. 444 (A. D. 1053).
Idrís II., for the second time, to A. H. 446 (Jan. A. D. 1055).
VII. Mohammed II., to the beginning of A. H. 447 (April or May, A. D. 1055).

TABLE V.

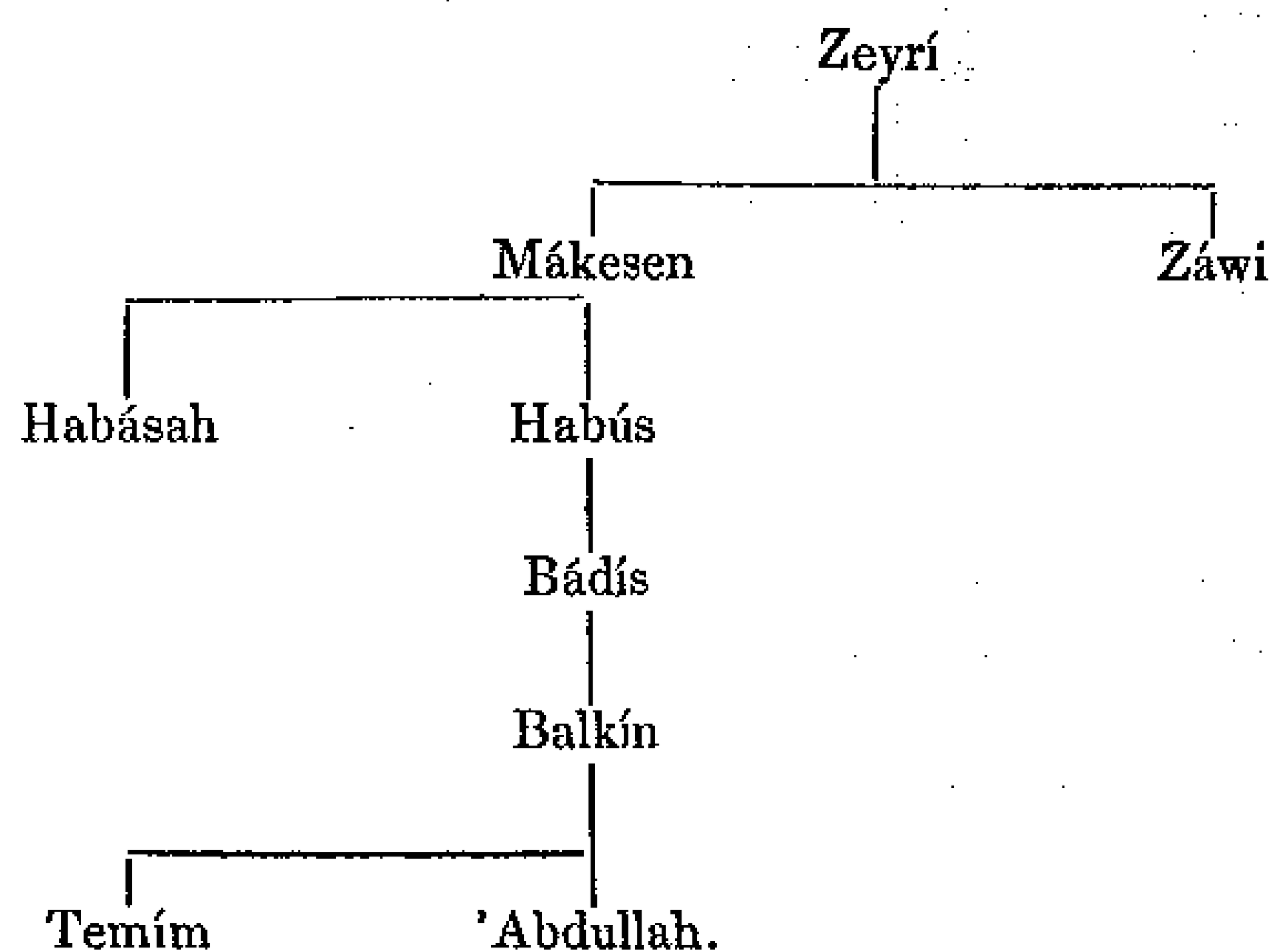
BENI' IDRI'S OF ALGESIRAS.



I. Mohammed, son of Al-kásim Ibn Hammúd, from A. H. 431 to 440 (A. D. 1040-48).
II. Al-kásim, to A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058).

TABLE VI.

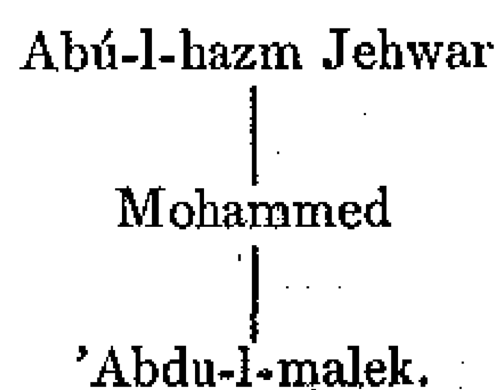
ZEYRITES OF GRANADA.



I. Záwi Ibn Zeyrí, from A. H. 403 (A. D. 1013) to A. H. 410 (A. D. 1019-20).
II. Habús Ibn Mákesen, to the end of A. H. 428 or beginning of 429 (Oct. A. D. 1037).
III. Bádís, to Shawwál, A. H. 465 (July, A. D. 1073).
IV. 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín, to Rejeb, A. H. 483 (Sept. A. D. 1090).

TABLE VII.

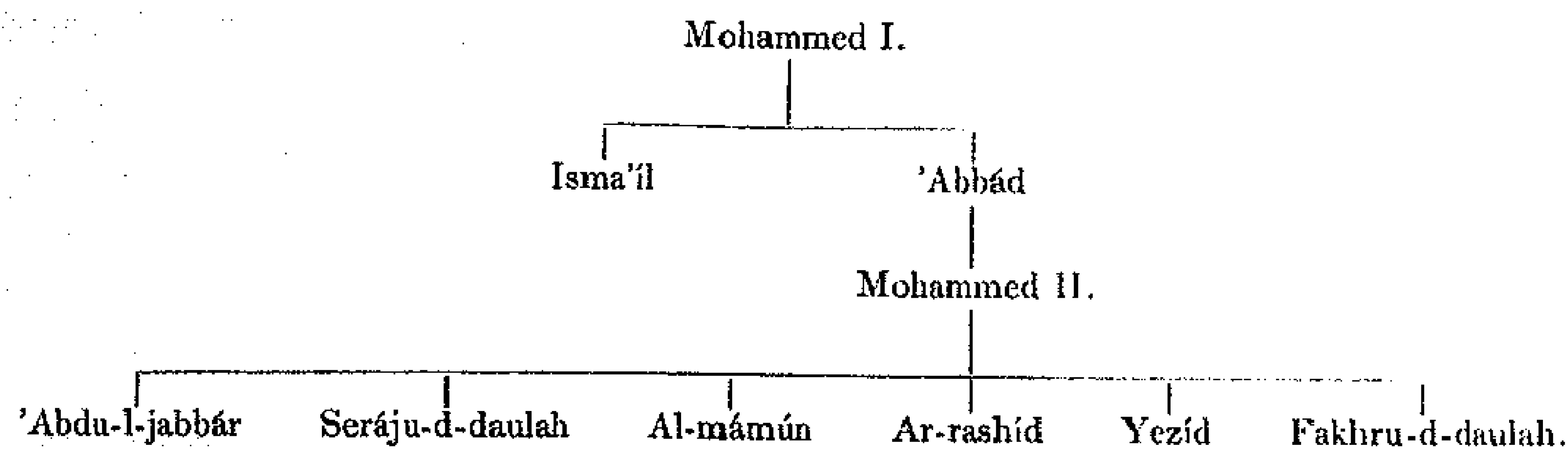
BENI JEHWAR, KINGS OF CORDOVA.



I. Jehwar, from A. H. 421 (A. D. 1030) to Safar, 435 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 1043).
II. Mohammed (*Abú-l-walíd*), to A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058).
III. 'Abdu-l-malek, three months of A. D. 1058.

TABLE VIII.

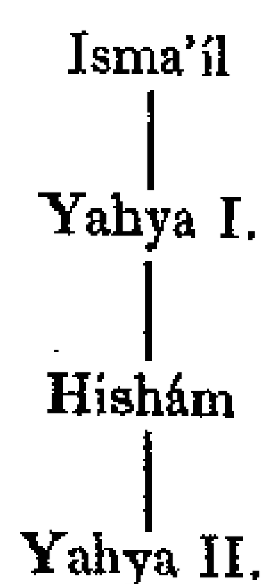
GENEALOGICAL TREE AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE BENI' 'ABBA'D, KINGS OF SEVILLE.



I. Mohammed I. (*Adh-dháfir-billah*), from A. H. 414 (A. D. 1023) to Jumáda I., A. H. 433 (Jan. A.D. 1042).
II. 'Abbád (Abú 'Amru, *Al-mu'tadhed-billah*), to Jumáda II., A. H. 461 (May, A. D. 1069).
III. Mohammed II. (*Al-mu'tamed 'alai-llah*), to Rejeb, A. H. 484 (Sept. A. D. 1091).

TABLE IX.

BENI' DHI'-N-NU'N, KINGS OF TOLEDO.



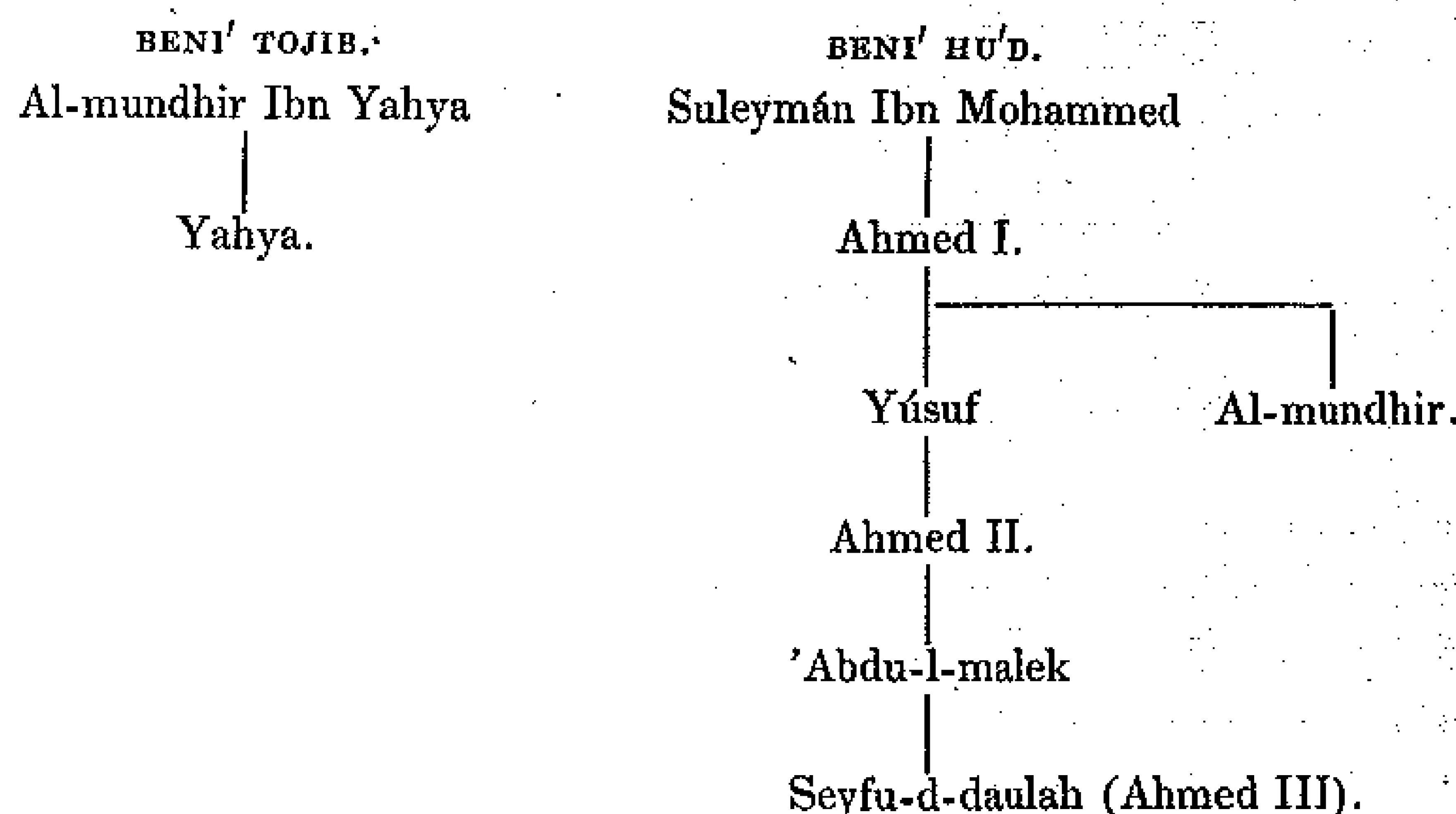
I. Isma'íl, from A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012) to A. H. 435 (A. D. 1043).
II. Yahya I. (*Al-mámún*), to Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 469 (June, A. D. 1077).
III. Hishám,[1] to Safar or Rabi' I., A. H. 470 (Sept. or Oct. 1077).
IV. Yahya II. (*Al-kádir*), to Safar, A. H. 478 (May, A. D. 1085).

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[1] It is doubtful whether Hishám, whom some historians make the brother instead of the father of Yahya II., reigned at all in Toledo.

TABLE X.

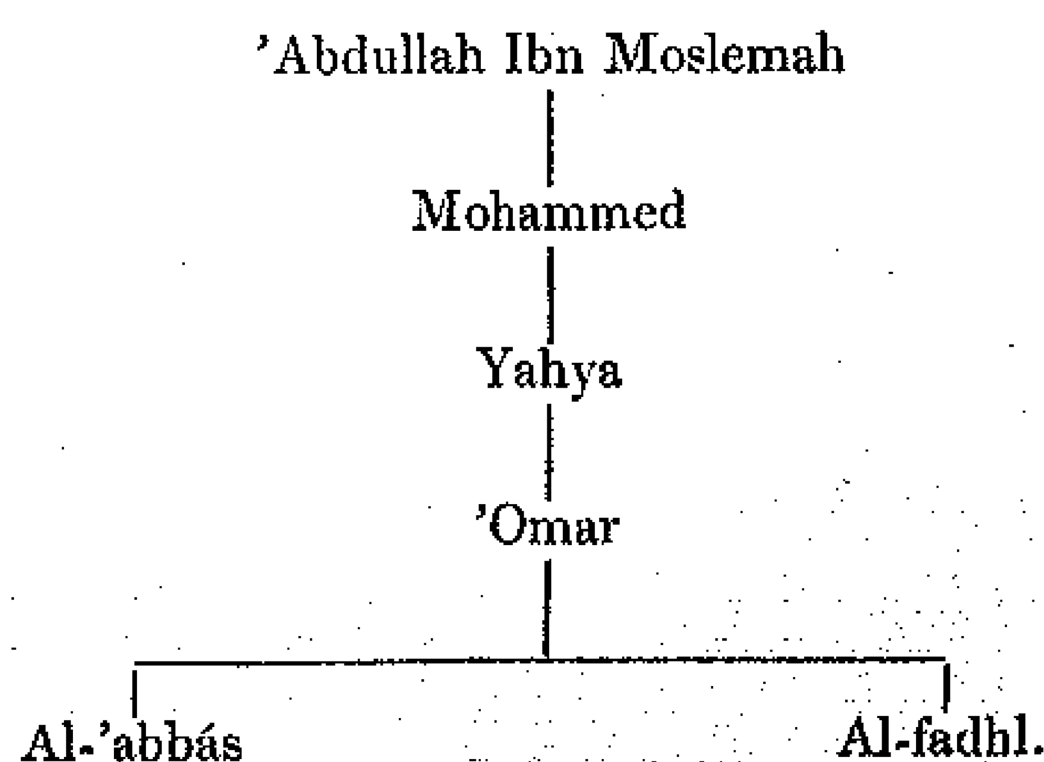
KINGDOM OF SARAGOSSA.



I. Al-mundhir Ibn Yahya (*At-tojibí*), from A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012) to A. H. 414 (A. D. 1023-4).
II. Yahya (*At-tojibí*), to Moharram, A. H. 431 (Oct. A. D. 1039).
III. Suleymán Ibn Húd (*Al-jodhámí Al-musta'ín-billah*), to A. H. 438 (A. D. 1046-7).
IV. Ahmed I. (Abú Ja'far, *Al-muktadir-billah*), to A. H. 474 (A. D. 1081-2).
V. Yúsuf (Abú-l-hejáj, *Al-mutamen-billah*), to A. H. 478 (A. D. 1085-6).
VI. Ahmed II. (Abú Ja'far, *Al-musta'ín-billah*), to Rejeb, A. H. 503 (Jan. A. D. 1110).
VII. 'Abdu-l-malek [1] (*'Imádu-d-daulah*), to Sha'bán, A. H. 514 (Oct. A. D. 1120).
VIII. Seyfu-d-daulah, Ahmed III. (*Al-mustanser-billah*), to Sha'bán, A. H. 540 (Jan. A. D. 1146).

TABLE XI.

BENI' AL-AFTTAS, KINGS OF BADAJOZ.



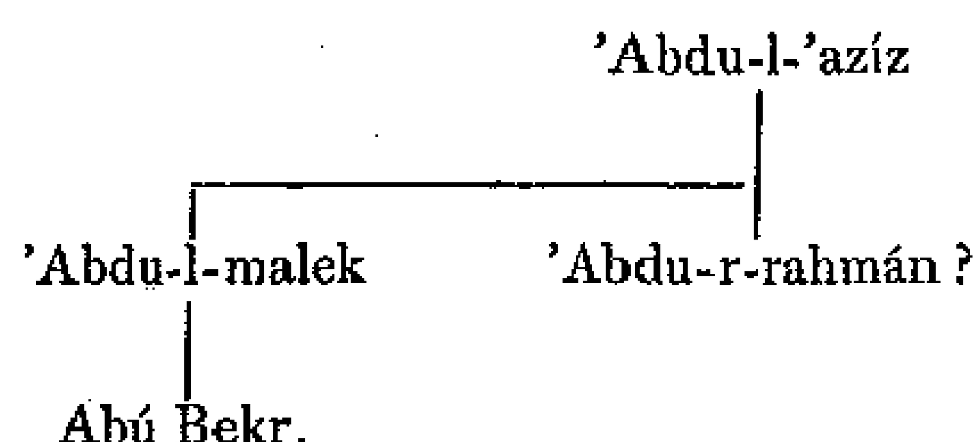
Shábúr (*Al-mansúr*), from A. H. 400 (A. D. 1009) to A. H. 407 (A. D. 1016).
'Abdullah Ibn Al-afttas, to A. H. 424 (?) (A. D. 1033).
Mohammed (*Al-modhaffer*), to A. H. 460 (A. D. 1068).
Yahya (Abú Bekr, *Al-mansúr*), to A. H. 473 (A. D. 1080-1).
'Omar (*Al-mutawakkel 'alai-llah*), to Moharram, A. H. 487 (Jan. A. D. 1094).[2]

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[1] After the taking of Saragossa.
[2] Or to Safar, A. H. 485 (March or April, A. D. 1092), according to other writers.

TABLE XII.

BENI′ ABI′ ’A′MIR, KINGS OF VALENCIA.



I. 'Abdu-l-'azíz (Abú-l-hasan *Al-mansúr*), from A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021) to A. H. 452 (A. D. 1060).
II. 'Abdu-l-malek, to A. H. 457 (A. D. 1065), when he was dethroned by Al-mámún.
III. *Al-mámún*, King of Toledo, to Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 469 (June, A. D. 1077).
'Abdu-l-malek, for the second time.
Abú Bekr, to A. H. 478 (A. D. 1085).
Al-kádir Yahya, the dethroned King of Toledo, to A. H. 485 (A. D. 1092).

TABLE XIII.

BENI′ TA′HIR, KINGS OF MURCIA.

I. Ahmed Ibn Is'hák Ibn Táhir (Abú Bekr), from Shawwál, A. H. 429 (July, A. D. 1038), to A. H. 457 (A. D. 1065).
II. Mohammed (Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán), to A. H. 461 (A. D. 1069).
III. *Al-mu'tamed*, King of Seville, or 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Rásih in his name, to A. H. 483 (A. D. 1090).
IV. Ahmed II. (Abú 'Abdillah), to Shawwál, A. H. 484 (Dec. A. D. 1091).

TABLE XIV.

KINGDOM OF ALMERIA.

I. Khayrán, from A. H. 403 (A. D. 1013) to Jumáda I., A. H. 419 (July, A. D. 1028).
II. Zohayr, to Shawwál, A. H. 429 (July, A. D. 1038).
III. Abú-l-ahwas Ma'n Ibn Samádeh, to the end of A. H. 443 or beginning of 444 (A. D. 1052).
IV. Yahya, to Rabi' II., A. H. 484 (A. D. 1091).
V. Ahmed (*Hosámu-d-daulah*).

TABLE XV.

KINGDOM OF DENIA.

I. 'Abdullah Al-mu'aytti, from Jumáda II., A. H. 405 (Dec. A. D. 1014), to Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 406 (April, A. D. 1016).
II. Mujáhid Al-'ámirí, from Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 406 (May, A. D. 1016), to A. H. 436 (A. D. 1044-5).
III. 'Alí, surnamed *Ikbálu-d-daulah*, to A. H. 468 (A. D. 1075-6).
IV. Seráju-d-daulah, son of 'Alí, to A. H. 485 (A. D. 1092).

TABLE XVI.

KINGDOM OF THE BALEARIC ISLANDS.

I. Mujáhid, from Ramadhán, A. H. 405 (March, A. D. 1015), to A. H. 436 (A. D. 1044-5).
II. Al-murtadhi.
III. Mubashsher, surnamed *Násiru-d-daulah*, to A. H. 508 (A. D. 1114).
IV. Abú Rabi' Suleymán, to the taking of Mallorca by the Aragonese in A. D. 1115.

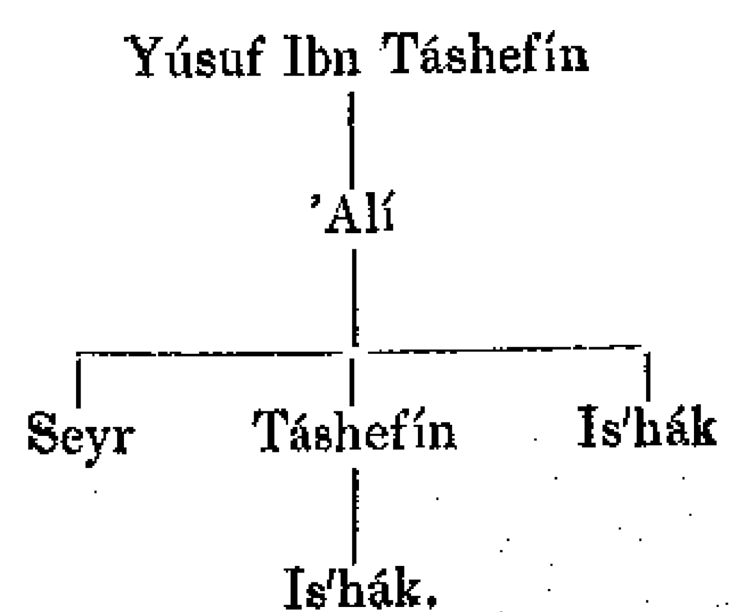
TABLE XVII.

BENÍ RAZÍN, KINGS OF AS-SAHLAH.

I. Hudheyl Ibn Razín, from A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012).[1]
II. 'Abdu-l-malek I. (*Jesámu-d-daulah*), to A. H. 476 (A. D. 1083-4).
III. 'Abdu-l-malek II. . . . .
IV. Yahya, to A. H. 483 (A. D. 1090).

TABLE XVIII.

ALMORAVIDES.



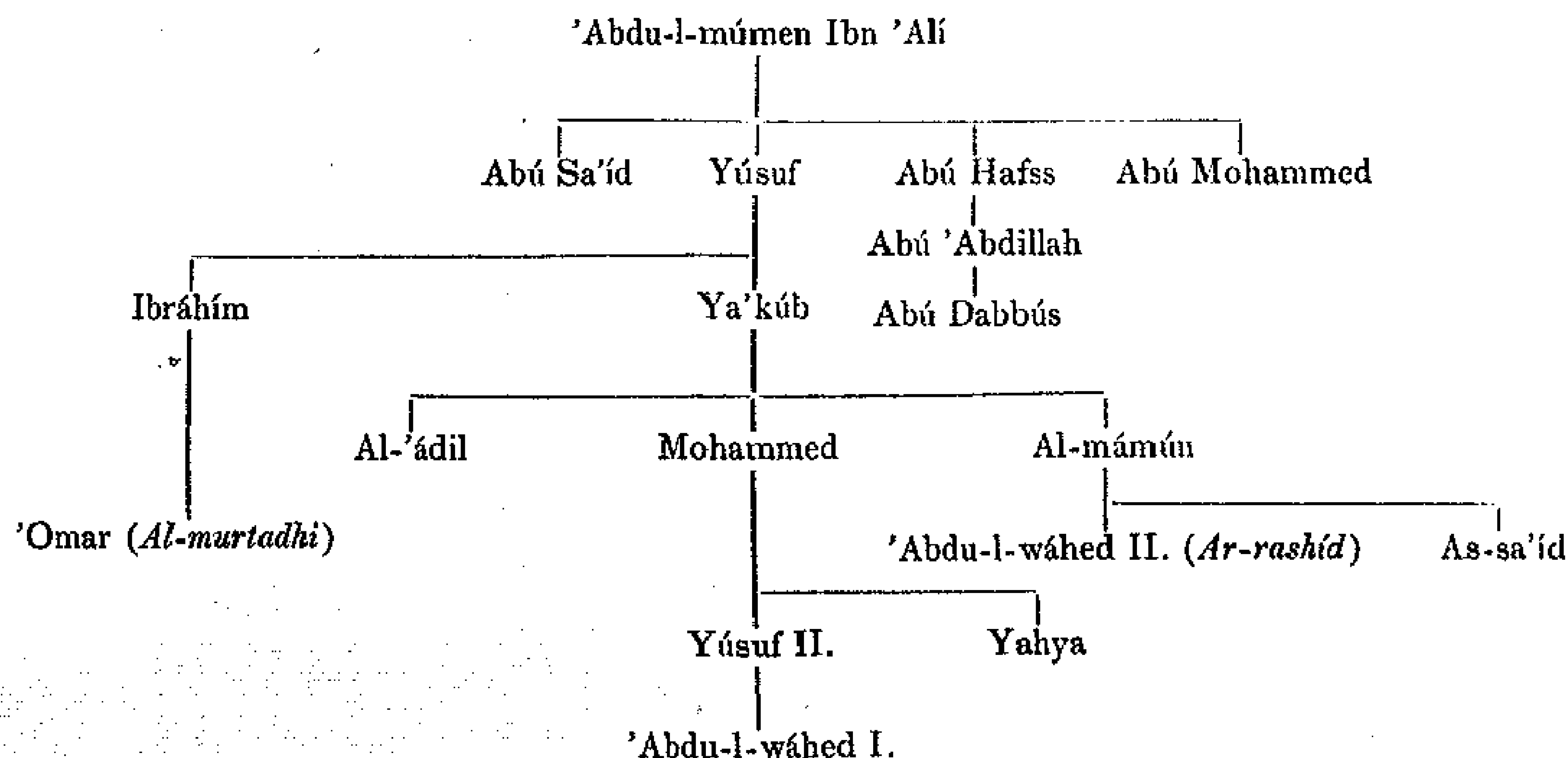
I. Yúsuf Ibn Táshefín, from A. H. 484 (A. D. 1092), to Moharram, A. H. 500 (Sept. A. D. 1106.)
II. 'Alí, to Rejeb, A. H. 537 (Jan. or Feb. A. D. 1143).
III. Táshefín, to Ramadhán, A. H. 539 (March, A. D. 1145).
IV. Is'hák, to Shawwál, A. H. 541 (March, A. D. 1147).

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[1] The chronology of the Bení Razín, as given in Conde and Casiri, is very defective, and cannot be adopted; but the materials are wanting to re-establish it with any degree of certainty.

TABLE XIX.

ALMOHADES.



I. Al-mahdí.[1]
II. 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí, from A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130), to Jumáda II., A. H. 558 (May, A. D. 1162).
III. Yúsuf (Abú Ya'kúb), to Rabi' II., A. H. 580 (July or Aug. A. D. 1184).
IV. Ya'kúb (Abú Yúsuf, *Al-mansúr*), to Rabi' I., A. H. 595 (Jan. A. D. 1199).
V. Mohammed (*An-násir*), to Sha'bán, A. H. 610 (Jan. A. D. 1214).
VI. Yúsuf II. (*Al-muntaser*), to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 620 (Jan. A. D. 1224).
VII. 'Abdu-l-wáhed I. (Abú Mohammed), to Sha'bán, A. H. 621 (Aug. A. D. 1224).
VIII. 'Abdullah (*Al-'ádil*), to Shawwál, A. H. 624 (Oct. A. D. 1227).
IX. Yahya (*Al-mu'tassem*), to Rabi' I., A. H. 627 (Jan. A. D. 1230).
X. Idrís (*Al-mámún*), to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 629 (Oct. A. D. 1232).
XI. 'Abdu-l-wáhed II. (*Ar-rashíd*).[2]
Yahya, for the second time.
XII. 'Alí (*As-sa'íd*).
'Abdu-l-wáhed II., for the second time.
XIII. 'Omar Al-murtadhi.
XIV. Idrís II., Abú Dabbús.

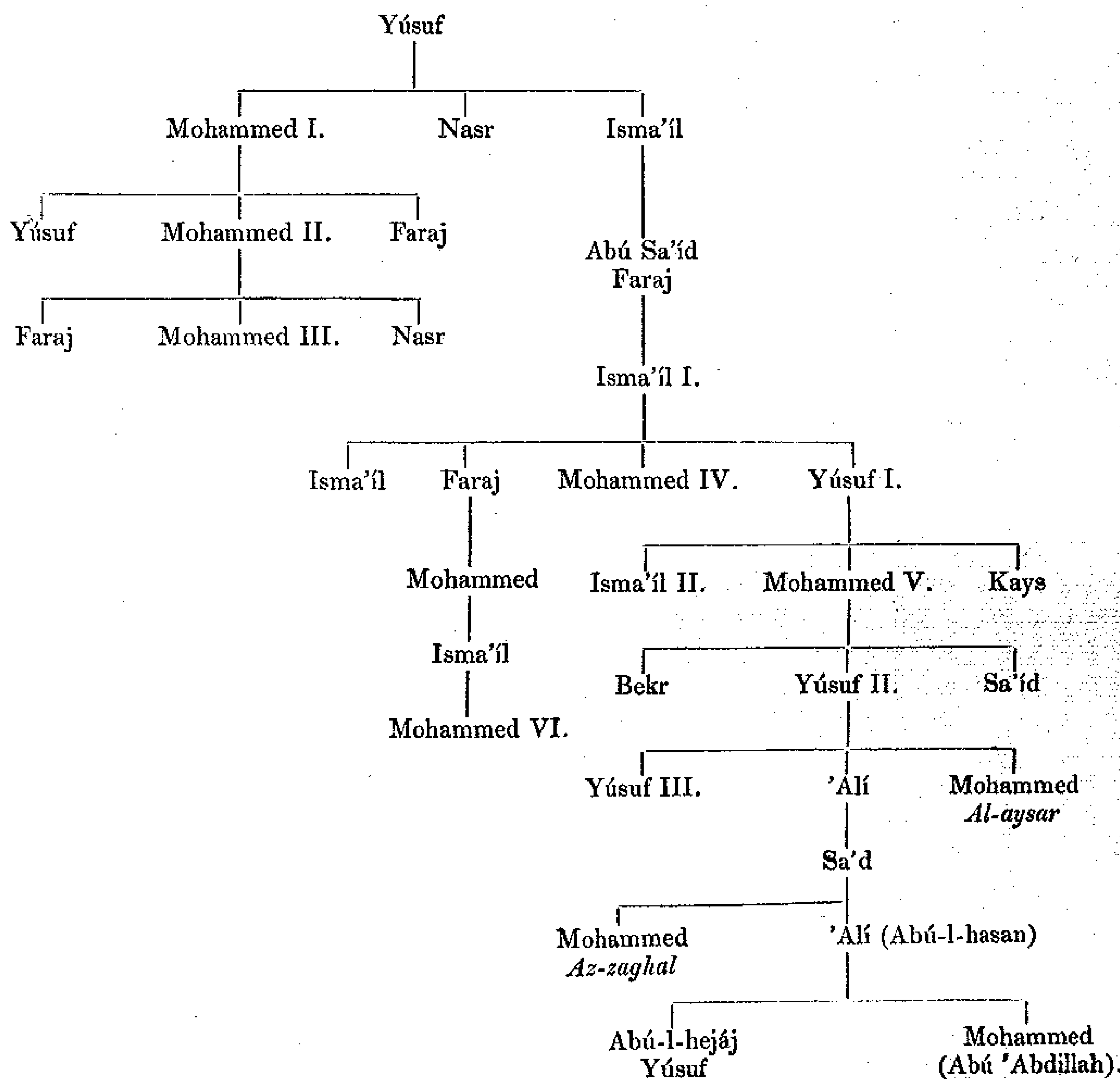
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[1] Some writers do not count Al-mahdí (Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed) among the Almohade Sultáns, because he was a spiritual rather than a temporal ruler.

[2] The four last Sultáns of this dynasty did not reign in Spain.

TABLE XX.

GENEALOGICAL TREE AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE BENÍ NASR, KINGS OF GRANADA.



I. Mohammed I. (*Al-ghálib-billah*), from A. H. 629 (A. D. 1232), to Jumáda II., A. H. 671 (Sept. A. D. 1272).
II. Mohammed II., to Sha'bán, A. H. 701 (April, A. D. 1302).
III. Mohammed III., to Shawwál, A. H. 708 (April, A. D. 1309).
IV. Nasr (Abú-l-jiyúsh), to Shawwál, A. H. 713 (Feb. A. D. 1314).
V. Isma'íl (Abú-l-walíd), to Rejeb, A. H. 725 (July, A. D. 1325).
VI. Mohammed IV., to Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. 733 (Aug. A. D. 1333).
VII. Yúsuf I. (Abú-l-hejáj), to Shawwál, A. H. 755 (Oct. A. D. 1354).
VIII. Mohammed V. (*Al-ghaní-billah*), to Ramadhán, A. H. 760 (Aug. A. D. 1359).
IX. Isma'íl II., to Sha'bán, A. H. 761 (June, A. D. 1360).

x. Mohammed VI. (Abú 'Abdillah),[1] to Rejeb, A. H. 763 (April, A. D. 1362).
Mohammed V., for the second time, to A. H. 793 (A. D. 1391).
xi. Yúsuf II., to A. H. 798 (A. D. 1395).
xii. Mohammed VII.
xiii. Yúsuf III.
xiv. Mohammed VIII. (Abú 'Abdillah *Al-aysar*).
xv. Mohammed IX. (*As-saghír*).
Mohammed VIII., for the second time.
xvi. Yúsuf IV.
Mohammed VIII., for the third time, to A. H. 849 (A. D. 1445).
xvii. Mohammed X. (Ibn 'Othmán *Al-ahnaf*), to A. H. 859 (A. D. 1454).
xviii. Mohammed XI. (Ibn Isma'íl).
xix. 'Alí Abú-l-hasan, to Jumáda II. or Rejeb, A. H. 887 (July or Aug. A. D. 1482).
xx. Mohammed XII. (Abú 'Abdillah),[2] to Rabi' I., A. H. 888 (April, A. D. 1483).
xxi. Mohammed XIII. (*Az-zaghal*), to Jumáda I., A. H. 892 (May, A. D. 1487).
Mohammed XII., for the second time, to Rabi' I., A. H. 897 (Jan. A. D. 1492).

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[1] Called Abú Sa'íd by Conde.

[2] Or Boabdil.

INDEX.

[In consequence of the nature of this compilation, a few proper names will be found written in different ways; but in the formation of this Index that form only has been adopted which has appeared the most correct.]

INDEX

TO

THE TITLES OF THE ARABIC WORKS CITED IN THE COURSE OF THIS TRANSLATION, APPENDIX, AND NOTES.

LIST OF SPANISH WORDS,

OF ARABIC DERIVATION,

WHICH OCCUR IN THE COURSE OF THIS TRANSLATION, OR ARE EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 9, line 29, read 'Abú Dhorr.'

Page 21, line 21, read 'Al-mu'tadhed.'

Page 23, line 24, read 'Wádíghah.'

Page 32, line 27, read 'March or April, 719.'

Page 47, line 35, read 'to take the field *against*.'

Page 101, line 25, instead of 'advance' read 'postpone.'

Page 107, line 34, read 'son of 'Omar Ibn Sharáhíl,' &c.

Page 139, line 19, read 'Ordoño III.'

Page 141, line 16, read 'Abú-l-asbagh.'

Page 145, line 38, read 'Abú-l-modhaffer.'

Page 149, line 19, read 'Ibn Masarrah.'

Page 256, line 16, read '(Alfonso I., the father of Ramiro).'

Page 274, line 30, read 'Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed.'

Page 305, line 34, read 'Diezma.'

Page 320, line 16, read 'Alfonso III. of Castile.'

Page 324, line 34, instead of '(Yúsuf II.),' read '(Mohammed).'

Page 325, line 10, where it says '(Idris II.),' read ''Alí,' the real name of As-sa'íd, twelfth Sultán of the Almohades.

Page — lines 15 and 16, read 'Abú Dabbús.'

Page 344, line 31, read 'Abú Sa'íd 'Othmán.'

Page 365, line 18, read 'Dhú-d-daulateyn.'

Page 420, Note 16. The relative adjective *Al-hadhramí* may be referred either to the tribe of Hadhra-maut or to the country so called. Treating of this, I stated, by mistake, in vol. i. p. 312, Note 4, that Hadhra-maut was a city of Syria: Hadhra-maut is a district of Arabia, so called because it was inhabited by the tribe of that name.

Page 429, Note 29. The *kunyá* or appellative ابوالعاص *Abú-l-'ássin* (the father of the wicked), by which Al-hakem I. of Cordova is often designated, is not, as I at first imagined (vol. i. p. 400), a surname applied to that Sultán on account of his cruelty and his excessive rigour towards his revolted subjects. It was an appellation common to several princes of the family of Umeyyah, and which Al-hakem II. is likewise known to have had. Al-hakem, the father of Merwán, fifth Khalif of the race of Umeyyah in the East, was also surnamed Abú-l-'ássin.

Page 438, Note 47, beginning thus: "Immediately after the above notice," &c., ought to have been placed at p. 459, following Note 49.

Page 455, line 32, instead of 'Lob Ibn *Ahmed* Al-kasawí,' I think that 'Lob Ibn Mohammed,' &c. ought to be read.

Page 456, line 5, instead of 'Toledo' read 'Saragossa.'

Page 459, line 3, read 'Modharis.'

Page — line 31, read 'Al-khabíb.'

Page 463, line 4, read 'Ahmed Ibn Umeyyah.'

Page 465, line 26, read 'Suniofred.'

Page 482, Note 2. According to Al-homaydí, Abú Bekr Al-azrak died at Cairwán in 386. Cairwán does not occupy, as I stated by mistake in the notes to the first volume of this translation, the site of the ancient Cyrene.

Page 492, line 16, read 'Bábu-n-nakkál.'

Page 494, line 41, instead of 'Ibn Wada'h,' as in my transcript of An-nuwayrí's history, I think that 'Ibn Abí Wada'h' ought to be read.

Page 499, Note 10. The Bení Shoheyd are elsewhere said to have been descended from a Berber called Shoheyd (the little martyr), who accompanied Tárik Ibn Zeyád to the conquest of Spain. See p. 91.

Page 500, Note 2. Some historians, like the author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb*, Mohammed Ash-shátibí, and others, call this Lord of Carmona "'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed;" but his real name appears to have been "Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Al-birzálí."

Page 506, Note 37. Casiri says that Zohayr was killed whilst defending his capital, Almeria, against the forces of his enemy 'Alí Ibn Hammúd, which is evidently a mistake, since 'Alí himself was assassinated in A. H. 408.

Page 509, Note 18. In the first book of the second part (fo. 588), Al-makkarí gives the following derivation of the word Telemsán after an author named Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Khaldún, who wrote a history of the Bení 'Abdi-l-wád: تلمسان كلم مركبة من تلم و معناه تجمع و سن معناه اثنان اي الصحرا و التل و يقال تلشان ايضًا و هو ايضًا مركب من تل و معناه لها و شان اي لها شان "Telemsán is a Berber word, composed of *telem* (it unites) and *sen* (the two), that is to say, the plain and the mountain, because the city is partly built on both. Others say that it comes from *Telshán*, a word composed of *tel* (mountain) and *shán* (celebrity)."

Page 533, Note 14. In another part of his *Ahattáh*, Ibnu-l-khattíb states (no doubt by mistake) that it was Sancho *el Bravo* who implored the aid of Ya'kúb against his father Alfonso X., and who pawned the crown jewels — و رهن عنده تاجه ذخيرة النصاري — for a sum of money lent him by that Sultán. He calls the place where the interview was held صخرة Sahrah, instead of حضرة عباد Hadhrah 'Abbad, and the Jew who went to consult him ابن زرزار Ibn Zarzár.

Appendix, page v, line 14, instead of ''Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí,' which is the reading afforded by my manuscript, ''Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí' is to be read.

Page vi, line 15, read 'Ibnu-r-riyán.'

Page x, line 2. 'Jebal-kantísh' is evidently a mistake for ''Akbatu-l-bakar.' It was Mohammed Al-muhdi, not Suleymán, who was defeated at the former place.

Page xiv, line 24. If Mohammed Al-mustakfí began his reign in Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 414, his dethronement must have taken place in 416, or else he could not have reigned sixteen months. An-nuwayrí's account is more probable. He places the accession of Al-mustakfí in Dhí-l-ka'dah, 414 (Feb. A. D. 1024), and his dethronement on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabi' the first, A. H. 416, after a reign of about sixteen months. He was killed at the end of Rabi' the second.

Page xvii, line 27, instead of '330, &c.,' read '430 (beginning Oct. 2, A. D. 1038) or 431 (beginning Sept. 22, A. D. 1039).'

Page xxvii, Note 10. This Wádheh, the eunuch, cannot be identified with the celebrated eunuch of the same name.

Page lxv, line 27, read 'Bení Shahíd.'

THE END.

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